



From

Myrtle Browning Redfield

To
Miss S. and H. P. Riceier Esq

September 1922
Worcester. Mass



Wm. C. Will.



The Records of Oxford.

Including

Chapters of Hipmuck, Huguenot and
English History,

Accompanied with

Biographical Sketches and Notes,
1630—1890.

With

Manners and Fashions of the Time.

By

Mary DeWitt Freeland.

Illustrated with

Steel Engravings.

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E R R A T A .

A petition of Rev. James Laborie on page 164 not completed until page 168.

Page 15, for \$12,000 read £12,000.

Page 20, for *Ruper* read *Kuper*.

Page 252, for *Miller* read *Mellen*.

Page 263, for *Leonard* read *Learned*.

Page 195, Daniel Allen, an English gentleman, was chosen by the government a representative for New Oxford to the General Court at Boston.



Lady Mary Anne

CHAPTER I.

CHAPTERS OF "NIPMUCK HISTORY."

Lady Mary Armine [Armyne] of England, by her benefactions to the natives of the Nipmuck country for their education and christianization, became so interested in her life as to become a part of their history, as she was their patroness.

From an old record :

"Lady Armyne gave large yearly contributions to promote the carrying on of the work begun in New England, for the conversion of the poor Indians in those parts. And this she continued even to her dying day. And of the success of that undertaking she had an annual Account to her rejoicing."

Lady Armyne gave twenty pounds per annum to Rev. John Eliot for his Indian schools in the Nipmuck country at Natick and Hassamanessit, now Grafton.

Lady Armyne, though so devoted in her charities to the heathen in the "far off Nipmuck country," was not unmindful of doing good at her own home in Lincolnshire, England. "No one followed more closely in the footsteps of her Divine Master, for like Him she went about doing good, for she took the height of her religion to consist in the height of love to God and man, and in close obedience to Christ and reliance on His Mediation."

In 1662, when so many clergymen in England were ejected from their livings, Lady Armyne, though devotedly attached to the Church of England, came to Dr. Edmund Calamy of London, and brought five hundred pounds to be given to those dissenting clergymen and their families.

During her last illness, hearing of the Rev. Richard Baxter's troubles as a dissenter from the Church of England, though the Lord Chancellor had proffered to him a Bishopric, Lady Mary sent her servant to him to hear of his case, before whose return to her, she had died.*

The quaint historian narrates of the life and time of Lady Armyne :

"This Honorable and Excellent Lady, was a branch of one of the most Antient, Noble, and Illustrious Families in England, whether we look to Descent, Degree, or Actings.

"The Family of the Talbots, for a long Tract of time, Earls of Shrewsbury, whose Heroick performances both in Civil and Millitary Affairs, done by them in their Native Country, are upon Record to the perpetuating of their Names and Renown. But especially their Conquests and Tryumphs in France were so signal, that the Memory of them continues until this day, and

*The life of Lady Armyne is found in an ancient book, with the title, "The Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons in this Later Age, Divines, Nobility and Gentry of both Sexes, by Samuel Clark, London (Printed for Thomas Simmons at the Princes Arms, Ludgate Street) 1682-3."

The introductory to the above volume closes with these words:

"It's a great work to learn to die safely and comfortably; even the work of all our lives; my turn is near, and this preparation is my daily Study; But it's the Communication of life, light and love, from Heaven, that must make all effectual and draw up our Hearts and make us ready, For which I daily wait on God. At the brink of the Grave and the door of Eternity. Jan. 16, 1682-3. "RICHARD BAXTER."

Rev. Richard Baxter writes:

"I have not read over this Book being desired suddenly to write this Preface, and, therefore, undertake not the Justification of what I have not read. But I know so many of the Persons and Histories myself as makes me not doubt the Historical truth, Judge Hales and the Countess of Warwick (my great Friends) need no testimony of mine. I have desired the Book-seller to reprint the life of the Countess of Suffolk the daughter to the Earl of Holland, written by Bishop Rainbow, as an excellent pattern to Ladies."

withal so dreadful, that Mothers quieted their crying Children by telling them that Talbot came." *

* Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury with Henry V, left England and landed in France with an army of 6,000 men-at-arms and 24,000 foot, chiefly archers. After a furious battle the English took possession of Harfleur, August 14, 1415. Henry expelled the French inhabitants in order to people it with English.

Henry soon after finished his campaign by the victory of Agincourt Oct. 25, 1415, which the English said, "shed everlasting glory on his head." No battle was ever fought more fatal to France; the killed are said to have amounted to 10,000 and 14,000 prisoners.

Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, was in command at both of these battles, being styled "the greatest captain of his age."

The Earl of Shrewsbury was a great favorite at the court of Henry VI. He presented Queen Marguerite of Anjou, the last of the provençal queens, a volume of sketches executed by himself. On the title page Henry VI and Marguerite are represented as seated upon a low divan, ladies in attendance are pictured in the background. Talbot kneels before the Queen presenting his volume. Henry and Marguerite are again represented in an allegorical picture, Marguerite and the ladies of her court as the Virtues. Marguerite as Faith and King Henry as Honor. As an embellishment daisies are painted in clusters, for every lady had her emblem flower, the fashion of the time, and the queen's cipher is surrounded by the garter and its motto.

On the King's marriage all the knights and nobles wore Marguerite's emblem flower, the daisy, in their caps, when they came on horse-back in a body to receive her as her escort into London. This must have been a very flattering compliment, and the King carried it still farther by having "Marguerites" engraved on his silver. In the reign of Henry VI, during the "Wars of the Roses," Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, who was most loyal to the house of Lancaster, was killed in battle and was mourned by all classes of people.

AN EPITAPH

“UPON THE MUCH-LAMENTED DEATH OF THE TRULY HONOURABLE, VERY
AGED, AND SINGULARLY PIOUS LADY,
THE LADY MARY ARMINE,
WHO DYED ANNO CHRISTI 1675.”

“Hail Mary full of Grace, ’bove women blest;
A Name more rich in Saints than all the rest;
An Army of them fam’d in sacred Story:
All good, none bad, an unparallel’d Glory!
The blessed Virgin well may lead the Van;
Next follows Mary the Bethanian;
Next Mary, Wife of Cleophas; Another
Mary was of James and Joses Mother
How much is spoke of Mary Magdalen?
Of Mary, John Mark’s Mother, we read agen.
At Rome a Mary commended by St. Paul;
All Saints; yet not to pray unto at all.”

“A Mary was the Mother of our Lord.
A Mary ’twas laid up in heart his word.
A Mary ’twas that chose the better part.
A Mary ’twas that wept with broken heart.
A Mary ’twas that did anoint Christ’s feet;
A Mary pour’d on’s Head the Spicknard sweet.
At Christ’s Cross standing Maries three I find.
When others fled, they were not so unkind.
Christ dead, interr’d, at the Sepulchre door
Two Maries stand, I find no Women more.”

“So that from Cradle to the Passion;
From Passion to the Resurrection;
From Resurrection to the Ascention,
Observe you may a Mary still was one,
The Army of such Ladies so Divine,
This Lady said, I’le follow they all Ar-mine,”

“Lady Elect! in whom there did combine
So many Maries, might’st say all Ar-mine.
Thou Mother Sister, Spouse wa’st of the Lord,
In that in Heart and Life thou kept’st his Word,

With th' other Mary chose the better part;
With Mary Magd'len had'st a most tender heart."

"On Christ a Mary spent all that she could;
Tho' others grudg'd, more if she had she would,
To th' Head above could'st not, on the feet below
Thou did'st not spare much cost for to bestow.
Thy name a precious Ointment, and the Armies
Of Saints, and Angels are the Lady Armines."

"Now God and Christ are thine, and what's Divine
In Heaven's enjoyment, Blest Soul! Now All are thine."
JO. SHEFFIELD.

A SKETCH OF THE NIPMUCK COUNTRY.

Governor Winthrop writes of a "journey" made by himself, and in company with others, to a place now supposed to be Sudbury, Mass.

January 27, 1632 (old style), Winthrop in his journal writes: "The Governor and some company with him went up by Charles River about eight miles above Watertown (after naming certain hills and streams presented to their view).

"On the west side of Mount Feake, they went up a very high rock, from whence they might see all over Neipnett and a very high hill due west about forty miles off."—Winthrop's Journal, Vol. 1, 68.*

It is stated in the year 1631 "a Sagamore from the river Qonchtacut which lies west of the Naragancet, had visited Boston and had offered the Governor inducements in a promised tribute of corn and beaver skins to send some Englishmen to settle his country. As the Dutch had already made a settlement on the Quinnehtuck river known as the lands of the 'Dutch House of Good Hope'" (now Hartford, Ct.).

* This, it would appear, was the first view of Wachusett mountain by the English, it being the first mention of the Nipmuck country by the colonists.

It also appears "there was an Indian trail of the Agawams, Woronoaks, and other small tribes on the Quonehticut (the long tidal river) who were on friendly terms with the powerful Nipmogg or Nipmuck Indians and came into their country either to pay tribute or to pass through their wide domains."

The Neipnet, Neepmug or Nipmuck Indians, inhabited the country between the sea-coast and the towns about the Massachusetts bay eastward, and the Connecticut river westward. It is said the name Neipnet or Nipmuck in the Indian language signifies "fresh water," which caused the Indians of this interior portion of the country to be thus distinguished from those upon the sea-coast. The Nipmuck country extended beyond the limits of Worcester county; as delineated on some ancient maps it was shown as extending westward beyond the Connecticut river, and on the north into New Hampshire. There is no doubt that the territory of this tribe of Indians was originally very extensive, stretching over the entire country between the Merrimac and Connecticut rivers.*

According to Rev. John Eliot "Nipmuck or Neipnet was a great country lying between the Conactocot and the Massachusetts."

From Major Gookin's account "The Neipnet region extended from Marlborough to the south end of Worcester county, and around by the Brookfields through Washakins (Nashua) to the northern boundary of the state."

Col. Church states "the Nipmuck country was the country about Dudley and Oxford."

"These Nipmuck Indians were seated upon less rivers and lakes, or large ponds where Oxford now is and towns near it."—Governor Hutchinson.

* The Nipmuck country included all of what is now Worcester county.

In an ancient edition of Hubbard's "Narrative of the Indian Wars," published in 1677, is prefixed a map of New England, being as the title expresses "The first map here cut."

In 1647 there is the following record of the Nipmuck Indians :

"The Nopmat (Nipnet or Nipmuck) Indians, having noe Sachem of their own, are at liberty, part of them, by their own choice, doe appertaine to the Narragansett Sachem and parte to the Mohegens."*

"The Nipmuck Indians included several tribes. The Naticks, Nashaways, Pegans, Pawtuckets, Quaboags, Wamesits, Hassanamesits and Pennakooks.

"The Hassanamesits were in Grafton, a part of the territory of Sutton. The Naticks were located at Natick ; the Nashaways were on the Nashua river, from its mouth ; the Pegans were in Dudley (now Webster), on a reservation of two hundred acres of land ; the Pawtuckets were on the Merrimac river where Chelmsford now is ; the Quaboags were located in Brookfield ; the Wamesits were for a time on the Merrimac river, at Lowell ; the Pennakooks were on the Merrimac river near Concord." — Drake's Indian History.

* Records of the U. Col. Hazard, 11, 92.

In 1668 Roger Williams says, "that all the Neipmucks were unquestionably subject to Narrhigonsset Sachems, and in a special manner, to Mejksah, the son of Canonicus, and late husband, to the old Squaw Sachem, now only surviving." Hubbard states the Nipmucks were tributary to Massasoit and to Philip, Sachem of Mount Hope.

"This Squaw Sachem, as is believed, was chief of those inland Indians since denominated the Nipnets, or Nipmucks, and lived in 1621 near Wachusett Mountain." — Drake's North American Indians.

The Indians in exchange for their land with the English demanded certain articles in return. The following deed was given to Capt. Miles Standish for the ancient town of Bridgewater, a part of Duxbury. An extract of the considerations, viz. : "Ousamequin, Sachem of the Contrie of Pocanauket." Ousamequin, which name Massasoit adopted during the latter part of his life, gave a deed of land to the English, usually called Saughtuckett. It was dated 1649.

The consideration for which the Sachem grauted the deed was as follows :

A TREATY WITH THE NIPMUCKS.

In 1643 Governor Winthrop relates that "At this court Cutshamekin and Squaw Sachem, Mascononoco, Nashacowam and Wassamagon, two Sachems, near the great hill of the west, called (Warehasset, Wachusett,) came into the court and according to their former tender to the governor desired to be received under our protection and government, &c upon the same term that Pumham and Sacononoco were; so we causing them to understand the articles, and all the ten commandments of God, and they freely assenting to all, they were solemnly received; and then presented by the Court with 20 fathoms more of Wampum and the Court gave each of them a coat of two yards of cloth and their dinner; and to them and their men every one of them a cup of sack at their departure, so they took their leave and went away very joyful."—Governor Winthrop's Journal, 2, 156.

In 1643 Massasoit resided with Nashoonon, chief of the Nipmucks.

In Winthrop's Journal Nashoonon is Nashacowam.

A more extended account of this early treaty is to be found in the records of the Massachusetts Bay.

"Wossamegon, Nashowanon, Cutshamache, Mascanomet & Squa Sachim did voluntarily submit themselves to us, as appeareth by their covenant subscribed wth their own hands, hear following & oth^r articles to w^{ch} they consented. Wee have and by these presents do voluntarily & wthout any constraint or psuasions, but of o^r owne free motion, put o^rselves, o^r sub-

7 coats, a yd and half in a coat — 9 hatchets, — 8 Howes, — 20 Knives, — 4 Moose Skins — 10 yds and a half of Cotton.

"The land conveyed in the deed extending in length and the breadth thereof as followeth, that is to say; from ye weare at Saughtuckett seven myles due east, and from said weare seven (miles) due west, and from said weare seven myles due north and from said weare seven (miles) due south," etc.

jects, lands & estates under the government & jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, to be governed & pected by them, according to their just lawes & orders, so farr as wee shall bee made capable of understanding them; & wee do pmise for o'selves all o' subjects and all o' posterity, to be true and faithfull to the said government & ayding to the maintainance thereof, to o' best ability. & fro^m time to time to give speedy notice of any conspiracy, attempt or evill intention of any which wee shall (or) heare of against the same: and we pmise to be willing fro^m time to time to be instructed in the knowledg & worship of God, in witness whereof wee have hereunto put o' hands the 8th of the first m^o. a 1643-1644."

CUT SHAM A CHE
NASH OWA NON
WOS SAM E GON
MASK A NOM ETT
SQUA SACHIM

CERTAIN QUESTIONS PPOUNDED TO THE INDIANS & ANSWERS.

1. To worship ye onely true God, w^{ch} made heaven & earth & not to blaspheme him.

An: We do desire to rev'ence y^e God of y^e English, & to speake well of him, because wee see hee doth better to y^e English than othe^r Gods do to others.

2. "Not so swear falcely,

An; They say they know not w^t swering is among y^e.

3. Not to do any unnecessary worke on y^e Sabbath day, especially w^{thin} y^e gates of christian towns.

An: It is easy to y^m: they have not much to do on any day, & they can well take their ease on y^t day.

4. To hono^r their parents & all their supio's.

An. It is their custome to do so, for the inferio's to hono^r their supio's

5. To kill no man w^{thout} just cause and just authority

An: This is good and they desire to do so.

6. To comit no unclean lust, &c.

An: Though sometime some of y^m do it, yet they count that naught, and do not allow it.

7. Not to steale

An; They say to y^t as to y^e 6th quere

To suffer their children to learn to reade God's word y^t they may learn to know God aright & worship in his owne way

They say as opportunity will serve, and English live among y^m they desire so to do.

That they should not be idle

To these they consented, acknowledging y^m to bee good

Being received by us they psented 26 fathoms of wampum, & the Court directed the Treasurer to give them five coats, two yards in a coate, of red cloth & a potfull of wine.— Mass. Col. Records, Vol. II, p. 55.

Rev. John Eliot, a clergyman of Roxbury, N. E., educated at Cambridge, England, became interested in the benevolent project of introducing Christianity into the Nipmuck country and in educating the natives, Mr. Eliot having acquired the rudiments of the Indian dialect, it is said, from native servants in his own family.*

He was accompanied in his "journeys" by his friend Major-General Daniel Gookin, an English gentleman, born in the county of Kent, who had at first made a settlement in Virginia, but came to Cambridge, N. E., in 1644. Maj. Gookin was the superintendent of all the Indians that had subjected themselves to the provincial government, and in Mr. Eliot's missionary visits to the Indians, he himself, at the same time, administered civil affairs among the natives.

* Mr. Eliot says that "an Indian taken in the Pequot wars, and who lived in Dorchester, was the first native who taught him words and was his interpreter."

"He took the most unwearied pains in his strange lessons from this

In 1646 the General Court of Massachusetts "ordered and decreed that two ministers should be chosen by the elders of the churches every year, at the Court of Elections, and so to be sent, with the consent of their churches with whomsoever would freely offer themselves to accompany them in that service to make known the heavenly counsel of God among the Indians in a most familiar manner, by the help of some able interpreter, as might be most available to bring them to the knowledge of the truth, and their conversion to Jesus Christ, and for this end something might be allowed them by the General Court to give away freely to those Indians whom they should perceive most willing and ready to be instructed by them."—Palfrey's *History of New England*.

A week before it had passed this order Rev. John Eliot had made his first essay in preaching to the Indians. A young man who had been a servant in an English house, and understood his own language, and had a clear pronunciation, Mr. Eliot took into his family; and having, with his assistance, translated the Lord's Prayer and the Decalogue, he soon acquired a knowledge of the Indian language.

Ten pounds were voted to Mr. Eliot as a gratuity from the Court in respect of his great pains and charge in instructing the Indians in the knowledge of God.

Rev. John Eliot obtained for the Indians a grant of land, to which he gave the Indian name Noonanetum [Rejoicing].

Daniel Gookin, who accompanied Mr. Eliot in his journeys, says: "The first place he began to preach at was Nonantum, near Watertown, upon the south side of Charles River,

uncouth teacher, finding progress very slow and baffling, receiving no aid from other tongues which he had learned in England, and which were so differently constituted, inflected and augmented."

Mr. Eliot also secured natives to reside with him in his family and to accompany him on his visits, to interchange with him words and ideas. —*Memorial History of Boston*, pages 260-261.

about four or five miles from Roxbury, where lived at that time Waban, one of their principal men, and some Indians with him."

Mr. Eliot set out upon his mission in October, 1646, and sent out forerunners to apprise the Indians of his intentions.*

Waban, a grave and wise man of the same age of the missionary (forty-two), a person of influence, met him at a small distance from their settlement, and welcomed him to a large wigwam on the hill Nonantum.

A number of Indians assembled here to hear the new doctrine.

After a short service of prayer in English, Mr. Eliot delivered a sermon from Ezekial 37:9, 10: "Then said He unto me, Prophesy unto the wind (to which the Indian term "Waban" is said to answer), Prophesy son of man, and say to the wind (say to Waban) thus saith the Lord God, Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon those slain, that they may live. So I prophesied, as He commanded me, and the breath came into them, and they lived and stood upon their feet an exceeding great army." Having closed his sermon, he was desirous of knowing whether he had conveyed his sentiments intelligibly in a language so new to himself, he therefore inquired whether they comprehended his meaning, to which they replied: "We understood all."

Waban particularly received those happy impressions, which remained through life, and qualified him effectually to aid in the design of (Christianizing) his countrymen.

"Having given the children some apples, and the men some tobacco, and what else they then had at hand, . . . they departed with welcomes."

* For speedily transmitting intelligence "the Indian messengers ran swiftly, and at every settlement fresh messengers are speeded away to reach the chief's wigwam. When within about a mile of the place the messenger commences hallooing, and all who hear begin to halloo, whereby a great concourse is soon gathered to hear the news."

Before the end of the year three other visits were made. "As soon as ever the winter was passed," Mr. Eliot's labors were resumed.

John Wampus, a native, brought his son and several Indian children to the English to be instructed.

A school was soon established among them, and the General Court having given the neighboring Indians a tract of highland, called Nonantum, and furnished them with various implements of husbandry. The Indians many of them professed christianity, and the whole in the vicinity became settled, and the Indians conducted their affairs with prudence and industry, and they adopted the customs of the English, made laws, and had their magistrate.*

Mr. Eliot's efforts were put forth for the civilization as well as the Christianization of the people. He encouraged the building of farm-houses, and the making of homes for separate families, the planting of gardens and orchards, the raising and utilizing of flax and hemp.—Palfrey, II, 336, 337.

Mr. Eliot in writing to the corporation of London, in 1649, says "that a Nipnet Sachem hath submitted himself to the Lord, and much desires one of our chief ones to live with him and those that are with him."

*John Wampus was a Sagamore of the Hassanamesit tribe. He is mentioned as being some time of Hassanamesit.

"In January, 1666, Robert Wayard, of Hartford, Ct., conveyed by deed, a tract of land situate in Boston, to John Wampus, an Indian of Boston, bounded on the common, etc., being 300 feet by 30, with a dwelling house thereon. This tract is now partly covered by St. Paul's church.

"The records of Suffolk county give further evidence of his concern in the sale and purchase of real estate.

"Tradition states John Wampus crossed the Atlantic and was in London, that he returned to New England in the same ship with a Dr. Sutton, that his health failed on his return, and that he received particular attention from him on this voyage."

Mr. Eliot writes again to the same society in the year 1651 :

"There is a great country called Nipnet, where there be many Indians dispersed, many of whom have sent to our Indians desiring that some may be sent unto them to teach them to pray to God."

It would appear that in England there was a lively sentiment in favor of Christianizing the heathen Nipmuck "in these ends of the earth," as well as other natives in the new world, and that the occupancy of New England by the English adventurers should result not only in the accumulation of gold, but that Christianity should be promulgated "in this hideous and howling wilderness," and throughout their possessions in America.

In writing of New England, Captain Weymouth, an historian of the time, asserts, that "the result hoped for in planting settlements on these shores was to Christianize these dark regions of America," which were designated by the English as the West Indies.*

CHAPTER II.

RECORDS FROM THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY, LONDON.

The Christian education of the Nipmuck Indians through the correspondence of Rev. John Eliot, and the publication in London of a series of the "Eliot Tracts."

*"The first royal charter for establishing the colony of New England had declared that to win and incite the natives of that country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind and the Christian faith is our royal intention and the adventurers' free profession, is the principal end of the plantation."

In July, 1649, such was the effect of the report from New England on Cromwell, Calamy and others, as well as on the Long Parliament, that an act or ordinance was found with this title:

“A Corporation for the promoting and propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England.”

Thus the New England Company was established by the Long Parliament.

“All honor then to Cromwell and the Commons of England in Parliament assembled as the founders of the first Protestant mission to Pagans.”

This society continued until the “Restoration of the Monarchy,” 1660.

A general collection or subscription was to be made through all counties, cities, towns and parishes of England and Wales, for the purposes of the corporation.

Nearly \$12,000 were forthwith collected by voluntary subscription throughout England and Wales, and several manors, lands and houses were purchased. An amount of at least £11,430 was expended in the purchase of landed property at Eriswell, in Suffolk, and a farm at Plumstead, in Kent, as well as several houses in London.

All these purchases were conveyed to this parliamentary corporation, or to some of the sixteen members as its trustees.

The corporation appointed commissioners and a treasurer in New England, who received the income transmitted to them by the corporation of England for the maintenance of missionaries and school teachers among the natives till the restoration of Charles II.

It is said Mr. Eliot's first effort to form an Indian town at Nonantum in Newtown proved a failure in his instruction to the natives on account of its being so near Boston and other English settlements. The surroundings of a so-called Christian community were unfavorable to influencing the natives from

heathenism to Christianity, and he desired a position more remote, and petitioned for a grant at Natick, and in 1651 the General Court set apart two thousand acres of land for an Indian plantation.

In 1651 Rev. John Eliot removed to Natick. In 1660 a native church was formed in this settlement, and though Mr. Eliot was a clergyman, having the care of a church in Roxbury for twenty-five years, he preached and taught the natives, establishing schools and native churches with Christian teachers.*

"These commissioners received from the London Society authority to establish a school for the natives at Cambridge. Young men among the Indians were received as pupils to be educated for teachers. The society distributed bounties to encourage education; they printed catechisms in the native language and furnished books for teachers."—Palfrey, I, 333.

"In 1658 Eliot's native teachers received two pounds each for their services, while Eliot received two pounds for Bibles, spectacles, and primers for the natives."—Palfrey, I, 333.

"The expenses of the London Society in this, the eighth year of its establishment, was five hundred and twenty pounds in salaries to teachers and the expenses of pupils in the Cambridge schools."—Palfrey, I, 333.

RECORDS RECEIVED FROM THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY, LONDON.

"(May 29, 1660.) Then this Corporation, created by the Long Parliament, ceased.

"There was, therefore, a short cessation of the income, for the Royalist vendor of the property at Eriswell in Suffolk, re-

*Tradition states there is still to be seen at Natick the oak tree under which Mr. Eliot instructed the natives.

The Nipmuck Indians had a constant and friendly intercourse with the Natick Indians, and became interested with them in the preacher of the "new Faith."

entered and obtained from the tenants a good deal of the rents until the Company was revived or created anew by the Order in Council, when he was obliged by the decree in a Chancery suit to fulfil the contract he had entered into with the former Corporation.

“The Ordinance could no longer be recognized, but by the exertions of ‘the excellent Robert Boyle, so notable for his beneficence,’ and others, an Order of Charles II, in Council was obtained April, 1661, for a new Charter of Incorporation vesting in the Company then created (and now subsisting) the property which had been given or bought for the purposes of the late reported Corporation.”

“ORDER IN COUNCIL, FOR THE NEW ENGLAND COMPANY’S
CHARTER.

At the Court at Whitehall the 10th day of April 1661.

PRESENT :

The King’s Most Excellent Majesty.

His Royal Highness the Duke	Earl of Sandwich.
of York.	Earl of Lauderdale.
Lord Chancellor.	Lord Viscount Valentia.
Duke of Albemarle.	Lord Roberts.
Marquis of Dorchester.	Lord Seamore.
Lord Great Chamberlain.	Mr. Comptroller.
Lord Chamberlain.	Mr. Vice Chamberlain.
Earl of Northumberland.	Mr. Secretary Nicholas.
Earl of Berks.	Mr. Secretary Morris.
Earl of Norwich.	

Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper.

“Upon reading of Mr. Attorney General his report to this Board upon a Petition of divers for propagating the Gospel in America to him referred by Order of the 14th of November 1660, and a draft prepared for renewing the Charter of the

Corporation therein specified and full debate thereof had ; It is ordered that the said Corporation may by the said Charter have power to purchase £2000 per annum and may have liberty to transport yearly £1000 in Bullion or foreign money making entry from time to time of what shall be so transported in the Port of London in the Custom House there. And the Lord Viscount Valentia is to consider of and examine the list of names of the members whereof the said Corporation is to consist and to offer the same to the Board and according to this direction Mr. Attorney is to fill up the blanks and perfect the said draft of a Charter. And also to add thereunto a clause that all lands tenements and hereditaments heretofore given or bought to the use or uses in this Charter mentioned shall from henceforth be vested in the said Corporation and their successors with power to sue for and recover the same and any arrears thereof due.

“JOHN NICHOLAS.”

The charter was completed February 7, 1661-2.

“The members of the Company were forty-five in number, and included Churchmen and Dissenters.

“Lord Chancellor Clarendon and other noblemen head the list, and Boyle, the first Governor, with several surviving members of the late reputed Corporation, and many Aldermen and Citizens of London, are included in it. The yearly REVENUE of the Company's lands, money, and stock was to be applied for the promoting and propagating the Gospel of Christ unto and amongst the heathen natives in or near New England and parts adjacent in America, and also for civilizing, teaching, and instructing the said heathen natives in or near New England, and their children, not only in the principles and knowledge of the true religion, and in morality and the knowledge of the English tongue, and in other liberal arts and sciences, but for the educating and placing of them or their children in some trade, mystery, or lawful calling.”

RECORDS OF THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON PRESENTED FOR THE "RECORDS OF OXFORD."

Extracts from a letter dated Lincoln's Inn, London, November, 1878. From Henry W. Busk, Esq., a member of the New England Company, to Rev. Brooke Herford of Chicago, U. S. A.:

"The labours of the Company and the Commissioners* and others in America were carried on unremittingly till the American War of Independence interrupted the usual remittances. When the 13 provinces were acknowledged as independent States, the Company could not safely exercise its charter trusts out of the King's dominions, and at first transferred these operations to New Brunswick, and appointed Commissioners there so far as concerned the income of the Charter Fund. But the efforts there were not successful, and a new plan, recommended by one of the New Brunswick Commissioners, was, after consulting the Governor of the Province and other in-

* "Increase and Cotton Mather were among the Commissioners, and were frequent correspondents of the Company after 1671." — London Records.

From the funds of this corporation an allowance of £50 per annum was paid to Mr. Eliot as a stipend in supplement of his moderate salary of £60 as a minister of Roxbury. Fifty pounds was also allowed to Governor Mayhew for his interest in the education and Christianizing the Indians of Martha's Vineyard. Governor Mayhew was a co-worker with Eliot.

The income of the English Society amounted to the then large sum of about seven hundred pounds.

September 5, 1661.

Mr. Eliot published the New Testament and other books for the instruction of the natives. In 1663 the Old Testament was printed at Cambridge, Mass., in the Natick or Nipmuck dialect and was the first Bible printed in America.

In 1890 a single copy of the Eliot Bible of the edition of 1663 was sold in London for £250.

habitants, adopted in 1807, and acted on till 1822, when this plan also was found to have failed. The Company then transferred its operations to other parts of British America, principally near the Grand River north of Lake Erie, and near Lake Ontario, at the Bay of Quinté, and near the Rice and Chemong Lakes.

“During the suspension of remittances to America the Company accumulated and invested the income of all the three funds. By decrees of the Court of Chancery in 1792, 1808, and 1836, all the three funds have been regulated. Boyle’s rent-charge is applicable by the Company for the advancement of the Christian religion among infidels in British America; so also the income of the accumulations of that fund. The income of Dr. Williams’ fund and accumulations is applicable by the Company towards the advancement of the Christian religion among Indians, Blacks and Pagans in British Plantations and Colonies, and for their education, etc. The income of the Charter Fund and of its accumulations is applicable in Upper Canada.”

SKETCH OF NEW ENGLAND COMPANY BY HENRY W. BUSK.

“Those stations which have been most permanently mentioned are the following:

“1. Among the Mohawks and other Six Nations Indians settled on the banks of the Grand River, between Brantford and Lake Erie.

“2. On the shores of the smaller Lakes, Rice Lake twelve miles south of Peterborough and (Mnd or) Chemong Lake ten miles north of Peterborough.

“3. On the banks of the Garden River, near Sault Ste. Marie (the rapids between Lake Superior and Lake Huron).

“4. On Rupert Island, in British Columbia.

“The Indians of the Six Nations include the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, and Tuscaroras. Up

to the time of the American War of Independence the first five named inhabited the valleys on the rivers and lakes of Central New York.

“There are two schools near the Mohawk village close to Brantford, as well as a parsonage for the church there. This church possesses the communion plate and a large English Bible, presented by ‘Good Queen Anne’ to the Indian church in the Mohawk valley, which the Indians had been obliged to abandon. The old Mission Church was built by the Mohawks about 1782, about one mile south-east of the city of Brantford on the north-east of Grand River. In this church they placed the bell they received from London.

The Rev. John Eliot, in his last illness, observed : ‘There is a cloud, a dark cloud, upon the Work of the Gospel among the poor Indians. The Lord revive and prosper that Work and grant that it may live when I am dead.’

“We have throughout tried to do our very best for our red brethren. What success we have had in doing so you might best learn by a visit to our Mohawk Institution close to Brantford, where the superintendent will be glad to show you what is being done for the education, etc., of some ninety or more of the native boys and girls. In the Mohawk Parsonage is our aged missionary Canon Nelles,* and not many miles off are several thousand Indians, with nine day-schools on the Tuscarora Reserve, and the Rev. Isaac Barr at the Kanyenga Parsonage, and a native curate, the Rev. Albert Anthony, and several interpreters and school-teachers, as well as Methodist and Baptist ministers on this Reserve, and at Chemong Lake and at the Bay of Quinté. The members of the Company have always been a mixture of Churchmen and Dissenters working harmoniously together.

“In many parts of America the natives seem to be dying out. We have the satisfaction of feeling that with us they

* Now Archdeacon Nelles.

are increasing and improving in spite of the bad example and influence of unprincipled Whites.

"Mr. Robert Ashton, our present superintendent of the Mohawk Institution, has filled that post for six years, and is always much pleased with the visits of enlightened friends of the Red men. When you call there you will perhaps be a little surprised at the civilization and attainments, physical, intellectual, moral, and religious, of the eighty or ninety young people there training. At a few miles distance you will find the Six Nations Reserve, some ten miles long by six broad, with 3,000 Red men (five-sixths of them professing Christianity), aided by a considerable staff of native as well as white clergy and other officers, in making progress and gradually overcoming obstacles and resisting temptations and bad examples."

In 1874 Lord Dufferin accompanied by Lady Dufferin visited the Mohawk Church as Governor-General of Canada, and received addresses from the Indians, and added his signature in the Bible that already bore those of R. R. H., the Prince of Wales, and R. R. H., the Duke of Connaught.

Hon. Robert Boyle, of Stalbridge Manor, was the fast friend of the distinguished Rev. John Eliot, and identified with him for many years in his efforts to educate and Christianize the Nipmuck Indians — "the poor souls of the West Indies," as then styled. Mr. Eliot recognized Hon. Robert Boyle, the governor of the corporation for propagating the gospel in New England, as the source of the life and efficiency of the society.

Rev. Mr. Eliot, in his correspondence with Hon. Robert Boyle relative to the Nipmuck country and the native Indians, very quaintly addresses him as "Right honorable, deep learned, charitable, indefatigable and nursing father" of the natives of the Nipmuck country.

Robert Boyle was celebrated for his unrivaled learning, and for his great excellencies of Christian character.

NOTE. — Rev. Mr. Mayhew forwarded the following sketch to the London Society, etc. :

“Laban Panu, who died at Gayhead, November 6th, 1715, when he was ten Years and about nine Months old, was the son of a Christian Indian teacher.

“He was till he was near nine Years old rude and disorderly, was apt to profane the Sabbath Day, and could scarcely be restrained from playing at Meeting: nor did the many good Instructions and Exhortations given him by his Parents appear to have any good Effect upon him.

“His Parents, grieved with his Miscarriage, at length began to deal more sharply with him, taking therein that Advice of the wise Man, Correct thy Son, and he shall give thee rest; and as they found the Counsel good, so they found the Promise true; for due Corrections thus added to good Instructions, did, by God’s Blessing, soon produce a remarkable Change in the Carriage and Behaviour of their Child.”

“He about this time told his Mother, that formerly he had not believed there was a God, but now he was persuaded that there was one, who had placed him here in the World.”

“And for what End, said his Mother, do you think God has placed you here as he has done? That I might seek and serve him, said the Child; and as God has placed us here upon Earth, so he will shortly remove us again from it. His Mother then proposing the Doctrine of the final Judgment to him, he readily asserted his firm Persuasion of the Truth and Certainty of that Doctrine; and he then carried himself as one, that must be brought into Judgment for all he said and did, or ought to do. He applied himself with Diligence to the reading of his Books, which he had before too much neglected; and he now also studied his Catechism, and would often of his own accord repeat by Heart the Questions and Answers, which he had before learned; and he and some of the other Children of the Family, and some also of another Christian Family that lived near by, used by turns to catechise one another; by which Means the Knowledge of this Child, as well as some of the rest, was considerably increased.”

“His Mother sometimes hearing of him at these Exercises, would ask him, whether he really believed the Truth of the Answers in his Catechism which he repeated; making this Demand more especially when he came to Answers of the greatest Importance; and he would still, in Answer to her, declare his firm Belief of the Truths which he so learned.

“His Mother observing that he was alone, saying something which

she could not so hear as to understand, she once asked him what, and to whom he used to speak in his Retirement?

"To which he answered, that he used to speak to God, and pray to him, to pardon all his Sins, and to make him good. His Father also sometimes found him alone in the Forest, calling on the name of the Lord; and sometimes heard him in the Depths of the Night, when he was upon his Bed, praying to God for his Mercy and Salvation.

"He talked often of his own frailty and Mortality.

"He was sick but about a Month before he died; in which time he behaved himself as became a Youth that remembered his Creator.

"Soon after he was taken ill, his Mother asking him, whether he were willing to die and leave this World, and all his Enjoyments in it, he after a little Pause said, that he found in himself an Unwillingness at present so to do. But why so said his Mother to him, this is a very troublesome World, here are many Afflictions to be undergone; whereas Heaven is a most excellent Place, wherein there is no Trouble or Sorrow to be indured."

"I am concerned, said the child weeping, for my Little Brother, (one younger than himself). I now keep with him and look after him; but if I die, I can take no more care of him.

"Don't, said his Mother, let that trouble you; if you die before your Brother, it will not be long before he will follow after you; and if you go to heaven, he will, if he loves and serves God, come thither to you, and there live with you forever; the which that he may do, I will endeavour to teach him to know and serve the Lord.

"Do you therefore seek to God to prepare you for your End; and be willing to die, and go to your God, when he sees meet to call you."

"Yes said Laban smiling, I will be so; I will now set my Heart no longer upon my Brother, nor be unwilling to leave him; Come hither Joseph, said he to him; who then coming to him, he took him by the Hand and said, Farewel my Brother, you shall not offend (or hinder) me any longer, be thou diligent in seeking after God!

"After this he never discovered the least unwillingness to die, but set himself to seek the Lord with his whole Heart, and called daily upon him for his Mercy to be extended to him for the sake of Jesus Christ his only Saviour."

"He underwent much Pain in the time of his Sickness, yet he said it was God that laid the same upon him, and he did bear with much Patience the mighty Hand of God which he was then under, constantly trusting in and crying to him only for Deliverance.

"When he perceived that he was nigh to Death, he said but little to any that were about him, but kept almost continually praying to God, often saying, Oh! my Heavenly Father, have Mercy on me.

"When his Friends asked him whether he were willing to die, and whether he had Hopes that God would save him, he still answered affirmatively to these Questions. After his Voice so failed him that he could not pronounce perfect Sentences, he still kept praying to God and saying, Woi—Woi—Woi; which may be rendered in English, I pray—I pray—I pray, which were the last Words he ever was heard to speak."

CHAPTER III.

HASSANAMISSET.

The territory of Hassanamisset (now Grafton) has an historic record of great interest.

It was one of the Indian reservations for the Christianized Indians set off by the provincial government upon the petition of Rev. John Eliot.

The grant was made May 15, 1654, viz. : "Liberty is granted to the Indians of Hassanamisset, being about 16 miles west of Sndbury, to make a town there, provided it does not prejudice any former grant, nor that they shall dispose of it without leave first had and obtained from this court."* (The Indians were allowed to build towns of their own wigwams.)

In 1654 the General Court, on Mr. Eliot's petition, set apart this tract of land (Hassanamisset) for the use of the Indians to prevent any conflicting claims between the English and the natives.

"No Indian town gave stronger assurances of success than Hassanamisset; at that time it had become the central

*Archives of Mass., Vol. 30.

point of civilization and Christianity to the whole Nipmuck country."

A school was here established, where the Bible was read and studied in the Indian language. Young men were here educated and sent into the neighboring towns to preach the gospel (as Christian teachers). A regular government was created, and the forms of law strictly observed. The population of the town was small, yet, by reason of their constant intercourse with their neighbors, a large number of natives enjoyed the benefits of this school, and before the year 1674, within which Manchang, now Oxford, was included, seven new towns of praying Indians, as they were termed, were formed in the neighborhood, most of which were furnished with teachers from this place. A church was here established.

The following is from an old record :

"Hassunnimesut it lieth upon Nichmuke River ; The people were well known to the English so long as Connecticut Road lay that way, and their Religion was judged to be real by all that travelled that journey and had occasion to lodge, especially to keep a Sabbath among them."

In 1674 Rev. John Eliot and Maj. Gookin visited all the "Christianized Indians" of the Nipmuck country. Gookin, in his description, says :

"Hassamanesit signifieth a place of small stones it lieth about thirty eight miles from Boston west southerly, and is about two miles eastward of Nipmuck river (Blackstone) and near unto the old road way to Connecticut."

Hubbard describes it as a place up into the woods beyond Medfield and Mendon.

It was called Hassanamisco by the Indians, and went by that name until 1735, when it was incorporated and named Grafton.

James the printer, one of the Indians of Hassanamessit, was distinguished for his assistance in printing the Indian Bible, being employed in setting up the type.

In 1709 the English and Indian Psalter was published by a son of Samuel Green and James the printer, within his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England.

James had been apprenticed to Samuel Green to learn the printing trade in Boston.

Hubbard's account of James the printer:

"When he was put to an apprenticeship (after leaving the 'Charity School' at Cambridge) for sixteen years, He had obtained some skill in printing, and might have obtained more had he not like a false villain ran away from his master before his time was out!"

"Printer" became the surname of the family, and his reputed descendants have lived in Grafton.

The magistrates were directed to take care to have a court held once every quarter at such place or places where the Indians did ordinarily assemble to hear the word of God, with permission of the Indian chiefs "to bring any of their own people to the said courts, and to keep a court of themselves once every month."

Pennahannit, called Captain Josiah, was "Marshal General" over all the Christianized Indian towns, and used to attend the courts.

The following is said to be a copy of a warrant which was issued by the ruler Waban for this court:

"You, you big constable, quick you catch um Jeremiah Offscow, strong you hold um, safe you bring um, afore me, Waban, Justice of the peace."

"A young justice asked him what he should do when Indians got drunk and quarreled. He replied, 'tie um all up, and whip um plaintiff, whip um 'fehdant, and whip um witness.' "*"

"May 14, 1704.

"The township of Sutton was purchased by the English of

*Allen Biog. Dictionary.

John Wampus, and some other Indians of the Nipmuck country.

“Sutton is situate in the Nipmng country between the towns of Mendon, Worcester, New Oxford, Sherburne and Marlborough, of eight miles square ; within its limits is included a tract of land four miles square called Hassanamisco, an Indian reservation.

“Sutton Yielding, Rendering and Paying therefore unto our Sovereign Lady Queen Anne, her Kings and Successors, one-fifth part of all the Gold and Silver Oar and Precious stones, which from time to time, and at all times forever hereafter, shall happen to be found, gotten, had, or obtained in any of the said lands and Premises, or within any part or parcel thereof. In lien and stead of all Rents, Services, Dues, Dutys, and demands whatsoever from the said lands and premises, and for every part and parcel thereof.”

As the Indians were diminished in Hassanamisco [Grafton] the white people became proprietors, in 1728, of the soil, by purchase, for the consideration of £2,500, and the grant was made on condition “that they should provide preaching and schooling and seats in the meetinghouse for the remaining Indians.”

The General Court, from the first, appointed a committee of three to superintend and take care of the Indian property, both personal and real. In 1765 there were fourteen Indians in town ; their numbers gradually diminished ; but it was not until about the year 1825 that the last of the Nipmucks ceased to exist. They received their yearly income in the month of May from their funds, at which time they usually had a joyous holiday. Blankets, psalters and psalm-books were distributed among them as well as money.

Sept. 17, 1674, Rev. John Eliot, with Major Gookin, visited Pakachoaq, now in Worcester. Maj. Gookin writes :

“We took leave of the Christian Indians at Chabanakong-komun, (now Webster), and took our journey, 17th of the sev-

enth month, by Manchage (Oxford) to Pakachoag, a part of Worcester, which lieth from Manchage, north-west, about twelve miles. We arrived there about noon. We repaired to the Sagamore's house, called John . . . , who kindly entertained us. There is another Sagamore belonging to this place, of kindred to the former, whose name is Solomon, *alias* Woonakochu. This man was also present, who courteously welcomed us. As soon as the people could be got together, Mr. Eliot preached unto them, and they attended reverently. Their teacher, named James Speen, being present, read and set the tune of a psalm that was sung affectionately. Then the whole duty concluded with prayer.

“After some short respite, a Court was kept among them. My chief assistant was Wattasacompanum, ruler of the Nipmuck Indians, a grave and pious man of the chief Sachems blood of the Nipmuck country. He resides at Hassanamisset, but by former appointment calleth here, together with some others. The principal matter done at this Court was, first, to constitute John and Solomon to be rulers of this people and co-ordinate in power, clothed with the authority of the English government, which they accepted; also, to allow and approve James Speen for their minister. This man is of good parts and is pious. He hath preached to this people almost two years, but he yet resides at Hassanamisset, about seven miles distant. Also, they chose and the Court confirmed a new constable, a grave and sober Indian called Matoonas. Then I gave both the rulers, teacher, constable and people their respective charges, to be diligent and faithful for God, zealous against sin, and careful in sanctifying the Sabbath.

“Having sent a grave and pious Indian to be a teacher in Nashaway, near Lancaster, with a letter of advice and exhortation, written and dated at Pakachoag, and nominated one of that tribe, who was present, as constable, with power to apprehend drunkards, take away their strong drink, and bring the

offenders before himself for punishment, an office which the candidate refused to accept until he could consult his friends, the exercises were concluded with singing a psalm and offering prayer and they retired to rest. The next morning early, they passed to Marlborough and thence returned to their homes.--Mass. Hist. Coll. I, 192 ; Hubbard's Narrative, 101.

Maj. Gookin sent Jethro of Natick, one of the most noticeable of the Christianized Indians, though it is said "these Indians, in general, made but sorry Christians" to Nashaway to preach to the natives of that place, Mr. Eliot having never visited them.

Maj. Gookin gave to Jethro a letter written by himself to the Indians, desiring them to keep the Sabbath, and to abstain from drunkenness to which they were much prone.

Jethro was made a constable that he might exercise authority and when placed in office had with the power given to him a black staff as his insignia of office.

The chiefs and Sagamores were tributary and subordinate. Watasacompanum was chief ruler, his efforts were to preserve friendly relations when the planters first arrived, with the Indians.

The principal settlement of the Indians in Worcester was on the hill rising in the south part of the town and extending into Ward, called by them, Pakachoag. It is described by Gookin : *

"This village lyeth about three miles south from the new road way that leadeth from Boston to Connecticut ; it consists of about twenty families, and hath about one hundred souls therein.

"This town is situated upon a fertile hill, and is denominated from a delicate spring of water that is there."

In 1674 the township of Oxford was known as a tract of land lying in the Nipmuck country, by its Indian name of Mauchage, Manchage or Manchaug.

* On this range of highland is the site of "Holy Cross College."

The first record of Manchaug, now Oxford, was made by Rev. John Eliot and Major-General Gookin, Sept. 17, 1674, O. S. on their "journey" to Pakachoag a part of Quinsigamond now Worcester.

"In 1674 Rev. John Eliot and General Gookin visited the new Christianized towns in the Nipmuck country. The first of these, says Gookin is, 'Manchage [Oxford] which lieth to the westward of Nipmuck river [Blackstone] about eight miles, and is from Hassanamesitt west by south, about ten miles, and it is from Boston about fifty miles. To it belongeth about twelve families and about sixty souls. For this place we appointed Waberkamin, a hopeful young man, for their minister. There is no land yet granted by the general Court to this place, nor to any other of the praying towns. But the court intended shortly upon the application and professed subjection of those Indians unto the yoke of Christ, to do for them as they have done for other praying Indians.' " *

The church was formed in Manchage [Oxford] it is said in 1672.

JULIA JAHÄ.

"Lo, the poor Indian, whose untutored mind
Sees God in clouds or hears Him in the wind."

POPE.

Julia Jaha was the last of the Nipmuck Indians in Oxford, her mother was of the Pegan tribe of Nipmuck Indians living on a reservation in Webster, Mass., and the father of Julia was a Mohegan. The parents of Julia, with their

* Gookin's Historical Collections of the Indians in New England, printed in Coll. Mass. Hist. Society in 1792.

"The tract of land from Marlborough to Manchaug [Oxford,] was with few exceptions of a cleared space on which the Indians reared their corn an unbroken wilderness interspersed with a few meadows or marshes as they were styled at that time."

children, lived in a sorry little cottage. When Julia was a child, one lovely sunny morning in the spring of the year, she being seated on a mossy little bank, as she gazed upon the river and sky, admiring their beauty, and the woods just appearing in their foliage, with the gay songs of the birds which arrested her attention, she exclaimed to herself, "God must have made all so beautiful," and hastening to her mother with questions about God, inquiring if all good people would at death live with Him, and to confirm her belief she inquired of her mother, "Will priest Williams be there too." Julia had seen Rev. Mr. Williams, the clergyman of Dudley,* at the Indian funerals, and may be she had attended church service and sat in one of the high corner pews. Julia was taught to read while young. From her childhood she thought much of God, and was instructed in her catechism and received many good counsels from her mother, nor were these lessons without good effect.†

When Julia was some twelve years of age her mother died. She was surprised to witness with what willingness her mother left her family, without distrust or anxiety, in God's care. She was persuaded the Christian faith of her mother gave her this happiness in the hour of death. Julia was then removed from her home and placed at service in the family of the late Major John Brown of Dudley, where she was taught all the nice arts of housekeeping. She ever recalled the family with great respect. The young ladies were so elegant and the sons were all her young masters never to grow old, and Julia, after living a long and Christian life, in her departure from earth was heard by the clergyman who attended her to whisper in broken accents, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord."‡

* Mr. Williams was the clergymen in Dudley from June 12, 1799, to March 16, 1831.

† Julia Jaha, known by marriage Julia Daille.

‡ On a Memorial Day in memory of the Huguenots of Oxford, June 29, 1881, Julia was invited to be present, as the sole remnant of

Julia ever testified that her tribe were conscious of great injustice done to them in all their transactions with the English, and then added with much feeling of grief, "They would destroy the graves of our dead as of no account and make a field of grain of our Indian sepulchre."

On Joshua Pegan's old field the first church in the town of Dudley was erected on the summit of a hill. The Pegan tribe of Indians gave four acres of land for its site in 1734, "on condition that all of their tribe, who should ever inhabit the town, should have the right to convenient seats in the meeting-house on days of public worship." As late as 1790, there were about a dozen of this tribe left who owned some two hundred acres of good land near the center of the town. They were cared for by a committee by the order of the General Court.*

About five miles distant from Manchang, now Oxford, a second town, called Chabanakongkomun, now Webster,† Major Gookin narrates:

"It hath its denomination from a very great pond, that borders upon the southward of it. This village is fifty-five miles south-west of Boston. There are about nine families and forty-five souls. The people are of sober deportment, and better instructed in the worship of God than any of the new praying towns. Their teacher's name is Joseph, who is one of the church of Hassanamessit; a sober, pious and ingenious person, and speaks English well, and is well read in the Scriptures.

the Nipmuck Indians of Oxford. On receiving a gift of money from Hon. Zachariah Allen of Providence, R. I., and other gentlemen present, she was much gratified with their attentions and the kindness extended to her. She exclaimed to a friend, "They have to-day made me a queen and crowned me with silver."

*The Indian seats in the church were two large corner pews in the gallery, over the door of the church, the places which in other churches were devoted to slaves or the poor.

†Sometimes named Chaubunagungamaug and Chargoggagoggman-choggagogg.

He was the first that settled this town, and got the people to him about two years since. It is a new plantation, and is well accommodated with uplands and meadows. At this place dwells an Indian called Black James, who, about a year since, was constituted constable of all the praying towns. He is a person that hath approved himself diligent and courageous, faithful and zealous to suppress sin ; and so he was confirmed in his office another year. In 1674 Mr. Eliot preached unto this people, and we prayed and sang psalms with them, and exhorted them to stand fast in the faith.

“ A part of one night we spent in discoursing with them, and resolving a variety of questions propounded by them, touching matters of religion and civil order.

“ The teacher Joseph and the constable James went with us into the next town, which is called Maanexit.”

In a letter from Rev. John Eliot to Hon. Robert Boyle, of London, dated April 22, 1684, are the following extracts :

“ This last gift of £400 for the impression of the Indian Bible doth set a diadem of beauty upon all your former acts of pious charity, and commandeth us to return unto your honour’s all thankful acknowledgments according to our abilities.”

Nov., 1683, £460 had also been advanced by the society.

“ The places where the Indians meet to worship God and sanctify the Sabbath are many ; the most are stated places, in the Massachusetts ; since the wars, are contracted into four — Natick, Ponkipoy (Stoughton), Wamesut (Lowell) and Chachaubunkkakowok (Webster).

“ The occasional meetings are at places of fishing, hunting, gathering chesnuts in their season.

“ In Plymouth Pattent there are about ten places where they meet to worship God.

“ An intelligent person of (Marthas) Vineyard reckoned up unto me ten places where God is worshiped every Lord’s day

in that Island. In Nantucket there be about five places of prayer and keeping Sabbaths.

“The seven old Christianized towns (praying towns) were Natick, Pakemitt or Punkapoag (Stoughton),—Ockocangan-sett (Marlborough),—Wamesitt (Lowell),—Hassanamesit (Grafton),—Nashobah (Littleton),—Magunkook (Hopkinton). These Indian communities extended from Hassanamesit eastward to English settlements on the eastern coast.”

Maj. Gookin, in his journal containing a sketch of a visit with Rev. John Eliot to the Nipmuck country in 1674, mentions the new Christianized towns, Manchaug (Oxford), twelve families,—Chabanakongkomun (Webster), five miles southerly, nine families,—Maanexit on Quinebaug river, four or five miles further south,—Quantisset (Thompson Hill), and Wabquasset, (Woodstock).

The territory of the jurisdiction of this tribe is not (definitely) defined by early historians. Gookin, high authority, includes within the Nipmuck country, as it was called, ten villages of Christianized Indians. Hassanamisset (Grafton), Manchaug (Oxford), Chabanakongkomun (Webster), Maanexit, Quantisset (Thompson Hill), Wabquasset (Woodstock), Quinsigamond (Worcester and Ward), Waentug (Uxbridge), Weshakin (Sterling and Nashua), near unto an English town called Lancaster and Quaboag or Quabaug (Brookfield).

CHAPTER IV.

SKETCH OF JOHN ELIOT.

Mr. Caverly, in his *Sketches of the life of the distinguished Rev. John Eliot*, relates (in the year 1631) when Mr. Eliot and his two brothers, Philip and Jacob, had resolved to leave England for a home in the Colonies, they made a visit to the tower of London to take leave of their uncle, Sir John Eliot, who was there imprisoned, being accused of uttering seditious speeches. "Hearing their approaching foot steps Sir John rising up turns himself as from a deep sleep, or from an absorbing reverie." After an exchange of friendly greetings, he pauses, listening to a brief detail of their designs for the future in leaving England for the New World.

"An extended hand, a half suppressed adieu, and the brothers leave. 'The Knight sinks back on his couch, thoughtful, silent, at rest.'"^{*}

Rev. John Eliot of England, sailed in November, 1631, in

^{*} Sir John Eliot, born in 1590, was a member of Parliament from Newport, and afterwards representing Cornwall, was a leader in the House in the latter part of the reign of James I, and in the first part of Charles I. In May 29, 1628, Sir John was charged with having declared in the House, that the Council and Judges conspired to trample under their feet, the liberties of the subject and the privileges of Parliament.

"He, with others, was summoned before the King's Bench, which led to his imprisonment. Sir John died in the Tower Nov. 27, 1632. This event was announced throughout the realm as the death of a martyr.

"The ancestor remote of the Rev. John Eliot, was Sir William d'Aliot, who came with William the Conqueror in 1066, when he landed in England with a fleet of seven hundred ships.

"Among the descendants was Augustus Eliot, honored as Lord Heathfield, and Sir Gilbert Eliot, Earl of Minto."—*Life of Eliot by Caverly.*

"the Lyon," with Governor Winthrop's family and others, bound for Boston, in New England. The Governor, himself, was already there. Arrived at Boston, Elliot, afterward had charge of a church in Roxbury. Soon following, Eliot's own affianced bride and other English emigrants, left England for New England, and made a settlement at Roxbury.—London Records of the New England Company.

Rev. John Eliot was born in 1604, at Nasing, in Essex, and educated at Cambridge. Eliot resigned his charge of the church in Roxbury in 1688, and died at the age of 86 in 1690, leaving his Indian work at Natick to be continued by one of the native Christian teachers.

When Mr. Eliot could no longer from declining years visit and instruct the Indians, he persuaded several families in Roxbury to send their negro servants to him, that he might instruct them in the Christian faith.

A PICTURE OF THE HOME LIFE IN THE NEW WORLD OF REV.
JOHN ELIOT.

"In 1650 Mr. Eliot received at his quiet humble cottage at Roxbury, Father Druillettes, a Jesuit Missionary among the Indians in Canada, who had been sent by Governor d'Aillebont to the Governor of Plymouth and Massachusetts Colony to engage the English in commercial relations with a view to secure them in an alliance against the Mohawk Indians, the enemies of the French. Father Druillettes has left a charming letter in French, describing his visit though not successful in his mission. Governor Endicot of Salem, treated him in a friendly way, and talked French with him. Governor Bradford of Plymouth invited him to dinner, and, 'it being on Friday entertained him with fish!'"

The Father describes his visit to "Mr. Heliot at Roxbury, who, it being November, invited him to stay and thus defer his journey back to Canada through the wintry wilderness;

but the priest could not remain.”—Extract from Boston Memorial History.

One loves to think of Eliot's humble cottage as thus graced. His Indian interpreters might have been crouching by the cheerful chimney; and one or more Indian youths, whom Eliot always had near him, might have looked on in wonder as the cassocked priest and the Puritan discussed the difficulties of the Indian tongue, in which both of them attained great skill, and accomplished their ministry as translators and preachers.

Besides a wife and daughter, Mr. Eliot had five sons, all of whom he trained for Harvard College; one of those died in his course, the other four became preachers.

Mr. Eliot in his visits to the Natick Indians was not unmindful of even the children, for “he always supplied himself with apples, nuts, sweetmeats, and other little gifts for the papooses.

“His own comfort and needs dropping out of thought in his care for others.”

He often carried on his Indian visits heavy and miscellaneous burdens.

The cast-off clothing, and even much that had not come to that indignity, of his own parishioners and friends and the widest compass of neighbors, was solicited and generally was borne on his horse's shoulders or crupper to eke out the civilized array of his red pupils.”

MR. ELIOT'S "JOURNEYS" TO THE INDIAN VILLAGE OF NATICK.

Mr. Eliot's rule was “to visit Natick once a fortnight, visiting in the alternate week Cutshamakin, in Dorchester, in all weathers, riding on his horse eighteen miles, by a way through woods, over hills, and swamps and streams, which his many journeys ultimately opened into a road from Boston to Natick.”

A LETTER FROM JOHN DUNTON TO REV. DR. SAMUEL ANNESLY,
IN LONDON.

“In this Letter I design to give you an account of my Ramble to Natick. A town of converted Indians, it is (as I am informed) about forty years since that the Great and Good Mr. Eliot, Pastor of the church in Roxbury (about a mile from Boston), set himself to learn the Indian Tongue, so that he might more easily and successfully open to them the Mystery of the Gospel. ‘This Reverend Person, not without very great Labour and Pains translated the Bible into the Indian language (Twelve of which he has presented me withal, charging me to let you have one of them); he has also Translated several English Treatises, of Practical Divinity and Catechisms, into the Indian Tongue. Twenty-six years ago he gathered a church of converted Indians in a Town called Natick, being about twenty miles distant from Boston.... In this Town of Natick being the first formed town of the converted (or as they are called, Praying) Indians, there was appointed a General Lecture to be annually kept, and the Lecture to be preached half in the Indian, and half in the English Tongue for the Benefit of all that did repair to it:*

“To this Lecture (being kept in the Summer time) it is very usual for severall of the Bostonians (or inhabitants of Boston) to go; and I being acquainted with some that intended to go thither, and being (you know Sir) of a Rambling Fancy, and still for making New Discoveries, as also I had a great desire to be among the Indians, resolved to take that opportunity, and go along with them....

“The Day of the Natick Lecture being come, and all things being ready for our Journey, I mounted on my steed with Madam Brick (Breck) (the Flower of Boston) behind me ac-

*John Dunton's *Letters from New England*, page 207. In the Publications of the Prince Library.

accompanied with Mr. Green and his Wife, Mrs. Toy, the Damsel, Mr. Mallinson, Mr. King, and Mr. Cook and Mrs. Middleton; with thirty or forty Persons more unknown, who went on the same Errand as we did, *vide licet*, to hear the Natick Sermon preached to the converted Indians, as is the usuall Custom every year.

“Being thus equipp’d Sir, and my Companions such as I have mentioned . . . we set forward for Natick the Indian Town, we set forward through many Woods whose well spread Branches made a pleasing shade, and kept us from the Sun’s too seorching heat; which made me say to my fair Fellow Traveller behind me, That we were much beholding to those woods for their refreshing Shade which they afforded us; (of which we were then the more sensible, because we had but lately rid over some open Commons).

“Madame Brick told me, what I said was very true; But, added she, if these poor Woods afford us such a delightful shade, O what a blessed shade is Jesus Christ, who screens us from the Seorching Beams of Divine Wrath; and whom the Scripture represents, with respect to his People, as the Shadow of a great Rock in a weary Land; To signifie that Comfort and Refreshing that true Believers find in him; ‘Madam,’ said I, you have spoke true in what you’ve said; and yet Christ is represented as a Sun, as well as a Shade; To this Mrs. Toy who rid by us reply’d, He is indeed represented both as a Sun and as a Shade, and yet no contradiction; He is a Sun, shining with the Warm Beams of Love and Grace, to cherish and revive the Drooping Soul, and as a Shade for the Refreshment of the Weary and heavy laden, ‘You are right,’ said Mr. Green, who over-heard us; Christ is set forth in Scripture, under several Denominations to represent to us that fulness that is in him, and to shew us that there is nothing we can want, but ’tis to be found in him: And such a Saviour (said his Wife) it is we stand in need of, that is an All sufficient Good, and ade-

quate to all our wants. And surely, said I, such a Saviour is only Jesus Christ ; He is the great Panpharmacon, who cures all our Diseases, and supplies all our Wants ;

“ If we want Riches, he exhorts us to buy of him gold try’d in the Fire ; if we want cloathing, he has the only garment of Salvation ; if we are sick, he is the great Physician ; if we are wounded, he is the Balm of Gilead ; if we are hungry, he is the Bread of Life ; and if we are thirsty, he can give us Living Waters ; And when the Royal Psalmist would sum up all, in a few words, he tells us, He is both a Sun and Shield and will Grace and Glory, and no good thing will he withhold from them that walk uprightly.”

“ I had scarce done speaking, when Mr. Cook rides up to me, and says, I thought we had been going to Natick to hear a Sermon there ; ‘ Why so we are,’ said I, ‘ Why then,’ said he, do you forestall the Market, and make a Sermon on the Road ? I told him ’twas no Sermon, but only a discourse that happen to be rais’d among us . . .

“ Mr. Cook so rid on before to Water-Town, whither we all came presently after, and when we presently alighted and refresh’t our Luggage, and while others were engaged in Frothy Discourses, the Widow Brick and I took a view of the Town.

“ Having well refresh’d ourselves at Water-Town, we mounted again, and from thence we Rambled through severall Tall Woods between the Mountains, over many rich and pregnant Valleys, as ever eye beheld, beset on each side with variety of goodly Trees. So, had the most Skilful Gardner design’d a Shady Walk in a fine Valley, it wou’d have fallen short of that which Nature here had done without him ; which is a clear Demonstration that Nature Exceeds Art, and that Art is but a weak and imperfect Imitation of Nature ; which has far more beauty in her Works, than Art can e’er pretend to ; Art may (for instance) delineate the Beauty of a Rose, and

make it very lovely to the Eye, but Nature only gives it Life and Fragrancy. . . .

“As we rid along that lovely valley I have mentioned Sir, we saw many lovely Lakes or Ponds well stored with Fish and Beavers. . . . (We had about Twenty Miles to Natiek, where the best Accommodations we cou’d meet, were very course, We ty’d up our Horses in two old Barns that were almost laid in Ruines But there was no place where we cou’d bestow ourselves unless, upon the Green-sward, till the Lecture began.

“The Wigwams or Indian Houses are no more than so many Tents, and their way of Building ’em is this: They first take long Poles, and make ’em fast in the ground, and then cover them with Mats on the outside, which they tye to the Poles. Their Fire place is made in the Middle, and they leave a little opening upon the Top uncover’d with the Mats, which serves for a chimney. Their Doors are usually two, and made opposite to each other, which they open or shut according as the Wind sits, and these are either made of Mats or the Barks of Trees.”—John Dunton’s Letters from New England.

“The men being most abominably slothful, and making their poor Squaws (for so they call their wives) do all their Drudgery, and Labour in the Field as well as at Home, planting and dressing their Corn and building also their Wigwams (or houses for them). . . . They continue in a place until they have burnt up all the Wood there-a-bouts and then remove their Wigwams and follow that therefore Wood which they can’t fetch home to themselves; And therefore thinking all others like themselves; They say English come hither because they wanted firing.

“Their coats are made of divers sorts of Skins, whence they have their Deer-Skin Coats; their Beaver-Coats; their Otter-Coats, their Rakoon-Skin Coats and their Squirrel Skin Coats. They have also a Coat or Mantle curiously made of the finest

and fairest feathers of their Turkies, which their old Men make, and is with them as velvet is with us in Esteem. Within this Coat or Skin they creep very contentedly, by day or night, in the House or in the Woods; and sleep soundly too counting it a great happiness that every man is content with his skin. . . . They have also the skin of a great Beast called Moose, as big as an Ox, which some call a red Deer, which they commonly paint for their Summer Wearing, with variety of Forms and colours.

“We went to visit their Indian Sachin and Queen; I stepped up and kiss’d the Indian Queen, making her two very low Bows, which she returned very civilly. The Sachin was very tall and well limb’d, but had no Beard, and a sort of Horse Face. The Queen was well shap’d, and her Features might pass pretty well; she had Eyes as black as Jet, and Teeth as white as Ivory; her Hair was very black and long, and she was considerably up in years; her Dress peculiar, she had Sleeves of Moose Skin, very finely dress’d and drawn with Lines of various Colours in its Asiatick Work, and her Buskins were of the same sort; her mantle was of fine blew cloath, but very short, and ty’d about her Shoulders and at the Middle with a Zone, curiously wrought with White and Blew Beads into pretty Figures; her Bracelets and her Necklace were of the same sort of Beads, and she had a little Tablet upon her Breast very finely deck’d with Jewels and Precious Stones; her Hair was comb’d back and ty’d up with a Border, which was neatly work’d both with Gold and Silver. . . .

“After we had been entertained by the (Indian) King and Queen, and left them, We were told that the meeting was near beginning, upon which Notice we went to the Meeting, where Mr. Gookins preached upon this Text:

“‘It is appointed unto Men once to dye, and after that, the Judgment.’ The poor Indians appear’d to me to sit under the Word with great Seriousness and Attention, and many of them seem’d very much affected under it. . . .

“It was about Four in the Afternoon when the Lecture was ended, And we, having 20 long miles back to Boston, were making the best of our way, and therefore Mr. Mallinson, one of our Company, presently cry’d to Horse, to Horse, which we did accordingly in the same Order as we came. . . . After three hours hard Riding we got safe home to Boston.”

SKETCH OF ROBERT BOYLE.

In 1644 Robert Boyle returned from his travels on the continent to England, and only after waiting four months, such was the confusion consequent upon the battle of Marston Moor, reached Stalbridge Manor, which he had inherited from his father’s estate; he subsequently removed to Oxford and then to London, where he passed the remainder of his life.

The political condition of England during Boyle’s life was unfavorable to the repose of scholarship, as he was born during the reign of Charles I, lived during the Commonwealth and the turmoil of the Restoration, through the reigns of Charles II and James II, and died soon after the accession of William of Orange.*

* Robert Boyle actively promoted the interests of the East India Company, being one of the directors of the company.

He gave a handsome douceur for the translation of Grotius’ Truth of the Christian Religion into Arabic, paid the expense of printing it at Oxford in 1660, and disseminated it widely amongst Arabic-speaking people.

He paid £700 towards printing and circulating the Bible in the Irish dialect by Dr. Wm. Bodell, Bishop of Kilmore, in Ireland, and contributed largely towards another edition to be circulated among the Welsh and in the Highlands of Scotland.

He contributed largely towards publishing Bishop Burnet’s History of the Reformation.

Extract from a letter from the London Propagation Society:

“Sept. 14, 1677.

“To the Honorable Robert Boyle, Esq., one of the directors of the

Extract from the will of Hon. Robert Boyle is dated the 18th day of July, 1691, in the third year of the reign of our sovereign lord and lady William and Mary, by the grace of God King and Queen of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defenders of the faith. The will was signed 25 July, 1691.

“First and chiefly, I commend my soul to Almighty God, my Creator, with full confidence of the pardon of all my sins in and through the mediation of my alone Saviour Jesus Christ ; and my body I commit to the earth, to be decently buried within the cities of London or Westminster, in case I die in England, without escutcheons or unnecessary pomp, and without any superfluous ceremonies, and without the expense of above two hundred and fifty pounds.

“Being likewise desirous when I come to die to have nothing to do but to die Christianly, without being hindered, by any avoidable distraction, from employing the last hours of my life in sending up my desires and meditations before me to heaven.”

One of the items as found in the will of Hon. Robert Boyle :

“Whereas I had set apart, among other things, the sum of £400 for certain pious uses, and whereas his late Majesty King Charles the Second having, by his special grace and favour without my seeking or knowledge, been pleased to constitute me governor of the corporation for propagating the Gospel amongst the heathen natives of New England and other parts of America,

East India Company for trade, and governor of the Corporation of the Gospel and the conversion of the American natives in New England.

“Your charity is not limited only to the East Indies, for the poor souls of the West Indies are also bound to bless you, you being the head of that corporation which is established by his Majesty at London for the receiving and disposing of the benefactions of well-minded Christians (to which the said corporation do usually add of their own no small mites), to be transmitted to the commissioners of the united colonies in New England, and there to be employed for the propagation of the Gospel.”—*Life of Robert Boyle*, London edition.

hath thereby given me opportunity to discern that work to be unquestionably pious and charitable ; and whereas I have given and paid the sum of three hundred pounds towards that piety, I do hereby give and devise the sum of one hundred pounds more to the said corporation (though, by reason of sickness and infirmity, I have resigned the office of governor), to be set aside and employed as a stock for the relief of the poor Indian converts, which I hope will prove of good effect for the advancement of the pious work for which they are constituted, and which I heartily pray him, whose glory the work itself tends unto (and I hope the persons intrusted with it aim at), to give them a prosperous success."

"From a fund arising under the 'will' of the Hon. Robert Boyle, the first governor of the Company."

"As re-established after the restoration. By virtue of his 'will' the Company in 1695 acquired a perpetual rent-charge of £90 a year for Missionaries to the natives of New England."

"The income of the funds subject to the Hon. Robert Boyle's Trust, is applicable to the following purpose: For the advancement of the Christian religion among infidels in divers parts of America under the Crown of the United Kingdom."

In person the Hon. Robert Boyle was tall and slight in figure, of quiet manners, but of great elegance and dignity.

He was unostentatious in all affairs of public or private life.

Charles II, James II and William III were so charmed with his conversation that they often sought his society, admitted him to the palace with the slightest possible formality and discoursed with him with familiarity.

These three sovereigns successively offered him a peerage, but all these honors he declined in his devotion to learning.

He died December 31, 1691, aged 65 years ; his remains were laid in the chancel of St. Martin's in the Field, Westminster. The audience at his funeral included nearly all the

people of station, influence or learning in the Kingdom. Bishop Burnet preached his remarkable sermon from the words: "For God giveth to a man that is good in his sight, wisdom, and knowledge and joy."

Bishop Burnet sums up his brilliant eulogium of his character in the following strain:

"I will not amuse you with a list of his astonishing knowledge, or of his great performances in this way. They are highly valued all the world over, and his name is everywhere mentioned with particular characters of respect."*

*The family position of Hon. Robert Boyle may be of interest to the antiquary: He was the son of the Right Hon. Richard Boyle, the first Earl of Cork, in Ireland. "The Earl of Cork," who being born a private gentleman, and the younger brother of a younger brother, to no other inheritance than is expressed in the motto, which his humble gratitude inscribed upon all the palaces which he built, and indeed ordered to be placed upon his tomb.

"God's Providence, mine Inheritance." By which Providence, and God's blessing upon his own prudent industry, he raised himself to such an honor and estate, and left such a family as never any subject in these three Kingdoms did, and (which is more) with so unspotted a reputation of integrity, that the narrowest scrutiny could find nothing to except against, in all the methods of his rising, though they were searched into most severely.

"This noble Lord was blessed with an ample progeny, having five sons, whereof he lived to see four of them Lords, and Peers of the Kingdom of Ireland, and the fifth (Robert) though not equal in titles, yet as truly famous, and honorable for his piety, parts and learning. He had also eight daughters, whereof the eldest, the Lady Alice, was married to the Lord Baramore; the second, the Lady Sarah, was married to the Lord Digby, of Ireland; the third, the Lady Letitia, to the eldest son of the Lord Goring, who dyed Earl of Norwich; the fourth, the Lady Joan, to the Earl of Kildare, Premier Earl of Ireland, and of the Antientest House in Christendom, of that degree, the present Earl being the sixth, or seventh and twentieth of lineal descent from the same."

"(A great Antiquary hath observed, that the three Antientest Families in Europe for Nobility, are the Veres in England, Earls of Oxford, and

CHAPTER V.

PHILIP'S WAR.

"Philip's War, 1675-76, was very disastrous to the labors of Mr. Eliot, and almost entirely suspended them. The irritation against the Indians was very great, and jealousy and distrust of his converts were everywhere rife, and the rage of the people was violent and alarming.

"Mr. Gookin and Mr. Eliot incurred much abuse."—Morton's N. E. Mem. 391.

the Fitz-Geralds in Ireland, Earls of Kildare, and the Momorancies in France.)

"The fifth, the Lady Katherine, was married to the Lord viscount Ranelagh; the sixth, was the Lady Dorothy Loftus; the seventh, the Lady Mary, which shut up and Crowned this Noble Train, was Married to Charles (Rich), Earl of Warwick, of whom it may be truly sayd: 'Many Daughters, all his Daughters, did virtuously, but she surmounted them all.'

"The eighth, the Lady Margaret died unmarried.

The Earl of Cork states that "Being the second son of a younger brother, and it pleased the Almighty by his divine providence to take me, as it were, by the hand, and lead me into Ireland; when I happily arrived at Dublin, on the Midsummer-eve, the 23d of June, 1588.

"When I first arrived at Dublin in Ireland, all my wealth then, was twenty-seven pounds, three shillings in money, and two tokens which my mother had given me, viz.: a diamond ring, which I have ever since and still do wear, and a bracelet of gold worth about ten pounds; a taffety doublet, cut with and upon taffety; a pair of black velvet breeches laced; a new Milan fustian suit laced and cut upon taffety; two cloaks; competent linen and necessaries with my rapier, and dagger."

The Earl of Cork married Catherine, the daughter of Sir Geoffrey Fenton.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM REV. JOHN ELIOT TO HON.
ROBERT BOYLE, AFTER PHILIP'S WAR.

“ROXBURY, *October 23, 1677.*

“Right honourable nursing father:

“The poor praying Indians do thankfully acknowledge that (under God our heavenly father, and under Jesus Christ our redeemer, who redeemeth us out of all our troubles) you have been the means and instrument in his hand, to save and deliver us. God moved your heart to own us, in that black day when all were against us, and we were almost ready to be swallowed up in destruction; which dark time we ought not to forget, nor your owning kindness, unto us in that dark day. And since that, your charity hath greatly revived and refreshed us. Many of our aged, decrepid, fatherless, and widows, still wear the garments, not yet worn out, which your charity did the last winter, clothe us withal. And although we yet know not what our honoured commissioners will do for us, whose favour we doubt not of.

“Notwithstanding Philip had renewed a treaty of peace with the English in 1671, he appears to have been in a conspiracy with the Indians against the English that there should be a general uprising of the Indians to destroy all the English plantations in the country. The Narragansett Indians having promised Philip to furnish him with four thousand fighting men in the spring of 1676, to aid in exterminating the English.*

* One of the articles of Philip's Treaty with the English, 1671 :

“I am willing and do promise to pay unto the government of Plimouth, one hundred pounds in such things as I have; But I would intreat the favor that I might have three years to pay it in, for as much as I cannot do it at present.

“I do promise to send unto the Governor, or whom he shall appoint, five wolves heads, if I can get them; or, as many as I can procure, until they come to five wolves yearly.”

"In 1671 Philip had been compelled by the English to deliver up all the English arms in his tribe. The compulsion rankled sorely; to the Indians it appeared an aggression as they had become acquainted with the use of English fire-arms, and being convinced of their superiority over bows and arrows, would give almost any amount in wampun, beaver skins, or even in land, in exchange for them."

Though not an unprejudiced historian, Hubbard states:

"It is apparent upon what terms the English stood with the Narragansetts, ever since the cutting off Miantonomo, their chief sachem's head by Uncas, it being done with the advice and consent of the English. Anno 1643."

"A taste for havoc was established between heathen Wampanoag and half converted Nipmuck. Without provocation, and without warning, they gave full sway to the inhuman passions of their savage nature, and broke into a wild riot of pillage, arson and massacre."—Palfrey, III, 159.

In the summer of 1675, and in the autumn and winter following, the Nipmuck Indians burned the towns of Brookfield, Lancaster, Mendon, and Worcester, which were the only English settlements in the present Worcester county.

Brookfield, the Indian name of which was Quaboag or Quabang, originally included North and West Brookfield. This place was, for a long time, an isolated settlement between the towns on the Connecticut river, viz., Agawam (Springfield), Hartford, Windsor and Weathersfield and the sea-board. It suffered severely by the assaults of the Indians. Brookfield was granted for a township in 1665. It was the nearest settlement to Marlborough.

"At what is West Brookfield, near to the south-west end of Wekabang* Pond, on a knoll below the junction of the waters of the pond with the Quaboag river, stood Mark's garrison."

*" In the Indian language meaning Sweet Water."

Mrs. Mark, being left alone, one day, discovered hostile Indians near the garrison, waiting for an opportunity of attack; she immediately put on her husband's wig, hat and great coat, and taking his gun went to the top of the fortification; "marching backwards and forwards, and vociferating, like a vigilant sentinel, All's well! All's well!" This ruse led the Indians to believe they could not take the place by surprise and they retired.*

MEMINISSET, NOW NEW BRAINTREE.

On the westerly side of the town of Brookfield there is a large brook called Meminisset brook, the name given to it by the Indians. On this brook there is a luxuriant meadow of several hundred acres called Meminisset. When a hideous swamp, this was the headquarters of the Indians at the time when Brookfield was burnt by the Indians. The General Court of Massachusetts having granted six thousand acres of land to certain persons of the ancient town of Braintree, in the county of Suffolk, for services by them done to the public. It was called and known by the style of Braintree Farms. This tract of land, with a part of Brookfield and a part of Hardwick, was incorporated 1751 with the name of New Braintree.†

The town of Lancaster goes far back into the history of Massachusetts; it had been known to the English in 1643 as

*The Indian proprietors of Quaboag, now Brookfield, had given to the Rev. John Eliot, late of Roxbury, clerk, deceased, "a tract of land at a place known as 'Alum Ponds,' lying in the wilderness west of Brookfield, of one thousand acres, as a tribute of their affection for him." Date of the grant September 27, 1655. This grant was confirmed by the Legislature in 1715 to John Eliot, his grandson.

†Meminisset was known, in 1675, as the "chief Indian town of the Nipmuck Indians;" and also as the place where Capt. Edward Hutchinson, of Boston, was shot by the Indians in an effort to make a treaty with them and the English. Mrs. Rowlandson, of Lancaster, was taken by the Indians to this place while a captive.

the Indian town of Nashaway. It was incorporated as a town in 1653.

Sterling was for many years the second parish in Lancaster; in 1781 it became incorporated and received its present name.

Gov. Winthrop's History of New England dates the settlement of the Indian town of Nashaway, May, 1644, by the English, and refers to events preceding that time.

The whole of the territory was in subjection to Sholan, or Shanmaw, Sachem of the Nashuays, and whose residence was at Waushacum,* now Sterling, then a part of Lancaster.† Sholan occasionally visited Watertown for the purpose of trading with Mr. Thomas King who resided there.

"He recommended Nashawogg to King as a place well suited for a plantation, and desired the English would come and set down by him."

Stipulating not to molest the Indians in their hunting, fishing or planting places.

MENDON.

"At a General Court holden in Boston, October 16, 1660, they judge meete and proper to grant a plantation."

The deed from the Indians to the English is dated April 22, 1662, witnessed by John Eliot, Sr. and John Eliot, Jr.

Jan. 1, 1669, O. S. "The town men chose the Colonell to be returned to the Courte to gain power to take the verdict of ye jury upon ye death of John Lovett — to marry — and to give the present constable his oath."

These powers were conferred upon Colonel Crowne at a General Court at Boston, May, 1669, O. S.

The English who made a settlement in Mendon were from Braintree and Weymouth.

With the distinguished names of Atherton and Crowne, are

* Sometimes spelled Weshakim. † History of Lancaster.

found Abraham Staples (gentleman), Ferdinando Thayer, Daniel Lovett and others.

The Indian name of the town of Mendon was Nipmug.

In the first settlement of the town by the English, there were four gentlemen elected by the Court, called the committee for Nipmug, Major Humphrey Atherton and three others and "only three of them shall be and are hereby impowered to make a valid act there."

May 15, 1667, the plantation of Nipmug which was now called Quinshepange was incorporated by the name of Mendon, Suffolk county.

EXPEDITION OF THE ENGLISH INTO THE NARRAGANSETT COUNTRY.

In the autumn of 1675 it appeared to the English that the Indians had withdrawn themselves into their winter quarters; some to the Dutch river (Hudson); others to the Narragansett fort.*

The English were persuaded that there should be an immediate attack where so many of the Narragansett Indians were

Settlement of Worcester.—A tract of land eight miles square was purchased of the Indians for twelve pounds lawful money. The deed bears date July 13, 1674.

Dec. 2, 1675, Increase Mather writes:

"This day all the houses in Quonsukamuck (Worcester) were burnt by the Indians."

The buildings had been previously deserted by the inhabitants through fear of an Indian attack.

A second attempt to make an English settlement at Quinsigamond (Worcester) was undertaken in 1683, and the name of Worcester given to the settlement in 1684, from a petition of Major Daniel Gookin and others.

In 1694 the settlement was abandoned.

In 1713 a permanent settlement was made in Worcester by the English.

* The fort of the Narragansetts was in South Kingston, R. I.

gathered together, for if not attacked they would join Philip in the spring, in exterminating the English throughout the country.

When the soldiers were mustered into service on Dedham Plain against the Narragansett Indians, in what was called the "Narragansett fight," they were told by authority of government,

"That if they 'played the man,' took the fort, and drove the enemy from the Narragansett country, they should have a gratuity of land, besides their wages."

The ancestors of the following families of Oxford were engaged in the taking of the Narragansett Fort, viz.:

Peter Shumway of Topsfield, Mass. ; Lieut. Isaac Learned, Framingham, Mass. ; Stephen Butler of Boston, Mass., and the descendants of Major Bradford of Plymouth, Mass.

DESCRIPTION OF THE NARRAGANSETT FORT, AS GIVEN BY HUBBARD.

"The fort was raised upon a kind of island of five or six acres of rising land in the midst of a swamp ; the sides of it were made of pallsadoes, set upright, which was compassed about with an hedge of almost a rod thickness, through which there was no passing, unless they would have fired a way through, which then they had no time to do. The place where the Indians used ordinarily to enter themselves, was upon a long tree over a place of water, where but one man could enter at a time, and which was so waylaid that they would have been cut off that had ventured there ; but at one corner there was a cap made up only with a long tree, about four or five feet from the ground, over which men might easily pass, but they had placed a kind of a block-house right over against the said tree, from thence they sorely galled our men that first entered, some being shot dead upon the tree, and some as soon as they entered."

The Narragansetts having been driven out of their country,

fled through the Nipnet plantations toward Wachuset hills, meeting with all the Indians that had harbored during the winter in those woods about Nashua; they all combined against the English to exterminate them.

Philip was not discovered when the fort was taken by the English, and yet soon afterward he was at Lancaster when the attack was made upon that place by the Indians. It is supposed he was concealed in the Narragansett country.

At the outbreak of the Narragansett war in 1675, the Nipmuck Indians joined King Philip, and after his defeat in his own country, the lands about the Wachusetts became one of the head-quarters of his followers, where he was frequently present.

Although some of them had received the Christian instruction of Eliot and Gookin, they made the disastrous attack upon Lancaster.

It was on February 10, 1675, O. S., that the Indians made a descent upon Lancaster with 1,500 warriors, and massacred or carried into captivity the inhabitants. Early in the morning the Wampanoags under Philip, accompanied by the Narragansetts, his allies, and the Nipmucks whom Philip had persuaded to join with him, made this attack upon Lancaster, joined by the Nashaways under Sagamore Sam. The Indians directed their course to the home of Master Joseph Rowlandson, the minister of Lancaster; the house was defended as a garrison, it was filled with soldiers and inhabitants to the number of from forty to fifty. Mr. Rowlandson himself was absent from home, being in Boston to request Governor Leverett and Council to give the town of Lancaster military aid.

"The enemy after several unsuccessful attempts to set fire to the building, filled a cart with combustible matter and approached in the rear."

Hubbard relates, "The fortification was on the back side of the house, being closed up with fire-wood. The Indians reached

so near as to fire a leanter (leanto), and in this way soon the whole house was enveloped in flames, and the inhabitants finding further resistance useless were compelled to surrender to avoid perishing in the ruins."

The story of Mrs. Rowlandson's captivity must be read in her "Inimitable Removes," as the narrative presents scenery and pictures of Indian life that cannot elsewhere be found.

Mrs. Rowlandson narrates: "At length they came and beset our own house, and quickly it was the dolefullest day that ever my eyes saw. The house stood upon the edge of a hill; some of the Indians got behind the hill, others in the barn, and others behind any thing that could shelter them; from all of which places they shot against the house, so that the bullets seemed to fly like hail, and quickly they wounded one man among us, then another, and then a third. About two hours (according to my observation in that amazing time) they had been about the house before they prevailed to fire it (which they did with flax and hemp, which they brought out of the barn, and there being no defence about the house, only two flankers at two opposite corners, and one of them not finished) they fired it once and one ventured out and quenched it, but they quickly fired it again, and that took. Now is that dreadful hour come, that I have often heard of (in the time of the war, as it was the case of others), but now mine eyes see it. Some in our house were fighting for their lives, others wallowing in their blood, the house on fire over our heads, and the bloody heathen ready to knock us on the head if we stirred out. Now might we hear mothers and children crying out for themselves and one another, Lord what shall we do!

"Then I took my children to go forth and leave the house, but as soon as we came to the door and appeared, the Indians shot so thick that the bullets rattled against the house as if one had taken a handful of stones and threw them, so that we were forced to give back. We had six stout dogs belonging to our

garrison, but none of them would stir, though another time, if an Indian had come to the door they were ready to fly upon him and tear him down.

Mrs. Rowlandson was shot through the side and the same bullet wounded her child of six years old.

"The Indians laid hold of us pulling me one way, and the children another, and said come go along with us, I told them they would kill me; they answered if I were willing to go along with them they would not hurt me. . . .

"Now we must go with those barbarous creatures with our bodies wounded and bleeding, and our hearts no less than our bodies; about a mile we went that night, up upon a hill within sight of the town, where they intended to lodge.

"There was hard by a vacant house deserted by the English before, for fear of the Indians, I asked them whether I might not lodge in that house that night? To which they answered, what will you love Englishmen still?

"This was the dolefullest night that ever my eyes saw."

Mrs. Rowlandson is now a captive of the Indians, is treading her way through the thickets of trackless forest in the midst of winter, with no comforts to supply her necessities and nothing but the unmingled fear of a hopeless captivity in the future.

"The next morning one of the Indians carried my poor wounded (child) upon a horse; it went moaning all along, I shall die, I shall die; I went on foot after it, with sorrow that cannot be expressed.

"At length I took it off the horse, and carried it in my arms, till my strength failed and I fell down with it. They then set me upon a horse with my wounded child . . . , and there being no furniture upon the horse's back, as we were going down a steep hill, we both fell over the horse's head, at which they like inhuman creatures laughed and rejoiced to see it, though I thought we should there have ended our days as overcome with so many difficulties. . . . After this it quickly began to snow,

and when night came on, they stopped; and now down I must sit in the snow, by a little fire, and a few boughs behind me with my sick child . . . , and (she)^e calling much for water, being through the wound fallen into a violent fever.

“The morning being come they proposed to go on their way; one of the Indians got up upon a horse, and they set me up behind him, with my poor sick child A very wearisome tedious day I had of it; what with my own wound, and my child being so exceeding sick, and in a lamentable condition with her wound, it might easily be judged what a poor feeble condition we were in, there being not the least crumb of refreshing that came within either of our mouths from Wednesday night to Saturday night, except only a little cold water.

“This day in the afternoon, about an hour by sun, they came to the place where they intended, viz.: an Indian town called Meminimisset (New Braintree), northward of Quaboag (Brookfield).

“The next day was the Sabbath. I sat much alone with my poor wounded child, which moaned night and day, having nothing to revive the body or cheer the spirits of her; but instead of that, one Indian would come and tell me one hour, and your master will knock your child on the head, and then a second, and then a third, your master will quickly knock your child on the head. This was the comfort I had from them; miserable comforters were they all.

“Thus nine days I sat. My child being ready to depart this sorrowful world, they bid me carry it out to another wigwam. (I suppose because they would not be troubled with such spectacles.)

“About two hours in the night, my sweet (child), like a lamb, departed this life on February 18, 1675. It being about six years and five months old . . . In the morning, when they understood that my child was dead, they sent for me to my master's wigwam. (By my master in this writing must be understood Gunnaopin, who was a Sagamore, and married K. Philip's

wife's sister ; not that he first took me, but I was sold to him by a Narraganset Indian, who took me when I first came out of the garrison.) I went to take up my dead child in my arms to carry it with me, but they bid me let it alone. There was no resisting, but go I must and leave it. When I had been awhile at my master's wigwam, I took the first opportunity I could get to go look after my dear child.

"When I came, I asked them what they had done with it? They told me it was upon the hill ; then they went and showed me where it was where I saw the ground was newly digged and where they told me they had buried it. There I left that child in the wilderness. . . .

"I went to see my daughter Mary, who was at this same Indian town, at a wigwam not very far off, though we had but little liberty or opportunity to see one another. She was about ten years old, and taken from the door at first by a praying Indian, and afterward sold for a gun. When I came in sight, she would fall a weeping, at which they were provoked and would not let me come near her, but bid me begone, which was a heart-cutting word to me. I had one child dead, another in the wilderness, I knew not where ; the third they would not let me come near to. . . . *

"For as I was going up and down mourning and lamenting my condition, my son came to me, and asked me how I did. I had not seen him before since the destruction of the town, and I knew not where he was till I was informed by himself that he was amongst a smaller parcel of Indians, whose place was about six miles off. With tears in his eyes, he asked me whether his sister Sarah was dead, and told me he had seen his sister Mary, and prayed me I would not be troubled in reference to himself. . . .

"In time of his master's absence to burn and assault Medfield, his dame brought him to see me.

* She parted with Mary ; saw her no more until she was restored to her in Dorchester after her captivity.

"The next day the Indians returned from Medfield (all the company), for those that belonged to the smaller company came through the town that now we were at; but before they came to us, oh the outrageous roaring and hooping that there was! They began their din about a mile before they came to us; by their noise they signified how many they had destroyed (which was at that time twenty-three); those that were with us at home were gathered together as soon as they heard the whooping, and every time the other went over their number those at home gave a shout that the very earth rang again, and thus they continued until those that had been upon the expedition were come to the Saggamore's wigwam. And then, oh the hideous, insulting and triumphing there was over some Englishmen's scalps that they had taken and brought with them as their manner is.

"The Indians now began to talk of removing from this place, some one way and some another."

Hubbard states that ten days after the attack upon Lancaster "the Indians were so flushed with this success, that two or three hundred of them came wheeling down to Medfield, and they burnt near one-half of the town, killing about twenty persons."—Hubbard's "Indian Wars," p. 168.

Mr. Hubbard states with great credulity, "The week before this disaster was heard a very hideous cry of a kennel of wolves round the town, which raised some of the inhabitants, and was looked upon by divers persons as an ominous presaging of the following calamity."

"In 1676, this 26th day of March, being the first day of the week, as the first of the year after our Julian account, seemed ominous at the first, on sundry accounts, threatening a gloomy time, yet proved in the issue, but as a lowering morning before a lightsome day."*

*February 21, 1676. In the attack upon Medfield, "Philip had been seen by the inhabitants riding upon a black horse, leaping over fences, exulting in the havoc he was making.

Mrs. Rowlandson while in captivity, continuing her narrative "upon the Sabbath days I could look upon the scene, and think how people were going to the house of God to have their souls refreshed, and their homes and their bodies also. I remember how, on the night before and after the Sabbath, when my family were about me, and relations and neighbors with us, we could pray and sing, and refresh ourselves with the good creatures of God."

Some of the Indians, with the master and mistress of Mrs. Rowlandson pursued their way through the forest toward Northampton. Mrs. Rowlandson narrates "I carried only my knitting work, and two quarts of parched corn. Being very faint I asked my mistress to give me one spoonful of meal, but she would not give me a taste; I was at this time knitting a pair of white cotton stockings for my mistress.

"On the morrow we must go over Connecticut river to meet with King Philip. In this travel up the river, as I sat among them musing on things past, my son Joseph unexpectedly came to me; we asked of each other's welfare, bemoaning our doleful condition.

"We travelled all night, and in the morning we must go over the river to Philip's crew. I fell a weeping; then one of them asked me why I wept; I could hardly tell what to say, yet I answered, they would kill me. No, said he, none will hurt you. Then came one of them, and gave me two spoonfuls of meal (to comfort me), and another gave me half a pint of pease.

"Then I went to see King Philip, he bid me come in and sit down, and asked me whether I would smoke it.

"Now the Indians gather their Forces to go against Northampton; over night one went about yelling and hooting to give notice of the design. Whereupon they went to boiling of ground nuts and parching of corn (as many as had it) for their provision, and in the morning away they went.

"During my abode in this place Philip spake to me to make a shirt for his boy, which I did, for which he gave me a shilling. I offered the money to my master, but he bid me keep it, and with it I bought a piece of horse flesh. Afterward he asked me to make a cap for his boy for which he invited me to dinner. I went and he gave me a pan cake about as big as two fingers; it was made of parched wheat, beaten and fried in bear's grease, but I thought I never tasted pleasanter meat in my life.

"There was a squaw who spoke to me to make a shirt for her sannup for which she gave me a piece of bear another asked me to knit her a pair of stockings for which she gave me a quart of pease. I boiled my pease and bear together, and invited my master and mistress to dinner; but the proud gossip, because I served them both in one dish would eat nothing, except one bit he gave her upon the point of his knife.

"The Indians returning from Northampton brought with them horses and sheep. I desired them that they would carry me to Albany upon one of those horses and sell me for powder, for so they had sometimes discoursed, but instead of going to Albany or homeward we must go five miles up the river and then go over it.

"When we were at this place my master's maid came home, she had been gone three weeks into the Narragansett country to fetch corn where they had stored up some in the ground.

"She brought home about a peek and a half of corn — this was about the time that their great Captain Naananto was killed in the Narragansett country.*

"My son being about a mile from me I asked liberty to go and see him; they bid me go and away I went.

* An attack was made on Northampton, March 14.— Hubbard's "Indian Wars."

Naananto (Nanunttenoo) *alias* Canonchet.

The chief Sachems usually changing their names at every great dance.
— Hubbard, page 82.

"And going among the wigwams I went into one and there found a squaw — showed herself very kind to me, and gave me a piece of bear. . . . In the morning I went again to the same squaw, who had a kettle of ground nuts boiling ; I asked her to let me boil my piece of bear in her kettle, which she did and gave me some ground nuts to eat with it. Sometimes I met with favor and sometimes with nothing but frowns.

"I asked my master if he would sell me to my husband, he answered nux, which did rejoice my spirit. Instead of going toward the bay (which was what I desired) I must go with them five or six miles down the river. Here one asked me to make a shirt for her papoos, for which she gave me a mess of broth, which was thickened with meal made of the bark of a tree, and to make it better she had put into it about a handful of pease and a few roasted ground nuts.

"About this time they came yelping from Hadley and brought a captive with them, viz. Thomas Read, I asked him about the welfare of my husband, he told me he saw him such a time in the bay and he was well but very melancholy.

"My son came and told me ; he had a new master ; he was carried away and I never saw him afterward till I saw him at Piscataqua in Portsmouth.

"My mistress' papoos was sick and died, I went to a wigwam, they gave me a skin to lye upon, and a mess of venison and ground nuts, which was a choice dish among them.

"On the morrow they buried the papoos, and afterward, both morning and evening, there came a company to mourn and howl with her.

"Many sorrowful eyes I had in this place ; now must we pack up and begone from this thicket, bending our course toward the bay towns.

"We began this remove by wading over a river. Then I sat down to put on my stockings and shoes, with the tears running down my eyes and many sorrowful thoughts in my

heart. But I got up to go along with them. Quickly there came up to us an Indian, who informed them that I must go to Wachuset to my master, for there was a letter come from the council to the Sagamores about redeeming the captives.

“At last after many weary steps, I saw Wachuset hills, but many miles off. Philip (who was in the company) came up and took me by the hand and said two weeks more and you shall be mistress again, I asked him if he spoke true? He answered yes, and quickly you shall come to your master again, who had been gone from us three weeks. After many weary steps we came to Wachuset where he was, and glad was I to see him. He asked me when I washed me, I told him not this month; then he fetched some water himself and bid me wash, and gave me the glass to see how I looked and bid his squaw give me something to eat. So she gave me a mess of beans and meat, and a little ground nut cake. I was wonderfully revived with this favor showed me.

“My master had three squaws, living sometimes with one and sometimes with another; one, this old squaw, at whose wigwam I was and with whom my master had been these three weeks; another was Wettimore, with whom I had lived and served all this while. A severe and proud dame she was, bestowing every day in dressing herself, near as much time as any of the gentry of the land. Powdering her hair and painting her face, going with her necklaces, with jewels in her ears and bracelets upon her hands. When she had dressed herself, her work was to make girdles of wampum and beads.

“The third squaw was a younger one, by whom he had two papooses.

“By that time I was refreshed by the old squaw, Wettimore’s maid came to call me home, at which I fell a weeping. Then the old squaw told me, to encourage me, that when I wanted victuals that I should come to her and lye in her wigwam.

Then I went with the maid, and quickly I came back and lodged there....

"The squaw laid a mat under me and a good rug over me, the first time I had any such kindness showed me. I understood that Wettimore thought that if she should let me go and serve with the old squaw she should be in danger not only to lose my service, but the redemption pay also. There came an Indian and asked me to knit him three pairs of stockings for which I had a hat and a silk handkerchief.

"Then came Tom and Peter with the second letter from the Counsel about the captives, though they were Indians I got them by the hand and burst out into tears. When the letter was come, the Sagamores met to consult about the captives and called me to them to enquire how much my husband would give to redeem me. When I came I sat down among them as I was wont to do, as their manner is; then they bid me stand up, and said they were the General Court.... At a venture I said twenty pounds, yet desired them to take less, but they would not hear of that, but sent that message to Boston, that for twenty pounds I should be redeemed."

"An attack was made by the Indians upon the town of Marlborough, the most part of which was destroyed March 26. The Indians burnt the deserted houses at Marlborough, April 17-March 21, the next day they set upon Sudbury."—Hubbard's *Indian Wars*.*

* It is said, "Mrs. Rowlandson was at Wachusett when the Indians returned from Marlborough, and witnessed their grand pow wow, preparatory to attacking Sudbury, as well as their rejoicing on returning from that slaughter of the English."

It is said that "Wachusett" was at this time the "headquarters" of the hostile Indians as not only appears from Mrs. Rowlandson's narrative, but from those of Hubbard and Mather. The letters of Capt. Henchman, in command of the colony forces, and official communications from the General Court, May 3, 1676. It sent Seth Perry as its

"And so they ended their business and went to Sudbury fight. When my master came home he came to me and bid me make a shirt for his papoos of a holland laced pillow beer. A squaw gave me a piece of fresh pork and a little salt with it, and lent me her frying pan to fry it, and I cannot but remember what a sweet pleasant and delightful relish that bit had to me to this day.

"It was their usual way to remove when they had done any mischief. We went about three or four miles and then built a great wigwam big enough to hold an hundred Indians which they did in preparation for a great day of dancing. They would now say among themselves that the governor would be so angry for his loss at Sudbury that he would send no more about the captives, and not stir.

"Then they catched up their guns and away they ran as if an enemy had been at hand and the guns went off apace.

"I manifested some great trouble and they asked me what was the matter. I told them I thought they had killed the Englishman (for they had in the meantime told me an Englishman was come). They said no; they shot over his horse and under and before his horse, and they pushed him this way and that way at their pleasure, showing what they could do. Then they let them come to their wigwams. I begged of them to let me see the Englishman, but they would not, but then when they had talked their full with him they suffered me to go to him. We asked each other of our welfare and how my husband did and all my friends; he told me they were all well and

"messenger to the Sachems of Wachuset, with a letter addressed to the Sagamores about Watchussetts, Philip, John, Sam, Waskaken, Old Queen and Pomham," all leading sachems.

"A praying Indian was at Sudbury fight, though, as he deserved, he was afterward hanged for it, his squaw with him with her papoos on her back. There was another praying Indian so wicked and cruel as to wear a string about his neck strung with Christians' fingers."

would be glad to see me. Among other things which my husband sent me, there came a pound of tobacco which I sold for nine shillings in money. For many of them for want of tobacco smoked hemlock and ground ivy."

EXTRACTS FROM MRS. ROWLANDSON'S REMOVES.

After Mrs. Rowlandson's capture she was taken to Wachusett mountain and by successive "Removes" through the wilderness to Northfield on the Connecticut, above Deerfield.* "After many weary steps," returning from her wilderness — winter wanderings, Mrs. Rowlandson states, "we came to Wachusett," as they approached it through a great swamp, up to their knees in mud and water, she says, "going along, having, indeed, my life, but little spirit, Philip (who was in the company) came up and took me by the hand and said 'two weeks more and you shall be mistress again.' I asked him if he spoke true; he answered 'yes, and quickly you shall come to your master again.'"

Mrs. Rowlandson remained at Wachusett, until released.

Not only was King Philip with her captors, but several others of the leading Sagamores, and among them, Quannapin, the master of Mrs. Rowlandson, and his wife, the celebrated "Swaw Sachem," "Metamoo," "Queen of Pocasset."†

"On a Sabbath day the sun being about an hour high in the afternoon, came Mr. John Hoar (the council permitting him, and his own forward spirit inclining him) with the two fore-mentioned Indians, Tom and Peter, with the third letter from the council. When they came near I was abroad; they presently calling me in, and bid me sit down and not stir." He at

* One account states "Mrs. Rowlandson was taken as far as Brattleborough, or beyond in the forest."

† "Metamoo was next unto Philip in respect to the mischief that hath been done and the blood that hath been shed in this warr."—Cotton Mather.

once opened negotiations for Mrs. Rowlandson's release, the narrative continues :

"In the morning Mr. Hoar invited the Saggamores to dinner, but when we went to get it ready he found they had stolen the greatest part of the provisions Mr. Hoar had brought.

"Mr. Hoar called them betime to dinner, but they ate but little, they being so busy in dressing themselves and getting ready for their dance which was carried on by eight of them, four men and four squaws ; my master and mistress being two. He was dressed in his holland shirt, with great laces sewed at the end of it ; he had six silver buttons ; his white stockings, his garters hung round with shillings, and had girdles with wampum upon his head and shoulders. She had a Kersey coat covered with girdles of wampum from the loins upward. Her arms from her elbows to her hands were covered with bracelets ; there were handfals of necklaces about her neck and several sorts of jewels in her ears. She had fine red stockings, and white shoes ; her hair powdered, and her face painted red, that was always before black. And all of the dancers were after the same manner. There were two others singing and knocking on a kettle for their music.

"On Tuesday morning they called their General Court (as they stiled it), to consult and determine whether I should go home or no. And they all seemingly consented that I should go, except Philip, who would not come among them.

"Philip called me to him and asked me what I would give him to tell me some good news and to speak a good word for me that I might go home to-morrow. I told him I could not tell what to give him ; I would any thing I had, and asked him what he would have. He said, two coats and twenty shillings in money, and half a bushel of seed corn and some tobacco. I thanked him for his love, but I knew that good news as well as that crafty fox."

On the 30th of April, O. S., Mrs. Rowlandson was released to Mr. Hoar.

Mrs. Rowlandson's house at Lancaster, was pleasantly situated on the brow or (eminence) of a small hill commanding a fine landscape view of a lovely valley with a gentle river, and the amphitheatre of the hills to the west, north and east; it was about one-third of a mile south-west of the church.

The cellar on the side of the house was filled up about the commencement of the present century, at this time also "where the garden once was," a number of very aged trees, more or less decayed, dating far back in the past to the home of Mrs. Rowlandson.

Hubbard states:—"Mrs. Rowlandson being brought to Boston on the election day, May 3d, it was generally looked upon as a smile of Providence, and doubtless was a return of prayer and answer of faith, with which Mr. Rowlandson had been upheld and supported from the day of her captivity; his two children, a son and a daughter, were returned to them from their captivity. It is said Mrs. Rowlandson was redeemed for £20.

"Mr. and Mrs. Rowlandson now resided in Charleston and Boston, till May, 1677. They removed to Weathersfield, Ct. Mr. Rowlandson died before Lancaster was resettled.

"He had commenced preaching in Lancaster in 1654, became established as the clergyman in 1658-1660, and was the minister of the town until it was destroyed in Philip's war, 10th of February, 1676.

"Mr. Rowlandson, it is said, was celebrated for his powers of entertainment, 'so merry and facete,' that he was the life of company and the great wit of his day."

Mrs. Rowlandson narrates that the South church in Boston, hired a house for (us,) and that we received gifts from friends and from England, 'that in a little time we might see the house furnished with love.'

CHAPTER VI.

EXTRACTS FROM THE NARRATIVE OF COL. CHURCH OF "PHILIP'S
WAR."

"I was beginning a plantation at a place called by the Indians Sogkonate, and since by the English Little Compton, I was the first Englishman that built upon that neck, which was full of Indians. My head and hands were full about settling a new plantation where nothing was brought; to no preparation of dwelling-house, or out-houses, or farming made, horses and cattle were to be provided, ground to be cleared and broken up; and the utmost caution to be used, to keep myself free from offending my Indian neighbours all around about me."*

In 1675 Philip's war commenced, and Philip the great sachem of Mount Hope was sending his messengers to all the neighbouring sachems, to engage them in a confederacy with him in a war against the English.

Among others, Philip sent six men to Aswonhoks, Squaw Sachem of the Sogkonate Indians, to engage her in his interest. "Aswonhoks so far listened unto them, as to call her subjects together; to make a great dance, which is the custom of that nation when they advise about momentous affairs. But what does Aswonhoks do, but sends away two of her men that well understood the English language (Sassaman and George by name) to invite Mr. Church to the dance, Mr. Church upon the invitation, immediately takes with him Charles Hazelton, his tenant's son, who well understood the Indian language and went to the place appointed, where they found an hundred of Indians gathered together from all parts of her dominions."

*In 1674 Mr. Church had purchased of the company some of the court grant rights, and made a settlement in that portion of Plymouth colony next to Rhode Island.

Aswonhoks herself, was leading the dance, but she was no sooner sensible of Mr. Church's arrival than she orders him to be invited into her presence; "she told him King Philip had sent six men of his with two of her people, who had been over at Mount Hope to draw her into a confederacy with him in a war with the English, desiring him to give her his advice in the case, and to tell her the truth, whether the Umpame men (as Philip had told her) were gathering a great army to invade Philip's country." He assured her he would tell her the truth, and give her his best advice; then he told her it was but a few days since he came from Plymouth, and the English were then making no preparation for war, that he was in company with the principal gentlemen of the government, who had no discourse at all about war and he believed no thought about it. He asked her whether she thought he would have brought up his goods to settle in that place, if he apprehended entering into war with so near a neighbor; she seemed to be somewhat convinced by his talk, and she said she believed he spoke the truth.

Then she called for the Mount Hope men, who made a formidable appearance, with their faces painted and their hair turned up in comb fashion, with their powder horns and shot bags at their backs; which among that nation is the posture and figure of preparedness for war, and then told them what Mr. Church had said in answer to it. They were furious against the advice of Mr. Church, being joined by Little Eyes, one of the queen's council. Mr. Church told her he was sorry to see so threatening an aspect of affairs, and stepping to the Mount Hopes, he felt of their bags, and finding them filled with bullets, asked them what those bullets were for; they scoffingly replied, "to shoot pigeons with."

Then he told Aswonhoks he thought it most advisable for her to send to the governor of Plymouth, and shelter herself and people under his jurisdiction. She liked this advice and

desired him to go in her behalf to the Plymouth government, which he consented to, and at parting advised her, whatever she did, not to desert the English interest, to join with her neighbors in a rebellion which would certainly prove fatal to her. She thanked him for his advice, and sent two of her men to guard him to his house, which when they came there, urged him to take care to secure his goods, which he refused, as he had decided to move none of his goods from his house, that there might not be the least offense given to the Indians by such a course of action, but desired them if what they feared should happen, they would take care of what he left, and directed them to a place in the woods where they should dispose of them, which they faithfully observed.

Mr. Church then hastened to Pocasset,* where he met with Peter Nunnuit, the husband of the queen of Pocasset, who was just then come over in a canoe from Mount Hope. Peter told him that there would certainly be war; for Philip had held a dance of several weeks' continuance and had entertained the young men from all parts of the country; and added that Philip expected to be sent for to Plymouth to be examined about Saussaman's death, who was murdered at Assawomset Pond (Middleborough) knowing himself guilty of contriving that murder. Peter desired Mr. Church to see his squaw. Mr. Church advised her to go to the island and secure herself and those with her, and send to the governor of Plymouth. The same Peter told him that he saw Mr. James Brown of Swansey (one of the magistrates of Plymouth jurisdiction) and his interpreter and two other men who brought a letter from the governor of Plymouth to Philip.

He observed to him further that the young men were very eager to begin the war and would have fain killed Mr. Brown of Swansey, but Philip prevented it, "telling them his father

* The mainland over against the easterly end of Rhode Island, where now is Tiverton.—Hubbard.

had charged him to show kindness to Mr. Brown."—Philip's War, page 9.

Mr. Church proceeded at once to Plymouth to wait on the governor, where he arrived in the morning, though he had en-route called on some of the magistrates who were of the council of war to meet him at the governor's house. He gave them a statement of what had been communicated to him, which caused them to hasten preparations of defence.

During the month of June, 1676, Captain Church, in passing over with a canoe from Pocasset to Rhode Island, which he was often accustomed to do, several Indians made signals to him as if to communicate with him; having only one Englishman with him and two Indians, he directed them to keep off the canoe while he went on shore to speak with them.

The Indians informed him they were weary of fighting for Philip, and were resolved to fight for him no longer.

All they desired of Capt. Church was to acquaint the Governor of their decision, and that they would live quietly with the English as they had formerly done, and that they would deliver up their arms, or would go out with the English if he pleased to accept of them and fight for him. They desired further conversation with Captain Church and wished him to appoint a time and place. He made an appointment with Aswonhoks, being three miles off, he told George to inform her, her son Peter, their chief captain, and one Nompash, an Indian that Capt. Church had formerly much respected to meet him two days after, at 12 o'clock, at Seaconet, at a rock at the lower end of Captain Richmond's farm, which was a very noted place at Sogkanate point, and if that day should prove stormy or windy they were to expect him the next moderate day.

In keeping his appointment Capt. Church was accompanied with only his own man and two Indians, and as soon as he had landed found Aswonhoks and those he had named to meet

him. They successively gave him their hands, and expressed themselves glad to see him, and gave him thanks for exposing himself to visit them. They walked together about a gun shot from the water, to a convenient place to sit down, when at once rose up a great body of Indians, who had been concealed in the tall grass and gathered around them till they had closed them in, being all armed with guns, spears, hatchets, &c., with their hair trimmed and faces painted in their warlike appearance.

It was doubtless somewhat surprising to a gentleman at first, but without any visible discovery of it Mr. Church spoke to Aswonhoks and told her that a messenger had informed him she had a desire to see him and discourse about making peace with the English. She assured him she wished to unite with the English if the government of Plymouth would firmly engage to them that they, and all of them and their wives and children should have their lives spared and none of them transported out of the country they would subject themselves to them and serve them in what they were able.

Capt. Church answered them he was well satisfied the government of Plymouth would readily concur with what they proposed and would sign their articles.

Capt. Church expressed his pleasure of their return and of the former friendship that had been between them. The chief captain rose up and expressed the great value and respect he had for Mr. Church, and bowing to him said: "Sir, if you'll please to accept of me and my men, and will lead us, we'll fight for you and will help you to Philip's head before the Indian corn be ripe." And when he had ended, they all expressed their consent to what he said, and told Church they loved him, and were willing to go with him and fight for him as long as the English had one enemy left in the country.

"Their friendship ever continued to Mr. Church." Then Mr. Church proposed unto them that they should select five

men to go with him to Plymouth; they told him they would not choose, but he should take which five he pleased; finally it was agreed they should choose three men and he two.

They objected that he should travel through the woods, as it was unsafe for him and they might lose their friend.

After Aswonhoks consulted Capt. Church of what course she should pursue nothing is related of her until about the close of the month of June. A squaw Sachem of Seaconet, one of Philip's allies, sent three messengers to the Governor of Plymouth, promising submission to the English, on condition of life and liberty being granted to her subjects.

She and her people, some ninety in number, surrendered themselves to Major Bradford.

Capt. Church wrote an account of his interview with the Indians, and drew the articles of peace and dispatched Peter with them to Plymouth for the governor if approved to sign. By midnight Capt. Church was aroused by an express from Major Bradford, who was arrived with the army at Pocasset to whom Church repaired, he returned to go to Aswonhoks and inform her the army was arrived. The next morning the whole army marched toward Sogkonate. Capt. Church with a few men went to inform Aswonhoks and her people to come to the English camp. He informed her he was come for her and her people to Punkatese, where Major Bradford now is with the army, expecting her and her subjects to receive orders until further notice could be had from the government.

The next day at twelve o'clock she with her people appeared before the English camp at Punkatese. Mr. Church tendered to the major to serve under his command, provided the Indians might be accepted with him to fight the enemy.

The major told him his orders were to improve him, but as for the Indians he would not be concerned with them. And soon ordered Aswonhoks and her subjects to repair to Sandwich to remain so six days. Mr. Church told them he would

meet them, and that he was confident the governor would commission him to improve them. The major hastened to send them away with an Indian in front with a flag of truce in his hand.

Mr. Church soon repaired to the governor, who informed him he had confirmed all he had promised Aswonhoks, and had sent the Indian back who had brought the letter. Capt. Church informed the governor of what had passed with Aswonhoks and her subjects.

Church requested the governor to give him a commission to command the Sagkonate Indians to fight Philip. The governor assured him a commission if he would accept it, and get good Englishmen enough to make up a good army.

Mr. Church, on his return to confer with Aswonhoks, after crossing Sippecan river (Rochester) he with his party proceeded and crossed another river and opened a great bay, where they might see many miles along the shore, where were flats and sands; and hearing a great noise below them toward the sea, they dismounted their horses and came near the bank and saw a vast company of Indians of both sexes and of all ages, some on horseback running races, some at foot ball, some catching eels and flat fish in the water, some clamming, etc. Mr. Church was soon informed that the Indians belonged to Aswonhoks and her company. Soon a party of Indians all mounted on horseback and well armed came riding up to Mr. Church, but treated him with all due respect. Mr. Church dispatched a messenger to Aswonhoks to tell her he was come to meet her and that he designed to sup with her in the evening and to lodge in her camp that night. Upon their arrival they were conducted to a shelter open on one side, Aswonhoks and her chiefs received them, and the multitude gave shouts as made the heavens to ring.

It being now about sun setting or near the dusk of the evening, the Netops came running from all quarters laden with the

tops of dry pines and the like combustible matter, making a huge pile thereof near Mr. Church's shelter, on the open side thereof; but by this time supper was brought in, in three dishes, viz.: a curious young bass in one dish, eels and flat fish in a second, and shell fish in a third, but neither bread nor salt to be seen at table; but by that time supper was over, the mighty pile of pine knots and tops, etc., was fired, and all the Indians, great and small, gathered in a ring around it. Aswonhoks and the oldest of the people, men and women mixed, kneeling down made the first ring next the fire, and all the lusty, stout men standing up made the next, and then all the rabble in a confused crew surrounded on the outside.

Then the chief captain stepped in between the rings and the fire with a spear in one hand and a hatchet in the other danced around the fire and began to fight with it, making mention of all the several nations and companies of Indians in the country that were enemies to the English, and at naming of every particular tribe of Indians, he would draw out and fight a new fire-brand, and at finishing his fight with each particular fire-brand would bow to him and thank him, and when he had named all the several nations and tribes, and fought them all, he stuck down his spear and hatchet and came out and another stepped in and acted over the same dance with more fury if possible than the first, and when about a half a dozen of their chiefs had thus acted their parts the captain of the guard stepped up to Mr. Church and told him they were making soldiers for him, and what they had been doing was all one swearing them, and having in that manner engaged all the stout, lusty men. Aswonhoks and her chiefs came to Mr. Church and told him that now they were all engaged to fight for the English, and he might call forth all, or any of them at any time as he saw occasion to fight the enemy, and presented him with a very fine firelock. Mr. Church accepts their offer

drew out a number of them and set out next morning before day for Plymouth, where they arrived the same day.*

It is to be mentioned that these Indians did not belong to Philip, but were under the Seaconet squaw, who was nearly related to Philip, and her subjects had fought for Philip till they despaired of any success or good to themselves. But these Seaconet Indians ever remained firm in their friendship for Col. Church and faithful in the service of the English.

Hubbard states, "that Capt. Church with the English, and with these Seaconet Indians under his command, from June to the last of October following, had subdued by killing or making prisoners, seven hundred Indians, and also three hundred Indians were induced to submit voluntarily to the English government."

Hubbard states, "that this act of these Indians broke Philip's heart as soon as ever he understood it, so as he never rejoiced after or had any success in any of his designs, but lost his men one after another till himself at last fell into hands of those under Capt. Church's command."

Many tribes deserting Philip he had returned to Mount Hope, his son and his wife were soon after captured, he said, "Now my heart breaks ; I am ready to die."

For through the vigilance and bravery of Capt. Church with the Seaconet Indians under his command, Philip was found to have returned to his old home at Mount Hope, though deserted by most of his followers, still bitter against the English. Here he was killed August 12, 1676, by being shot through the heart, in the marshes of that place by a Seaconet Indian. Thus fell the last chief of the Wampanoags and with his death the power of the Indians was destroyed.†

* Mr. Church received a captain's commission July 24, 1676.

† The sword of Col. Church is still preserved in the Historical Society at Boston as a relic of Philip's war.

On the 28th of August occurred the death of Annawon, Philip's great captain and one of his chief counsellors, and his death with that of Philip ended this disastrous war.*

It is said that Philip at the commencement of his rebellion had about three hundred fighting men under him, besides those that belonged to his kinswoman, Wetamore, drowned about Taunton, that had almost as many under her, and one Quenoquin, a Narragansett Sachem, that lived near him and joined with him in his hatred to the English.

Mather has this record of James Printer :

July 8, 1676 ; "Whereas, the council at Boston had lately emitted a declaration, signifying that such Indians as did within fourteen days, come into the English, might hope for mercy, divers of them did this day return from among the Nipmucks. Among others James, an Indian, who could not only read and write, but had learned the art of printing, notwithstanding his apostacy, did venture himself upon the mercy

*Annawon, when made a prisoner by Captain Church, fell upon his knees before him and speaking in English said: "Great Captain, you have killed Philip and conquered his country, for I believe that I and my company are the last that was against the English, so suppose the war is ended by your means, and therefore these things belong to you." Then opening his pack he pulled out Philip's belt, curiously wrought with wampum, being nine inches broad, wrought with white and black wampum in various figures and flowers, and pictures of many birds and beasts. This when hung upon Capt. Church's shoulders reached his ankles.

And another belt of wampum he presented him, wrought in the same manner, which Philip was accustomed to place on his head; it had two flags on the back part which hung down on his back, and another small belt with a star upon the end of it which he used to hang on his breast, and they were all edged with red hair which Annawon said he got in the Mohogs country. Then he pulled out two horns of glazed powder and a red cloth blanket. He told Capt. Church these were Philip's royalties which he was wont to adorn himself with when he sat in state.

Annawon added he thought himself happy to present them to Capt. Church.

and truth of the English declaration, which he had seen and read, promising for the future to venture his life against the common enemy."

A letter written by a Christian Indian, "supplicating mercy," is preserved in one of a series of tracts, first printed in London 1676.

This letter was signed by John and other Nipmuck Sagamores, and sent by a party with a white flag, July 6, 1676, from Nashaway.

John subscribed this paper:

"Mr. John Leveret (Gov. Leveret).—My Lord, Mr. Waban and all the chief men our brethren, praying to God.

"We beseech you all to help us; my wife she is but one, but there be more prisoners, which we pray you keep well.

"Mattamuck his wife, we entreat you for her; and not only that man, but it is the request of two Sachems.

"Sam Sachem of Weshakin
and Pakashoag Sachem."

"And that further you will, consider about the making peace. We have spoken to the people of Nashobah (viz.: Tom Dubler and Peter) that we would agree with you and make a covenant of peace with you.

"We have been destroyed by your soldiers; but still we remember it now, to sit still; do you consider it again; we do earnestly entreat you that it may be so.

"By Jesus Christ.

"O let it be so! Amen, Amen."

Mattamuck, his mark *N*.

Sam Sachem, his mark *F*.

Simon Pottoquam, scribe ‡

Uppanippaquin, his mark *C*.

Pakaskoag, his mark *F*.

Mather's History, 43.

Hubbard's Narrative, 101.

The result of Philip's war was, the whole territory eventually became the plantation of the English.

And yet the country continued to be exposed to the Indian raids, instigated by the French, until the close of the French war.

CHAPTER VII.

GOVERNOR MAYHEW'S SKETCH OF PHILIP'S WAR.

“During the late distressing war between the English and the Indians in New England, in the years 1675 and 1676, wherein almost all the Indian Nations on the Main were united against us, a censorious Spirit possessed too many of the English, whereby they suffered themselves to be unreasonably exasperated against all the Indians, without distinction.

“Of such there were some on these Islands, who could hardly be so moderated by Governor Mayhew and others in Government with him, as to be restrained from rising to assay the disarming even these Island Indians; they being then twenty to one of the English, and having Arms.

“For the Satisfaction of these jealous English, Capt. Richard Sarson, Esq; being ordered with a small Party to treat with the Natives on the West End of the Vineyard, who were most to be doubted, as being nearest the Continent, about three Leagues off, having the greatest Acquaintance and Correspondence there, and being the latest that had embraced Christianity, he returns with this wise and amiable Answer,

“That the delivering their Arms would expose them to the Will of the Indians engaged in the present War, who were not less their own than Enemies to the English; that they had never given occasion for the Distrust intimated; that if in

any thing not hazarding their Safety they could give any Satisfaction or Proof of their Friendship and Fidelity, they would readily do what should reasonably be demanded of them; But in this Particular, they were unwilling to deliver their Arms, unless the English would propose some likely Means for their necessary Safety and Preservation.

“With this Reply, they drew a Writing in their own Language, wherein they declared, That as they had submitted freely to the Crown of England, so they resolved to assist the English on these Islands against their Enemies, which they accounted equally their own, as Subjects to the same King.

“And this was subscribed by Persons of the greatest Note and Power among them.

“Having this Return the Governor resolved, and accordingly employed them as a Guard in this time of eminent Danger; furnishing them with suitable Ammunition, and giving them Instructions how to manage for the common Safety. And so faithful were they, that they not only resolutely rejected the strong and repeated Sollicitations of the Natives on the neighboring Main, but in observance of the general Orders given them, when any landed from thence to solicit them, tho’ some were nearly related by Marriage, and others by Blood, yet the Island Indians would immediately bring them before the Governor to attend his Pleasure;

“Yea, so entire and firm did their Friendship appear, that tho’ the War, on account of the Multitudes of Indians then on the Main, had a very dismal Aspect; yet the English on these Islands took no care of their own Defence, but left it wholly to these Christian Indians to watch for and guard them; not doubting to be advertised by them of any approaching Danger from the Enemy. And thus while the War was raging in a most dreadful manner thro’out the Neighboring Countries, these Islands enjoyed a perfect Calm of Peace; and the People wrought, and dwelt secure and quiet.

This was the genuine and happy Effect of Mr. Mayhew the Governor's excellent Conduct, and of the introduction of the Christian Religion among them."

Governor Mahew perfected himself in the Indian language, and ordinarily preached in some of the assemblies of the natives one day every week, sometimes traveling the distance of twenty miles through the forest with no English house for lodging.

REV. JAMES KEITH OF BRIDGEWATER.

His influence and advice with the civil authorities of the colony were considerable.

In the subject of the capture of Philip's squaw and child, as to the question of what should be the disposal of the son was in consideration, and the opinion of grave divines sought. Mr. Keith's opinion, stated in a letter to Rev. Mr. Cotton, in favor of mercy and dissenting from most others, had great weight indeed if it were not decisive. The life of Philip's son was spared.*

During this war Philip's women and children were made prisoners; most of them, it would appear, were brought into Boston, as well as the prisoners of war. At first they were assigned to such English families as would receive them as servants, but before the war ended they were sent to the West Indies to be sold as slaves. Philip's wife and child became also the slaves of a West Indian planter. Rev. Mr. Eliot made his protest at the time but without avail against this additional

*A letter of Rev. James Keith, dated October 30, 1676, showing his interest upon the subject, is found in the History of Bridgewater.

Rev. James Keith was from Scotland (one of the Border Clans). The name anciently de Keith. He was educated at Aberdeen; he came to Boston in 1662, and was introduced to the church of Bridgewater by Dr. Increase Mather, whom he ever considered his best friend and patron.

barbarity of the English, "that an Indian princess and her child must be banished from the cool breezes of Mount Hope and from the wild freedom of a New England forest and consigned to hopeless slavery."

Fearing, in 1636, that the Narragansett Indians would join the Pequots in hostilities against the English, and to perpetuate a peace between the colonies and the Narragansetts, the governor sent a messenger to Miantonomo, their chief sachem (a nephew of Canonicus), to invite him to Boston.*

"Miantonomo, the Sachem of the Narragansetts, came to Boston (being sent for by the Governor), with two of Canonicus's sons and another Sachem, and near twenty of their men. The Governor, having notice by Cushmanakin, the Massachusetts Sachem, sent twenty musketeers to Roxbury to meet them. They came to Boston about noon, where the Governor had called together all the Magistrates and Ministers to give countenance to their proceedings, and to advise about the terms of peace. After dinner, Miantonomo declared what he had to say to them in several propositions, which were to this effect, that they had always loved the English, and now desired a firm peace with them, and that they would continue war with the Pequots and their confederates, till they were subdued, and desired the English would do so too; Promising to deliver their enemies to them or kill them, and two months after to send them a present. The Governor told them they should have an answer the next morning, which was done, upon articles subscribed by him, and they also subscribed with him, wherein a firm peace was concluded.—Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 25.†

*The Pequot war in the colony of Connecticut in 1637.

† Corn court leads off from Faneuil Hall square on the south of the hall. Here in early times was a public corn market, situated at the water's edge. In this court, now shut in by high business blocks, stands an inn which makes the boast of being the oldest in Boston. Samuel Cole kept tavern here in 1634, and under many succeeding land-

Faithful in his misfortunes, Rev. Roger Williams sent a letter to Sir Henry Vane, governor of the Massachusetts and warned him of the impending danger from the Pequots, and volunteered his services to defeat the conspiracy if possible. In the governor's reply Mr. Williams was urged to use his utmost endeavors to prevent the threatened alliance of the Pequots with the Narragansetts.

Mr. Williams plead with Canonius the chief of the Narragansetts, and with Miantonomo, his nephew and heir, to stand fast in their allegiance with the English, for the Pequots made an effort to have the Narragansetts and Mohegan Indians join them and exterminate the English.

Previously to the Pequot war the Narragansetts, the most numerous of the Indian nations, were wavering in their allegiance to the English and hesitated in joining them against the Pequots. They, however, decided in favor of the English.

Roger Williams in a letter to Major Mason, gave an account of his services to the colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth, in regard to the Indians, as follows: "In accordance with letters received from the Governor and Council of Boston, requesting me to use my utmost and speediest endeavors to break and hinder the league labored for by the Pequots and the Mohegans against the English, the Lord helped me immediately to take my life in my hand, and scarcely acquainting my wife, to ship myself all alone in a poor canoe, and cut through a stormy wind, great seas, every minute in hazard of my life, to the Sachem's home. Three days and nights my mission forced me to lodge

lords the house has afforded shelter and entertainment to many distinguished people.

When Miantonomo, the Narragansett chief, was entertained by Governor Vane in 1636, he, and twenty of his followers, were banquetted in the tavern. Landlord Cole was a substantial citizen, a selectman of the town and a charter member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company.

and mix with the bloody Pequot, ambassadors; whose hands methought, reeked with the blood of countrymen massacred on Connecticut river. I could not but nightly look for their bloody knives at my own throat likewise." "God wondrously preserved me, and helped me to defeat the Pequot negotiations and designs, and to promote and finish, by many travels and charges the English league with the Narragansetts and Mohegans against the Pequots."

"When the English forces marched through the Narragansett country, against the Pequots, I gladly entertained at my home in Providence, General Stoughton and his officers."*

In 1642 letters from the Connecticut court and from two of their magistrates came to Boston, stating that it was feared the Narragansett Indians were conspiring against the English colonies, "being influenced by Miantonomo, who was of a haughty spirit and aspiring mind, the heir apparent of all the Narragansett nations after the death of the old Sachem, Canonius, who was his uncle." Mr. Hubbard describes Miantonomo "as a very goodly personage, of tall stature, as well as haughty in his designs."

"The governor and the magistrates, as many as could convene together before the court, ordered that all the Indians within their jurisdiction should be disarmed, which they willingly yielded unto." Miantonomo was sent unto, and by his readiness to appear satisfied the English that he was innocent of a conspiracy.

But Miantonomo returned to his home dissatisfied at the treatment he received from the English, who regarded him as a culprit, and refusing to him a seat. Notwithstanding the treaty signed at Hartford, Miantonomo in 1643, engaged in war with the Mohegans and was made a prisoner by Uncas and taken to Hartford.

*Z. Allen, LL. D.

The magistrates of Hartford having no cause of complaint against the Narragansett chief, advised that the whole affair should be referred to the commissioners of the United colonies, who assembled in Boston, September, 1643.

“Was Miantonomo to be punished because he had disregarded the treaty by neglecting to notify the English that he proposed to make war upon Uncas?” But this was not true according to Winthrop’s own testimony; in his journal Winthrop had recorded, “Miantonomo sent to Mr. Haynes at Hartford to complain of ‘Onkus;’” and Governor Haynes had replied “that the English had no hand in it, nor would encourage them.”

“Miantonomo gave notice hereof also to our governor,” Winthrop himself continues the journal, and the chief was told to take his own course. Miantonomo took his own course. “In this difficulty,” says Winthrop, after giving the decision of the commissioners, “we called in five of the most judicious elders (it being the time of the general assembly of the elders), and propounded the case to them. They all agreed that he ought to be put to death.”

Winthrop’s statement of the commissioners is that they “taking into consideration what was safest and best to be done, were all of opinion that it would not be safe to set him (Miantonomo) at liberty. Neither had we sufficient ground for us to put him to death.”

“There were found no criminal allegations against Miantonomo and nothing worthy of death had been done by him, and yet it was decided to take his life without committing a crime worthy of death. There was word sent to Hartford to deliver over Miantonomo to Uncas to be massacred.”

The death of the brave Miantonomo in 1643 by Uncas the Mohegan, with the consent of the English, had resulted in an implacable malice between the rival Indians and a deeper enmity toward the English, as his life was sacrificed through their influence.

PHILIP'S WAR.

Rev. Roger Williams states the Narragansett Indians had been restrained until their treatment had become too offensive to endure as is testified to in an official message sent to Governor Winthrop in Connecticut, by the Legislature of Rhode Island, dated October 26, 1696, and certified at Newport by the Secretary of State, as follows:

"We believe that if matters come to a just enquiry concerning the cause of the Indian War, that our Narragansett Sachems were subjects to his Majesty, and by his Commissioners were taken under his protection, and put under our government. They manifested to us their submission by appearing whenever sent for."

"Neither was there any manifestation of war against us from them; but always the contrary, until the United Colonies forced them to war, or to such submissions as it seems they could not submit to. The United Colonies (Plymouth, Massachusetts and Connecticut), thus involved us in these hazards, charges and losses, to our outer Plantations."

"The Narragansetts and Mohawks are the two greatest nations of Indians in this country. They have been confederates, and are both, as yet, firmly and peaceably disposed to the English. I do humbly conceive, in case of unavoidable war with either of them, to make sure of the one as a friend."

"The Narragansetts have ever continued friendly from the first, and they have been true to you in the Pequot War, and induced the Mohegans to come in. Then ensued the downfall of the Pequots."

During the Pequot war in 1637, Rhode Island was protected by the friendly Narragansetts.*

*In 1643 was formed the union of New England; Providence and Rhode Island both pleaded for admission.

Rev. Roger Williams was sent to London. He was welcomed by his

The English colony of Plymouth were hospitably received by the natives on their arrival to this country. The first native Indian who visited them greeted them kindly in a few English words which he had learned from fisherman and other voyagers on the coast of Maine. Some accounts state that this native Indian had been kidnapped by Capt. Hunt in 1614, and had been taken to England and sold into slavery, but had found his way back to his native land.

Soon after the first settlement of the English colony at Plymouth, Massasoit, "the chief Sachem of all that side of the country," came to the English at Plymouth, March 16, 1621, and entered into a treaty with them.

"In the autumn, nine of the neighboring Sachems came in and made a treaty of peace, and agreed to become subjects of the King of Great Britain."

This compact entitled them to be treated as fellow-subjects.

Massasoit, though a native Indian, possessed the elements of a great and noble mind and a generous heart. His character is without reproach as it regards his treatment of the English from the time he arrived at Plymouth to extend to them his friendship, till the time of his death in 1661; in all this period

steadfast friend Sir Henry Vane (who) was now an influential member of parliament. He obtained a charter. He visited London a second time and was successful in his efforts to prevent a separation of Rhode Island from the common government. The people wished him to be commissioned by the English Council as governor of the province. He declined to accept the tempting commission.

Roger Williams was a native of Wales, born in 1606, educated at Cambridge, England; the pupil of Sir Edward Coke, in after years the personal friend of Milton.

The lands which he received from Canonicus and Miantonomo were freely distributed among the colonists, only two small fields to be tilled and planted by his own hands, and kept by the founder for his own plantation.

in not a single instance did he depart from the agreements of the treaty which he made with the English.*

Mr. Edward Winslow stated in a letter to a friend in England :

“ We have found the Indians very faithful in their covenants of peace with us, very loving and ready to pleasure us. We go with them in some cases, fifty miles into the country ; and walk as safely and peaceably in the woods, as in the highways in England. We entertain them familiarly in our houses ; and they are friendly in bestowing their venison upon us.

“ They are a people without religion yet very trusty, quick of apprehension, humorous and just.”—Z. Allen’s Address, p. 15.

In 1622, Mr. Weston, a merchant of London, having procured for himself a patent for a tract of land in Massachusetts Bay of the London Stock Company, he sent two ships with fifty men or more, at his own expense, to form a settlement at Weymouth.

Morton states : “ The Indians complained of them for stealing their corn, and that they care not for the rule of right.”

Governor Bradford wrote to the manager of the Weston Colony, warning him against such doings. “ Early in the spring Gov. Bradford received information that the Massachusetts Indians had entered into a conspiracy to drive away the

* Old records of the times state that Massasoit, when he came to make the treaty with the English at Plymouth, was distinguished from the other natives with him only by “ a string of white bone beads about his neck ; his face was painted of a sod red, and both face and head were profusely oiled.”

Massasoit, also called Osemequin, Sachem of the Wampanoags, at his death was succeeded by his son, Wamsutta, called by the English name of Alexander, who had no affection toward the English, neither to their persons nor their religion, but had endeavored to influence the Narragansetts to rise against the English. At his death his brother Philip, known as Metacomet, succeeded him, and was called generally for his haughty and ambitious spirit King Philip.

English of the Weston Colony including the Plymouth settlement. Massasoit, grateful for the kindness he had received from the English, advised them as the only means of safety to take the lives of the conspirators, which Capt. Miles Standish effected.

When the news of this affair reached Holland, Mr. Robinson, the pastor, wrote: "Concerning the killing of these poor Indians, of which we heard at first by reporte, and since by more certaine relation. 'Oh, how happy a thing had it been if you had converted some before you had killed any; besides where bloud is one begune to be shed, it is seldome stanchd for a long time after.' "

In the same letter to Captain Standish, "Let me be bould," he adds, "to exhorte you seriously to consider of the disposition of your Captaine, whom I love, and am persuaded the Lord in great mercie and for much good hath sent you him, if you use him aright.

"Ther is cause to fear that by occasions espectrally of provocation, ther may be wanting that tenderness of the life of man made after God's image which is meete."

It is said, the Indians have ever been distinguished for friendship, justice, magnanimity and a high sense of honor, but their revenge for real or supposed injury was implacable; any act of kindness received by them was never to be forgotten, but returned, however distant the opportunity.

The same noble traits of character are now to be found in the native red men of this country as in the time of Governor Mayhew, Rev. Roger Williams and Rev. John Eliot.

The late Hon. Zachariah Allen, LL.D., of Providence, R. I.,* in response to an address before the Historical Society of Rhode Island, April 10, 1876, in which he delineated the Indian character so truthfully, recognizing their love of justice

* Hon. Zachariah Allen was president of the Historical Society of Rhode Island.

and appreciation of kindness, he invoked sympathy for their sufferings.

Mr. Allen had the satisfaction of receiving the official congratulations of two distinct tribes of Indians in the Dominion of Canada. The Ojibways and the Pattawatomies, who in their distant lodges sent him their thanks and congratulations.

The Ojibways returned their thanks and congratulations to Mr. Allen as their friend.

“At a council of Indians (Pattawatomies), the chiefs, councillors and principal men and warriors wish to thank Mr. Allen for his kindness, and express our pleasure at finding the Red men have such a good and faithful friend as Mr. Allen. We all, both men, women and children, shake hands in our hearts with Mr. Allen.

“May 24, 1877.

“Their names and totems are affixed to the official letters.”
— Life of Hon. Z. Allen.

A POEM.

“Ye say they all have passed away,
That ancient race and brave;
That their light canoes have vanished
From off the crested wave;
That 'mid the forests, where they roamed,
There rings no hunter's shout.
But their names are on your waters,
Ye may not wash them out.

“Their memory lingers on your hills,
Their baptism on your shore;
Your everlasting rivers speak
Their dialect of yore.
Old Massachusetts wears it,
Within her lordly crown,
And broad Ohio bears it,
'Mid all her young renown.

“Connecticut hath wreathed it
Where her quiet foliage waves,
And bold Kentucky breathed it,
Through all her ancient caves,
Monadnoc, on his forehead hoar,
Upholds the sacred trust;
The mountains are their monuments,
Though ye destroy their dust.

“Think ye the Eternal's ear is dull,
His sleepless vision dim?
Think ye He'll fail in justice full,
To the wronged who call on Him?”

L. H. SIGOURNEY.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHAPTERS OF "HUGUENOT HISTORY."

1515-1547.

Francis de Valois, Count of Angoulême, ascended the throne of France as the successor of Louis XII, in 1515.

The reign of Francis I, commences the era of modern France, in the development of the arts, especially architecture and sculpture, of which Francis was the lavish patron.

French literature in the sixteenth century was revived in France. Francis had a sympathy with learned men; they received special marks of his favor.

In 1493 Jacques Lefèvre, a professor in the University at Paris, who had taken his degree as doctor in theology, gave great attention to the study of the Bible and evangelical knowledge. Thus a new life and a new doctrine had penetrated the University.

During the reign of Francis I, the doctrines of Martin Luther, the great German Reformer, had gained an entrance into France, but the Reformation had for nearly half a century been established in England.

NOTE.—These remarkable men, called the "Reformers," commenced with John de Wycliffe, an English Reformer, born in 1324, and died December 31, 1384, at the rectory of Lutterworth. Wycliffe was educated at the university of Oxford. During the reign of Edward III and Richard II, he preached the doctrines of the Reformation. * Richard withdrew his influence, which had been in favor of Wycliffe, when God (says the annalist) withdrew his hand from him. Richard, after being deposed, was confined at Pontefract castle where he soon terminated his life.

At the commencement of the fifteenth century, a few miles from Rochester, stood Cowling Castle in the midst of lovely meadows watered by the Medway.

"The fair Medway that with wanton pride,
Forms silver mazes with her crooked tide."

In this quiet retreat resided Sir John Old Castle, Lord Cobham, a gentlemen in great favor with Henry IV. Lord Cobham defended the doctrines of Wycliffe with his sword, saying he would not submit to decrees as dishonor to the everlasting Testament. Thus died a Christian, illustrious after the fashion of his time.

During the reign of Henry VIII, Oxford and London did homage to the learned Erasmus, but he was dethroned by Luther, the monk of Wittemberg. "Luther and Calvin do not appear in England, but ships from the harbors of the Low Countries brought Luther's books to London. In Henry VIII reign, 1525, or later, the universities, the rectories, and the palaces, as well the cottages and the shops of the tradesmen, desired to possess the scriptures."

Subsequently to Luther, John Calvin, the French Reformer's writings, were still more widely disseminated in France.

Francis I endeavored to oppose them by prohibiting all books of Luther and Calvin from his kingdom, and by penal laws and capital punishment to suppress the reformed religion.

Francis I died in 1547, at the age of fifty-three.

In 1529, during the war between France and Germany, two ladies were permitted to restore peace to Europe. Margaret of Austria, aunt to Emperor Charles V, of Germany, and Louisa, mother to Francis I, of France, met at Cambrai and settled the terms of pacification between the French king and the emperor. The peace of Cambrai was called "The ladies' peace."

In 1544, Francis and Charles, tired of harassing each other, concluded at Cressy a treaty of peace.

NOTE.—Martin Luther, in speaking of his own delighted use of the Lord's Prayer, wrote that his custom in private was to take its separate petitions, one by one, and to enlarge upon them; and he says: "And so I have often learned more in one prayer, than I could have from much reading and composing."

During this period from the peace of Cambrai, 1529, to that of Cressy in 1544, the Reformation had gained much ground in Germany.

The Emperor Charles V, appointed a diet of the empire to be held at Spire. The diet issued a decree confirming the edict published against Luther at Worms.

Against this decree as unjust, the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Duke of Lunenburg, the Prince Anhalt, together with the deputies of fourteen imperial or free cities of Germany, entered into a protest.

On that account they were called Protestants, a name that has since become common to all who have receded from the church of Rome.

At the diet of Augsburg the Protestants of Germany presented their system of opinions as composed by Philip Melancthon, a gentleman of most finished education and extremely graceful as a public orator, and withal a lenient Reformer.

This system known as the Confession of Augsburg, from the place where it was presented, was publicly read in the diet.

A decree was issued against the Protestant tenets, which caused the Protestant princes to assemble at Smalkalde and there concluded a league of mutual defense.

The companion of Francis I was his sister Marguerite of Valois, Queen of Navarre. A princess narrates, Brantôme (the courtly historian), of "vigourous understanding and great endowments, both natural and acquired."

The most learned men in the Kingdom acknowledged Marguerite their patroness. When ambassadors from foreign countries had presented themselves at the French court, they were accustomed to wait on Marguerite. They were greatly pleased with her—and on leaving France the fame of her extended to other countries, so states Brantôme, and he adds: "The king would often submit to her matters of importance, leaving them to her decision."

Marguerite de Valois, sister to Francis I, was educated "with strictness by a most excellent and most venerable dame, in whom all the virtues at rivalry, one with another, existed together." [Madame de Chântillon, whose deceased husband had been governor to King Charles VIII.] Marguerite was provided with every kind of preceptors, who made her proficient in profane letters, as they were then called. She learned Latin, Greek, philosophy, and especially theology. "She had a heart," says Brantôme, "devoted to God, and she loved mightily to compose spiritual songs."—History of France, M. Guizot.

Marguerite, seeking for some natural emblem which might express the wants and affections of her soul, took, says Brantôme, that of the flower of the marigold, "which, by its corolla and leaves, has the greatest affinity with the sun, and follows it wherever it goes." She added the following device: "I follow not the things below."

"To testify," adds the courtly writer, "that she directed all her actions, thoughts, wishes and affections to this great Sun, which was God."

She is one of the most remarkable characters of history. Neither Germany nor England presents such a picture as Marguerite of Valois.

Marguerite, while residing at the court of her brother, obtained the books and small treatises called, in the fashion of the time, "Tracts of Luther," and became a Protestant. Thus, amid the brilliancy of the court of Francis I, was one of those conversions of the heart which in every age are produced by the word of God. The opinions and influence of Marguerite had no small share in extending the doctrines of the Reformation in the kingdom of France.

Marguerite, at one time, had so much influence on Francis I, her brother, as to engage him to hear the great Reformer, Melancthon, preach the Reform doctrines, but through the persuasion of Cardinal de Tournon, Francis declined.

Marguerite extended to Calvin her protection; she invited him to her court receiving him with distinguished kindness.

Marguerite, in deep sadness at the course of Francis, wrote a book, entitled "*Miroir de l'âme péchereuse*" ("The Mirror of a sinful soul"), which was supposed to reflect a likeness of her brother.

Marguerite had visited Spain to attend her brother, Francis I, when at Madrid, sick and a prisoner of Charles V, having been taken in the battle of Pavia, February, 1525.

It was through her influence that the Emperor had treated her brother according to his rank, and finally restored him to his kingdom.

Attending the court, in its progress through the provinces, she employed herself in describing the manners of the time, and especially those of the priests and monks. "On these occasions," continues Brantôme, "I often used to hear her recount stories to my grandmother, who constantly accompanied her in her litter, as dame d'honneur, and had charge of her writing desk."

According to some we have here the origin of the Heptaméron; but more recent and esteemed critics have satisfied themselves that Marguerite had no hand in forming that collection, in some parts chargeable with worse than levity, but that it was the work of Desperiers.

In the *Revue des Deux Mondes* M. Ch. Nodier, LXX, p. 350.

"Desperiers is in reality and almost exclusively author of the Heptaméron. I scruple not to say I have no doubt of this, and entirely coincide in the opinion of Bonistnan, who, solely on this account, omitted and withheld the name of the Queen of Navarre."

"If as I think, Marguerite did compose some tales, doubtless the most harmless of those in the Heptaméron, it must have been in her youth — just after her marriage with the Duke of Alençon (1509)." — D'Aubigny.

"Every one loved her," narrates Brantôme. For "she was very kind, gentle, condescending, charitable, very easy of access, giving away much in alms, overlooking no one but winning all hearts by her gracious deportment."

In 1534, Clément Marot, accused of heresy, sought the protection of Renée in Ferrara. He met Calvin in Ferrara, who was engaged on a translation of the Psalms in verse.

Marot translated thirty of the Psalms and dedicated them to Francis I, who not only accepted the dedication, but recommended the work and the author to Charles V, "who accepted the translation graciously, commended it both by words and by a present of two hundred doubloons, which he made to Marot, thus giving him courage to translate the rest of the Psalms, and praying him to send him as soon as possible the Psalm (Trust in the Lord, for He is good), so fond was he of it."

Singular sympathy between Charles V, and his great adversary, Luther, who said of that same Psalm, "It is my friend."

Marot published in 1541 the first thirty Psalms; in 1543, he added twenty others, and dedicated the collection "to the ladies of France."

NOTE.—"The Psalms, translated into French metre by Clément Marot, were set to music by Goudimel, and became extremely popular in the salons of Paris, and at the palace of the Louvre. It is said, that they greatly aided the Protestant cause, and induced people to read the Scriptures, from which the beautiful poetry was drawn which so much charmed their imaginations."

CHAPTER IX.

1547-1559.

Henry II, succeeded his father Francis I, as King of France. He married Catherine, the daughter of Lorenzo de Medici, Duke of Urbino.

Catherine assumed an important part in the government of France. She fascinated all strangers by her elegant manners and great personal beauty, but was noted for her powers of dissimulation of character and her cruelty of disposition.

The preamble to the edict of Châteaubriand, issued in 1551, declares that all efforts to suppress heresy had failed, and that it required the severest measures "to conquer the willfulness and obstinacy of that wretched sect, and to clear the kingdom of them." Edict after edict was issued against them.

In June, 1559, Henry II issued a decree by which the judges were bound to sentence all Lutherans to death, and this decree was published and confirmed by all the parliaments.

Henry II was succeeded by his son Francis II, a youth of sixteen years, who was married to Mary, Queen of Scotland, who had been sent to France in her childhood to be educated. Francis assured his mother she should administer the government in his name. But the house of Lorraine and Bourbon were not disposed to favor that a woman from a foreign country should control the government of France.

In 1560, the balance of power between the two parties at the French court was so equally divided it was now doubtful

NOTE.—In the reign of Henry II, the term Huguenot was applied to all opponents of the Catholic Church of France and Holland. They were so designated during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The name of Huguenot was one of reproach. This term, as applied to the Protestants of France, is of uncertain origin.

In public documents they were styled of the "new religion," or "Reformed" (or of the Reformed church).

if the Huguenots would not control the government of France, as the strife between the parties had divided the kingdom.

The Reformation had great leaders, men who had power and were experienced in the affairs of the world. The Protestants had now become formidable by their numbers, leaders and influence.

"In 1558, the Venetian ambassador stated the number of the Reformers at four hundred thousand. In 1559, at the death of Henry II, Claude Haton, a contemporary chronicler, on the Catholic side, stated that the Reformers composed a fourth of the population of France."—*French History*, Guizot.

In 1559, the Queen of Navarre, Jeanne d'Albret, the daughter of Queen Marguerite, became passionately devoted to the faith and cause of the Reformation. Brantôme says, in her early youth "she was as fond of a ball as of a sermon." Her husband, Anthony de Bourbon, and his brother Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, became devoted to the cause of the Reformation. Admiral de Coligni openly identified himself in the cause.

On the death of Francis II (1561), Catherine de Medici, the Queen mother, was appointed guardian to her son Charles IX, only ten years of age at his accession, and invested with the administration of the kingdom, though not with the title of regent.

Catherine attempts to govern France by balancing the Catholics against the Protestants, in consequence of her maxim, "divide and govern."

When, in 1562, the edict of January was given, there was an effort made to induce the Queen to evade the edict; in declining, the Queen made reply, "that the Calvinists were a powerful party."

The edict of January gave to the Huguenots a formal approval under the authority of the royal seal. The Catholic church denounced the government. A Franciscan monk

reading the royal ordinance in his church of Saint Croix, in Provins, remarked, "Well, now gentlemen of Provins, what must I and the other preachers of France do? Must we obey this order? What shall we tell you? What shall we preach? 'The gospel,' Sir Huguenot will say," adding, stating to his own view the errors of Martin Luther, and Calvin, and other preachers of erroneous doctrines, "Is not this preaching the Gospel?"

The "Edict of January" was soon followed by the massacre of Vassy, under the Duke of Guise, this was the first aggressive step which caused the first civil war in France. These civil wars desolated the kingdom for over thirty years, only interrupted by occasional truces, almost to the close of the sixteenth century.

The Prince of Condé, Louis de Bourbon, was the leader of the Huguenots, and he demanded the punishment of the Duke of Guise as the author of the massacre of Vassy, and sent to the Admiral Coligni to solicit his support. Coligni was at his pleasant castle of Châtillon-sur-Loing, surrounded by his young family. The admiral continued to hesitate before joining him, it was the fear of initiating a "Civil War."

"Peace was far distant,"—peace, which Coligni preferred to his own life, but would not purchase it dishonorably by the sacrifice of civil liberty or his Protestant faith. Many persons of the highest rank in France, at this time came forward and declared themselves to be Protestants, those of large influence and of extensive landed possessions.

The Huguenots had now rendered themselves masters of cities in almost every French province. Many of the nobility were included in their number, among whom was the Count de la Rochefoucauld, the Earl of Montgomery, and others of

NOTE.—"Mem. — de Claude Haton," 211, 213.

"The Rise of the Huguenots of France."—Prof. Baird.

high station. One of the Châtillon, Francois d'Andelot, a younger brother of the Admiral Coligni, Colonel-General of the French infantry, whom the army had surnamed "*Le Chevalier sans peur*," (the knight without fear.)

"The Cardinal Odet de Châtillon, elder brother of Admiral Coligni, under the suspicion that he was a Protestant, he is cited by the Pope's *new nuncio* to appear at Rome, he demanded the red cap taken from the Cardinal. The Constable de Montmorency at his palace of Chantilly, espoused his defense, I am myself a papist; my nephew shall leave neither cap nor dignity, seeing the King's edict gives him that liberty, if otherwise, 'my sword shall be a Huguenot.'"

In 1563 the two Montmorencys, the Constable and his son, the Marshal, espoused Coligni's cause as their own, publicly declaring that any blow aimed at the Châtillons, save by legal process, they would regard and avenge as aimed at themselves.

The edict of Amboise was a half way measure, neither was the accord acceptable to Catholic or Protestant.

The peace of Amboise terminated the first civil war. The royal edict of Pacification was signed March, 1563.

"The prince (Condé) and the Admyrall," wrote the special envoy Middlemore to Queen Elizabeth, "have been twice with the quene mother since my commyng hyther, where the admirall hath bene very earnest for a further and larger lybertye in the course of religion, and so hath obtayned that there shall be preachings within the townes in every valliage, whereas before yt was accordyd but in the suburbs of townes only, and that the gentyl men of the visconte and provoste of Parys shall have in theyr houses the same lybertye of religion as ys accordyd elzwhere. So as the sayd Admyrall doth now seame to lyke well inonghe that he shewyd by the waye to mislyke so muche, which was the harde articles of religion concludyd upon by the prince in his absence."

Letter from Orleans, March 30, 1563.

MSS. State Papers Office.

Duc d'Aumale, Vol. I, 411.

"Rise of the Huguenots," Vol. II, 117.

Elizabeth of England was greatly interested in the state of affairs in France.

And new troops would have entered France from the German borders "This day" writes Cecil To Sir Thomas Smith, ambassador at Paris, Feb. 27, 1562-3,

"Commission passeth hence to the comte of Oldenburg to levy eight thousand footemen and four thousand horse, who will, I truste passe into France with spede and corradg. He is a notable, grave and puissant captayn, and fully bent to hazard his life in the cause of religion."

TH. WRIGHT

Queen Elizabeth and her Time.

But Elizabeth's troops, like Elizabeth's money, came too late.

Of the latter Admiral Coligni plainly told Smith a few weeks later: "If we could have had the money at Newhaver (Havre) but one XIII daies sooner, we would have talked with them after another sorte, and would not have been contented with this accord."

Duc d'Aumale, I, 439.

In 1569 the Prince of Condé was killed at the battle of Jarnac. Coligni now placed the young Henry of Navarre, only sixteen years of age, and the young Prince of Condé, at the head of the Protestant party.

Admiral Coligni was assassinated previous to the massacre of Paris.

"Thus says Davila, died the Admiral Gaspard de Coligni, who had filled the Kingdom of France with the glory and terror of his name for the space of twelve years."

Fleury 24, 45, states the heirs of Coligni were permitted to enter into their estates.

The Massacre of Paris on St. Bartholomew's Day occurred August 24, 1572, a striking picture of which is drawn by Fenelon, the French ambassador at the court of England, in his account of his first audience after that barbarous transaction. "A gloomy sorrow," says he, "sat on every face; silence, as in the dead of night reigned through all the chambers of the royal apartment; the ladies and courtiers clad in deep mourning were ranged on each side; and as I passed by them, in my approach to the queen, not one bestowed on me a favorable look, or made the least return to my salutations."—From Fenelon's Despatches.

"La Rochelle the stronghold of the Huguenots, before which in a manner was assembled the whole force of France, became now the theatre of a civil war, she shut her gates and sustained a siege of eight months.

"During the siege the citizens repelled nine general and twenty particular assaults, and obliged the Duke of Anjou who conducted the attack, and lost twenty-four thousand men, to grant them an advantageous treaty of Pacification in 1573.* Thus ended the fourth civil war."

Charles IX died at the youthful age of twenty-five years; he was succeeded by his brother, the Duke of Anjou, as Henry III, who was also in extreme youth.

The south of France was at this time filled with Protestants, and many were found in the northern provinces.

Henry III and Catherine his mother, failed in establishing peace with their government for fifteen years.

During this time different parties were aspiring to the crown of France.

Henry III of Valois, was at the head of the royal authority; Henry of Guise was the leader of the zealous Catholics and the League; Henry of Navarre was the leader of the Huguenots.

The Duke d'Annale in his *Histoire des Princes de Condé*,

*Davila, lib. 5.

narrates of the battle of Contras, in 1587. "The Bearnésé was on horse-back whilst his adversary was banqueting."

'Joyeuse when near to Contras, found the town occupied by the Protestant advance-guard.

The battle began on October 20, 1587, shortly after sunrise.

Before mid-day the battle was won, and the royalist army routed, and the Duke de Joyeuse in command, was fatally wounded.

The following is a description of the battle of Contras :

"His body was taken to the king's quarters ; there it lay, in the evening, upon a table, in the very room where the conqueror's supper had been prepared ; but the king ordered all who were in the chamber to go out, had his supper things removed else whither, and with every mark of respect, committed the remains of the vanquished to the care of Viscount de Turenne, his near relative.

"On the one side, there was gilded armour, gloriously damasked, glittering in the sun ; painted lances covered with ribbons, with their banderolles dancing in the air ; rich coats of velvet, with broad lace, and galoons of gold and silver ; . . . large and beautifully colored plumes waving on their crests ; . . . scarfs magnificently embroidered and edged with long gold fringe, and all the young cavaliers carrying the ciphers and colors of their mistresses, as if they were marching to a carousal, and not on the point of giving battle."

"On the Huguenot side, they arranged themselves in a line, and in a deep and solemn voice, sung the hundred and eighteenth Psalm ; then knelt while the minister d'Amour, made a short but fervent prayer.

"It is said this attitude was mistaken by the young cavaliers, who exclaimed : ' S'death ! they tremble ; the cowards are at confession.' The venerable minister drew his sword at the conclusion of his prayer, and mingled with the combatants."

"The army led by Navarre, consisted of old soldiers inured

to toil and labor, whose mien was fierce and menacing; uncombed, ill clothed, with their long buff coats all bespattered; over their coarse threadbare clothes, having no other ornament than their trusty bilbo by their sides, and sound armour on their breasts, mounted on traveling horses, without housings," &c.

"After the battle, Navarre repaired to the castle of Coutras. Henry III, to restore the royal authority, endeavored to moderate the difference between his Catholic and Protestant subjects, reducing both to a dependence upon himself.

"Henry granted peace to the Protestants on the most advantageous conditions. They obtained the public exercise of their religion, except within two leagues of the court; party chambers, consisting of an equal number of Protestants and Catholics, were elected in all the parliaments of the kingdom for the more equitable administration of justice."—DAVILA.

There was for Henry III but one possible ally who might do him effectual service, and that was Henry of Navarre, and the Protestants. Henry III was a Catholic, and the prospect of an excommunication troubled him greatly if he had recourse to this party, and Catholicism was in a large majority in France. Henry of Navarre enlisted Swiss infantry and German cavalry, and being still supported by his nobility, and by the princes of the blood, he assembled an army of forty-two thousand men. With these two forces the two kings advanced to the gates of Paris, July, 1589, and were ready to crush the League.

August 2, 1589, Henry III, the last king of the House of Valois, was assassinated.

CHAPTER X.

1589-1685.

The death of Henry III left the succession open to the king of Navarre, who as next heir to the crown assumed the government under the title of Henry IV. The desertion of his troops obliged him to abandon the siege of Paris, and retire into Normandy. There he was followed by the forces of the League, and by the Duke of Mayenne. In this extremity Henry IV applied to the Queen of England. Elizabeth sent him a present of twenty-two thousand pounds, to prevent the desertion of the German and Swiss soldiers, and a reinforcement of four thousand men. He again marched towards Paris, and had almost taken the city by storm; but the Duke of Mayenne entering it with his army, Henry thought it more prudent to retire.

In 1590, soon after, Henry IV attacked the Duke of Mayenne at Ivry, and gained a complete victory. Henry's bearing on this occasion was truly heroic. "My lads," said he to his soldiers, "if you should lose sight of your colors, rally towards this," pointing to a large white plume which he wore in his hat; "you will always find it in the road to honor. God is with us!" added he emphatically, drawing his sword, and rushing into the thickest of the enemy; but when he perceived their ranks broken, and great havoc committed in the pursuit, his natural humanity and attachment to his countrymen returned, and led him to cry, "Spare my French subjects!" forgetting that they were his enemies.—Davila, lib. xi.

The Duke of Mayenne was urged to call an assembly of the states, in order to deliberate on the election of a king. The Catholic friends of Henry IV demanded of him now to de-

NOTE.—Sully tells us wherever the battle raged there towered the white plume.

clare the sentiments of his religion, and their jealousy appeared to increase as he approached nearer to the full possession of his throne.

Henry IV, soon after the taking of Dreux, solemnly made his abjuration at St. Dennis, and received absolution from the archbishop of Bourges.—Davila, lib. xiii.

This course of Henry was highly agreeable to the French nation, though the more zealous Catholics suspected his sincerity. His Protestant allies, particularly the Queen of England, expressed much indignation at this interested change in his religion, though he was influenced by the celebrated Marquis de Rosni, afterward Duke of Sully, and prime minister to Henry IV.

Henry was crowned with much solemnity at Châtres, and all promised a speedy pacification. The Duke of Mayenne retired from Paris. The Duke of Guise made peace, and Henry returned to Paris in triumph where he was received with every possible mark of loyalty! Henry now saw himself established in his kingdom.

In 1594, while these events were taking place in France, war was still carried on with the Protestants in the Low Countries. Queen Elizabeth aided Prince Maurice with her power against Spain.

The war against the Spanish forces in the Low Countries was still continued; besides several bodies of Germans and Swiss, the states took into their service two thousand French veterans, disbanded by Henry IV, on the conclusion of the peace of Vervins; and that prince generously supplied the republic with money.

In 1600 the two armies came to a general engagement at Nieuport, near Ostend. "The conflict was terrible. The field was obstinately disputed for three hours. The Spaniards were defeated with a loss of five thousand men by the valor of the English forces under Lord Vere, who led the van of the con-

federates. A share of the honor was due under the military skill of Prince Maurice to a body of Swiss immediately under his command, who supported the English troops.

"This victory was of the utmost importance to the United Provinces, as the defeat of their army must have been followed by the loss of their liberties and their final ruin as independent states."—Russell, *History of Modern Europe*, vol. I.

NOTE.—"Lord Vere a man whose Coat of Armour made more Renowned than his coat of Arms."

"And whose personal Achievements in the field, especially at the Battle of Nieuport ennobled more than the high blood derived from his Ancestors, but his unstained piety gave him the highest character of all."

Sir Horace [Horatio] Vere, an English nobleman; he was the defender of the Protestants in the Netherlands.

"This noble Lord was one, that could as well wrestle with God, as fight with men, and may be thought to have gotten his victories upon his knees in the closet, before he drew his sword in the field.

"And when he had overcome his enemies he could overcome himself also, being one of the humblest souls, in whom so much true worth lodged, that we have heard of."—*Life of Lady Vere. Distinguished Christians of the Church Nobility and Gentry.* London edition. 1683.

The victories of Lord Vere were long remembered and honored by the English nation and by the Protestants of France and Netherlands.

An epitaph upon the Right Honorable and Religious, the Lady Vere, wife to the most Noble, and Valiant Lord Horatio Vere, Baron Tilbury, who died at the advanced age of ninety years.

Anno Christi, 1671.

"Noble her self; more Noble, 'cause so neer
To the thrice Noble, and Victorious Vere.
That Belgick Lion, whose loud fame did roar,
Heard from the German to the British shoar.
His Trophies she was Joyntur'd in (so say
The Lawyers) Wives shine by their Husbands Ray.
See therefore now, how by his side she stands,
Triumphing 'midst the Graves, those *Netherlands*.
Rather in Heaven, those only we confess,
Are truly called Th' *United Provinces*."

CHARLES DERBY.

April 13, 1598, Henry IV secured to the Protestants their civil rights by the "Edict of Nantes, called the Edict of Peace," which confirmed to them the free exercise of their religion, and gave them equal claims with the Catholics to all offices and dignities.

They were also left in possession of their fortresses, which were ceded to them for their security. This edict afforded to the Protestants a means of forming a kind of republic within the kingdom.

In maintaining the Edict of Nantes Henry IV assured his Parliament that established laws should be respected.

"You see me here in my cabinet, not as the kings, my predecessors, nor as a prince who gives audience to ambassadors — but dressed in my ordinary garb as a father of a family, who would converse with his children. I know there have been parties in the Parliament, and that seditious preachers have been ejected. I will put good order into these people. I will shorten by the head all such as venture to foment faction.

"I have leaped over the walls of cities, and I shall not be terrified by barricades.

"I have made an edict, let it be observed.

"My will must be executed, not interpreted."

With all his errors, Henry IV was a great king, and did more for the prosperity of France than any monarch who had preceded him.

Sully, his chief minister, thus describes him :

"He was candid, sincere, grateful, compassioned, generous, wise, penetrating, and loved by his subjects as a father."

NOTE.— "Nantes, the capital of ancient Brittany, is described as a quaint tumble-down old city, where the houses, with their upper stories projecting over the narrow streets, seemed to be tipsy and the streets crazy. In the old round-towered castle, which they now use as a barracks the good Henry of Navarre signed the famous Edict of Nantes."

In 1610 Henry assisted in the coronation of his queen, Mary de Medicis, and is assassinated the following day by Ravaillac.

Jane d'Albret was the daughter of Henry II, King of Navarre, and Marguerite, sister of Francis I, King of France, and was carefully educated in the Protestant faith from her childhood. She married Anthony of Bourbon, son to Charles, Duke of Vendome, and was the mother of Henry IV, King of France.

"Jane of Navarre inherited the genius and elegance of Marguerite, with acquirements far beyond that period. She possessed the amiable and graceful attractions of domestic life in her character, having great simplicity and purity of manners; she wrote with ease, and spoke Latin and Spanish with fluency. Men of talent and learning thronged her court."

When Anthony of Bourbon, King of Navarre and Béarn, had openly left the Protestants and joined the Princes of Guise, the Queen in disappointment retired to her own dominions on the northern slope of the Pyrenees. There with her son Henry, the Prince of Béarn, and her daughter, the Lady Catharine, in the midst of her own subjects, she was studying, more than any other of her age, the true welfare of her people, and in

NOTE.—In 1604 Henry IV when he was informed of the death of his sister, Catharine de Bourbon (Duchess de Bar), exclaimed, "All ! all ! mother and sister !"

The Duchess de Bar was carried to Vendome, and buried in the tomb of her ancestors, by the side of her mother, Queen Jane of Navarre.—Sully's "Memoirs."

NOTE.—The cradle Henry IV was rocked in, a great tortoise shell, is still kept at Pau in Béarn.

NOTE.—Navarre a small kingdom in the south of France.

NOTE.—The Queen of Navarre had the New Testament printed at her own expense, the Catechism and the prayers used in the Church of Geneva. The same were also translated into the Gascon and printed at La Rochelle for the province of Contabria under the jurisdiction of Navarre.

educating her son soon to appear in history as the leader of the Huguenot party, and on the expiration of the Valois line, to succeed to the throne of France as Henry the Fourth. She had already established the principles of the Reformation in her kingdom, upon which she hoped to see her son lay a foundation of a great and glorious career.

The first preliminary devised by Catharine de Medici for confirming a pretended peace, which was only a ruse to more surely destroy the Protestants, was to send an envoy to Rochelle, in the King's name, to treat with the Queen of Navarre about the marriage between her son Henry and the King's sister, the Lady Marguerita, for which purpose he extended to them an invitation to come to court, where the proposed marriage could be more fully concluded.

Upon the earnest solicitation of the King the Queen of Navarre went the March following (1572) from La Rochelle to the court, which was then at Blois, accompanied by a great retinue.

The articles of marriage were concluded between the King's sister and the Prince of Navarre; the King was to give his sister for her dowry three hundred thousand crowns, each crown being valued at four and fifty shillings.—*Life of Jane of Navarre.*

"Accordingly on May 6 she took her journey from Blois, and arrived on the 15th at Paris, to make suitable preparations for the marriage and the arrival of her son. She went from place to place in the city into several houses and shops in order to furnish herself with such things as were suitable to adorn the approaching marriage.

"An Italian it is said sold to the Queen of Navarre poisoned perfumes (also perfumed gloves that were poisoned) and was afterward heard to boast of what he had done.

She preserved her own chaste and simple style of dress, which might have been termed almost a censure on the costumes of the court.

"Soon after her arrival she fell sick of a continued fever and died June 9, Anno Christi, 1572."—*Life of Jane of Navarre*. London edition. 1683.

While in Paris the Queen had written to Prince Henry.

"My son," she concluded, "you have rightly judged from my letters, that their great object here is to separate you from me and from God. . . . Pray earnestly to God, whose assistance you need at all times, but especially at the present; and I too, will add my fervent prayer, that he will grant you in all your just desires."

"As her strength was decaying, the Queen requested that a clergyman might be present in her sickness, to give her counsel from the Scriptures. She listened to the reading of the fourteenth to the completion of the seventeenth chapter of St. John's Gospel, and in conclusion to the thirty-first Psalm, in which the prophet, among other things, commends his spirit into the hands of God, because, said he, 'Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth!' If Jane of Navarre were a perfect pattern, nothing was ever suggested to lessen her, but that which was her true glory, her receiving the Reformation."

"She both received it and brought her subjects to it. She not only reformed her court, but her whole principality, to such a degree that the golden age seemed to have returned

NOTE.—Catharine de Bourbon, the sister of Henry IV, was alone in the court circle by her simplicity of manners and unostentatious plainness in dress. The dresses, though of the richest material (for she encouraged the silk looms of France), were neither "flounced nor fur-bowed;" she wore her hair cut as prescribed, even when other court ladies of rank in the reformed church refused.

The simplicity of her life discovered itself in her pure, transparent complexion, the delicacy of which was heightened by the lawn kerchief that shaded her neck in spite of Marguerite de Valois' ridicule.

The Lady Catherine married Charles, Duke de Bar. "He was the son of Lorraine, her former suitor. It would seem that the admiration which animated the father had been entailed with his fortunes upon the son."

under her; or rather, Christianity appeared again with the purity and lustre of its first beginnings.”—Bishop Burnet, *Essay on the Memory of Queen Mary*, p. 29.

The Queen of Navarre, Jeanned' Albret, who had gone to Paris in preparation for the marriage, had died there June 8, 1572.

“It was in deep mourning that her son the King of Navarre, arrived at court, attended by eight hundred gentlemen, all likewise in mourning. ‘But,’ says Marguerite de Valois herself, ‘the marriage took place a few days afterwards with such triumph and magnificence as none others of my quality; the King of Navarre and his troop having changed their mourning for very rich and fine clothes, and I being dressed royally, with crown and corset of tufted ermine, all blazing with crown-jewels, and the grand blue mantle with a train four ells long borne by three princesses, the people choking one another down below to see us pass.’ The marriage was celebrated August 18, by the Cardinal of Bourbon, in front of the principal entrance of Notre-Dame.”

NOTE.—It may be of interest to some to observe the changes in the style of dress for the last three centuries. It is said “Marguerite of Valois, both before and after her marriage with the King of Navarre, though she required no aid of art, being singularly beautiful, and yet she often wore false hair and paint. One of the Queen of Navarre's gowns was black satin, covered with embroidery, the expense of which was from four to five hundred crowns, and many other costly gowns. The mourning at this period was black, white and gray, with violet or blue stockings.”

Marguerite being seized with a sudden devotion she presented to the church one of these gowns, adorned with gems of great value.

Henry of Navarre wore at his marriage with Marguerite of Valois a uniform of pale, yellow satin, covered with the richest embroidery, wrought in relief, and decorated with pearls.

King Henry at his second marriage with Mary de Medici was dressed in white satin, embroidered with gold and pearls. Mary of Medici, niece to the Great Duke of Tuscany, was extremely elegant in all her style of dress.

Henry IV was succeeded by his son Louis XIII, during whose minority Mary de Medici, his mother, was appointed regent. Cardinal de Richelieu was the minister of state, and a great favorite of Louis XIII. At this time the Huguenots were able to offer a powerful resistance, as they had become very numerous in the provinces. They still retained La Rochelle, which enabled them to continue a communication with England.

Cardinal Richelieu, though a Catholic prelate, was not a bigot or a persecutor, but a statesman. He was as ready to enter into alliances with Protestant powers as with Catholic powers, for political purposes. Richelieu with his army and navy laid siege to La Rochelle in 1627, to increase the royal government. The siege continued fifteen months, as the city was supported by the English fleet, and by German recruits. La Rochelle from 30,000 inhabitants was reduced to 5,000, from famine. The possession of the city was given to the royal troops October 30, 1628.

Mazarine, prime minister of France, was the successor of Richelieu. At the Mazarine palace he died in 1661, at the age of fifty-one years. "A few days before his death he was carried, in his chair, to the promenade, exquisitely dressed and rouged; the courtiers ironically complimented him on his appearance, telling him he never looked 'so fresh and vermillion.' Mazarine had completed his political career; he had married his nieces to the first nobles in Europe, and amassed immense wealth. His love of fine paintings became a passion. His health was daily failing, and he consulted his physicians upon the nature of his malady, who frankly told him he could not live longer than two months. The cardinal, in his dressing-gown and nightcap, tottered to his gallery of pictures. Brienne, his friend, followed him; 'he stood gazing upon them with hands clasped.' 'Look,' he exclaimed, 'look at that Correggio! this Venus of Titian! that Deluge of Carracci! Oh,

my friend, I must quit all these. Adieu, dear pictures, that I loved so truly, that have cost me so much!’ ‘I shall never see them more where I am going.’”—*The History of France*, by M. Guizot and Madame Guizot de Witt.

MADAME DE MAINTENON, THE LAST YEARS OF LOUIS XIV.

BY THE AUTHOR OF MIRABEAU.

A translation from the French (Madame de Maintenon.)

Françoise d’Aubigné was descended from an honorable and ancient family of France; her grandfather, Theodore Agrippa d’Aubigné, was a Huguenot, and the devoted friend and companion of Henry IV. Her father, Constant d’Aubigné, had acquired consideration at court and wealth for his treachery to the Huguenots; his father disinherited him; he was then detected in a treasonable correspondence with the English, and imprisoned by the government.

Françoise was born in the prison of the Conciergerie of Niort, 1635. Her godfather was the celebrated Duke de la Rochefoucauld, her godmother was the daughter of the Baron du Neuillant, the governor of Niort.

In great destitution were the parents of Françoise. Madame de Villette, a sister of her father, and a Huguenot, brought them relief, removing the little Françoise to her home. But when Constant d’Aubigné was transferred to a prison at Bordeaux the mother took Françoise to share with her a prison life with her father. In 1639, after unwearied solicitations, Madame d’Aubigné obtained her husband’s enlargement, after which they embarked for Martinique, to make their fortunes in a new world of surroundings.

During the voyage little Françoise fell dangerously ill, and was at last laid out as dead. The body was just about to be committed to the sea when the mother, as she held it in a last passionate, parting embrace, felt a slight movement. “My child is not dead!” she shrieked. “Her heart beats!” The

little girl was put back into bed, and in few days was restored to health.

By what trifles are the destinies of men and of nations decided! Had not the mother's heart craved for yet another embrace, or had the sailor who was to have been the gravedigger of the sea been but a moment quicker, the edict of Nantes might never have been revoked, and the latter years of Louis the Fourteenth might have been wholly different. What wonderful events hang upon moments!—upon some apparently insignificant life!

The mother of Françoise, who had herself been so schooled in adversity, desired to instil into the child's mind something of her own courage and fortitude.

“One day while in Martinique the house took fire. Seeing little Françoise weep bitterly, Madame said reprovingly, ‘I thought you had more courage. Why should you weep thus for the loss of a house?’ ‘It is not for the house I am weeping,’ answered the child, quickly, ‘but for my doll!’”

The child is the father of the man—the mother of the woman.

In those words are the germ of the future intensely selfish nature of Madame de Maintenon.

In Martinique Constant d'Aubigné again acquired wealth, owning large plantations, but gambled them away and died. Madame d'Aubigné returned to France. Françoise was again committed to the protection of Madame de Villette, who readily undertook the charge, and at once proceeded to train her little niece in the doctrines of the Reformed faith.

“Years of poverty, of successive misfortune, of silent endurance, of living in the shadow of life, had hardened and chilled Madame d'Aubigné's character into coldness and severity, beneath which her virtues and affections were concealed. Madame de Villette, who had lived in the sunshine of life, was on the contrary, smiling, tender, loving, and so child-

like, the little Françoise soon began to prefer this cheerful lady to the troubled, saddened mother, and to embrace all her teachings with the utmost docility.

“One day Françoise refused to accompany her mother to mass. Madame d’Aubigné with her usual energy at once appealed to Anne of Austria, to issue an order for the girl’s restoration to her own custody. The order was granted, and the young Huguenot was handed over to her god-mother, the Countess de Neuillant, to be brought back to the Catholic faith. But Françoise was not yet to be converted, so as a punishment for her contumacy she was set to perform the most menial offices, among others, to measure out the corn for the horses, and to look after a flock of turkeys. ‘It was there, in the farm yard,’ she used to say, ‘I first began to reign.’”

As not even these degradations could bend her firm spirit, she was consigned to a convent. Mademoiselle d’Aubigné, after a time, renounced her Protestant faith.

Leaving her convent life, and her mother having died, “Mademoiselle d’Aubigné, after a training to wither the heart and to fill the soul full of bitterness, the flavor of which abides with us evermore. A childhood of privation is a poor preparation for a noble life; little that is truly generous, tender and merciful ever comes from it, but much that is hard, cold, selfish and hypocritical.”

“Mademoiselle d’Aubigné was beautiful, graceful, accomplished, clever, spirituelle,” and when sixteen years of age, she was married to the Abbé Scarron.

After his death, Madame Scarron was reduced once more to a state of destitution, being deprived of her pension by the death of Anne of Austria.

In 1669 the Maintenon estate was for sale; the King purchased it, and bestowed it upon Madame Scarron, it being a most convenient residence for the royal children, and for herself, their guardian, the estate being in the near vicinity of Versailles.

“Madame de Maintenon erased from her carriage the arms of Scarron, substituting her own in their place — she had now assumed that title. Although she had been mixed up with the society of the Fronde, of which throughout his life Louis entertained the greatest horror, Louis, ill-educated himself, hated learned women.” It would appear that Madame de Maintenon aspired to govern the mind of Louis XIV. Even as early as 1676, writing of Madame de Maintenon, Madame de Sévigné says, “Every thing is subject first to her empire.”

Louis XIII was succeeded by his son, Louis XIV, whose mother, Anne of Austria, was declared regent of the kingdom.

The reign of Louis XIV was the greatest in French history, great in the grandeur of its King, the splendor of its court, the commanding talent of its generals and its ministers, the success in its arms, the nobleness of its literature.

Marmontel narrates that throughout his life Louis XIV was always governed, either by his ministers or the ladies of his court. It would appear that no important act of that long reign emanated from the unprejudiced judgment of the monarch — the most absolute that ever reigned over France. Perhaps there is no more extraordinary history upon record than that of Madame de Maintenon at the court of Louis XIV, who governed by her influence one of the proudest sovereigns and through him the entire kingdom of France.

In 1683 the Queen of Louis XIV, who was extremely fond of Madame de Maintenon, died in that lady's arms. From that hour Madame de Maintenon appeared to propose for herself but one object in life — to become the wife of Louis XIV.

DUKE ST. SIMON'S TESTIMONY.

“She brought to pass what our eyes have seen, but which posterity will refuse to believe. But what is very certain and very true is, that in the middle of the winter which followed the Queen's death, Louis XIV was privately married to Madame de Maintenon.

"She had great remains of beauty, bright and sprightly eyes, an incomparable grace," says St. Simon, who detested her, "an air of ease and yet of restraint and respect, and a great deal of cleverness, with a speech that was sweet, correct, and in good terms, and naturally eloquent and brief."

The marriage of Louis XIV to Madame de Maintenon was known only to a few persons at the French court, for Louis never publicly acknowledged her as his queen.

He regarded her with great respect, and her opinion was sought by him on all occasions.

Madame with her needlework now sat by him in all his consultations with his ministers of state, and he would very gallantly inquire of her at the end of these interviews :

"What does your solidity think?"

And yet this brilliant long reign of seventy years of Louis XIV became sad and mournful to the French court. For the King kept up all his old state with all his untameable pride, for it was glory only he had sought, and yet with the weight of years his strength and spirit were gone.

And Madame de Maintenon, though she had attained the summit of her earthly hopes in her marriage with Louis, would say : "No one could guess what a dreadful thing it was to have to amuse an unamuseable king."—The last record of Madame de Maintenon.

October 22, 1685, the King struck a blow against her greatness and prosperity, from which, even at the present day, France has never wholly recovered. It was on that day that, yielding at last to the solicitations of Madame de Maintenon and Father La Chaise, his confessor, he revoked the Edict of Nantes, and blotted out all the previous glory of his reign.

NOTE — Père la Chaise, a French Jesuit, confessor of Louis XIV, born August, 1624 ; died January, 1709. He promoted the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The King built for him a country-seat called "Mount Louis." Its gardens are now the cemetery Pere la Chaise, in Paris.

Duke St. Simon, a courtier of Louis XIV, writes of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, though himself a Catholic, that it was ruinous to the interests of France.

EXTRACT FROM BISHOP BURNET'S HISTORY OF HIS OWN TIME.

He writes: "While I was in Paris I took a little house, and lived by myself as privately as I could until the beginning of August, when I went to Italy.

"I found the Earl of Montague at Paris, with whom I conversed much, and from him I had knowledge of the affairs of the court that the king had been for many years weakening the interests of the Protestants."

Rouvigny, who was the deputy-general of the churches, (known at the English Court as Earl of Galway still remained firm to the Huguenots;) he told me that he was long deceived in his opinion of the king.

CHAPTER XI.

COLONIAL HISTORY.

Hon. William Stoughton, of Dorchester, Hon. Joseph Dudley, of Roxbury, contemplating a settlement, petitioned the General Court in respect to the ownership of lands in the Nipmuck country, and the rights of the Indians in them.

The Court replied to this petition May 11, 1681, as follows:

"The Court judgeth it meete to grant this motion, and doe further desire & impower the worthfull Wm. Stoughton & Joseph Dudley Esqrs. to take particular care & inspection into the matters of the land in the Nipmug Country, what

titles are pretended to by Indeans or others, and the validity of them, and make retorne of what they find therein to this Court as soone as may be.— Mass. Col. Rec., V, 315.

They further reported, October 16, 1681 :

“Since which time, in September last, perceiving a better vnderstanding amongst them, wee warned senerall of the principall claymers to attend vs into the country & travajle the same in company with us as farr & as much as one weeke would allow us & find that the southerne part, clajined by Black James and company is capable of good settlement, if not too scant of meadow, though vuerteine what will fall w’tin bounds if our lyne be to be quaestioned.” — Mass. Col. Rec., V, 328.

The boundary between the Massachusetts and Connecticut colonies was at this time unsettled.

The same commissioners, Stoughton and Dudley, were authorized by the General Court to treat with the Indians for that purpose, and “to agree with them upon the easiest terms that may be obtajned.” — Ibid, 329.

The action of the Court appears limited to the Nipmuck lands. On February 18, 1681–2, another report was made by the commissioners to the Court, stating that they had agreed for all the land belonging to the Hassanamesit and Natick Indians.

“lying fower miles northward of the present Springfield road, & southward to that, hane agreed betweene Blacke James & them, of which wee aduised in our late retorne, wee haue purchased at thirty pounds money & a coate.

“The southern halfe of sajd country we haue purchased of Blacke James & Company, for twenty pounds.”— 1 Mass. Col. Rec., V, 342.

Stoughton and Dudley being approved by the Court, one thousand acres of land were voted to each for their “great care & pajnes.”

These grants were surveyed by John Gore, at Manchang, in one plat, and confirmed to Stoughton and Dudley June 4, 1685.

In act of the General Court in confirming this grant it is described, viz.: "Conteyning 1800 acres with allowance of additions of two hundred more next adjoining to compleat the same to 2000 acres....in the Nipmug Country, at a place called Marichonge [Manchang] the line being marked with ranging markes in the corners with S. D." [the initials of grantees]. — 2 *Ibid*, 343. 3 *Ibid*, 488.

"According to the earliest plan in the Oxford Reckords, 'Manchang Farm' measured 674 rods on its east and west lines, and 434 rods on its north and south lines. This included both Stoughton and Dudley's shares. A later plan, made after the incorporation of the town of Dudley, in 1731, gives 'Manchang Farm' as 1100 acres, the property of the 'heirs of Mr. Dudley,' and 'belonging' to Oxford. A still later plan made in 1756 shows 1020 acres as in Oxford, and belonging to Thomas Dudley — and adjoining it on the east; in Sutton, is shown the balance of the plat as 'now Richard Waters,' and others."

At Natick, May 19, 1682, these deeds, dated Feb. 10, 1681-2, were delivered. The commissioners reported to the

NOTE.—On the back of the original deed is the following: viz. "That on the twentieth day of May 1685 full and peaceable possession and seizure, of the Lands within mentioned to be granted with the appurtenances was given by Benjamin the brother of Black James and Simon Wolomp son of the sayd Black James by delivery of a turffe of the Land called Mayanexet upon a small twigg, in the name of the whole, unto the within named William Stoughton and Joseph Dudley, which was so done under a tree growing on the sayd Mayanexet land, and then marked S. D. in the presence of us."

Whose names are underwritten.

JOHN BLACKWITH,
ROBT. PURDOUR.

NOTE.—The Huguenots in the Nipmuck country.

court on May 27, 1682, that they had purchased "from the principall men of Naticke . . . of a parcell of remote & wast land, belonging to said Indians, lying at the vtmost westerly bounds of Naticke, and, as wee are informed, is for quantity about — aeres, more or lesse, being mean land." These deeds received the confirmation of the Court.—*Ibid*, 361.

The first deed was exeuted for the consideration of thirty pounds, and its first signature was that of Waban, who was chief at Natick. Attached to the same deed were twenty-two added signatures. In the second deed, exeuted for twenty pounds, was the signature of Black James of Chaubunagun-gamang, followed by twenty-nine other signatures, "all that part of the Nipmug eountry, . . . lying and being beyond the great ryuer called Kuttatuck, or Nipmug [Blackstone] Ryver, and betweene a rainge of marked trees, beginning at sajd riuier and running south east till it fall vpon the south lyne of the sajd Massachusetts colony on the south, and a certaine imaginary lyne fowre miles on the north side of the road, as it now lyeth, to Springfeild on the north, the sajd great riuier Kuttatuck or Nipmuck on the eastward, and the sajd patent lyne on the westward."—*Mass. Col. Rec.*, V, 361.

FIRST DEED.

"To all Christian People to whom this present Deed shall come ;

"Know ye, that we Waban, Pyambobo, John Awassawog, Thomas Awassawog, Samuel Awassawog, John Awassawog, Jr., Anthony Tray, John Tray, Peter Ephraim, Nehemiah James, Rumeny Marsh, Zackery Abraham, Samuel Neauцит, Simon Sacomit, Andrew Pittyme, Ebenezer Pegin, John Magnaw, James Printer, Samuel Acompanit, Joseph Milion, and Samuel Cocksquamion, Indian natives, and natural descendants of the ancient proprietors and inhabitants of the Nipmuck country (so called) and lands adjacent within the

Colony of Massachusetts, in New England, for and in consideration of the sum of thirty pounds, current money of New England, to us in hand, at and before the ensealing and delivery of these presents, well and truly paid by William Stoughton, of the town of Dorchester, Esq., and Joseph Dudley, of the town of Roxbury, Esq., both within the Colony of Massachusetts, the receipt of which valuable sum we do hereby acknowledge ourselves therewith fully satisfied, have granted, bargained, and sold unto said William Stoughton and Joseph Dudley, their heirs and assigns, forever, all the lands lying within the said limits or bounds, be they more or less. In witness whereof, we have hereunto put our hands and seals this 10th day of February, Anno Domini, one thousand six hundred and eighty-one, and in the four-and-thirtieth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, King Charles the Second, over England," &c.

"Signed, sealed, and delivered in presence of us,

Samuel Ruggles, Sen.,

Daniel Morse,

Samuel Gookin,

John Allen,

Obadiah Morse."

"Waban, <i>X</i>	his mark and seal.
Pyambobo, <i>O</i>	" "
John Awassawog, <i>O</i>	" "
Samuel Awassawog, <i>m</i>	" "
Samuel Bowman, <i>h</i>	" "
John Awassawog, Jr., <i>V</i>	" "
Anthony Tray, <i>A</i>	" "
Thomas Tray,	" "
Benjamin Tray, <i>P</i>	" "
Jethro, <i>B</i>	" "
Joseph Ammon, <i>Jo</i>	" "
Peter Ephraim, <i>be</i>	" "

Andrew Pittyme, <i>An</i>	his mark and seal.	
Nehemiah,	"	"
Zackery Abraham, <i>H</i>	"	"
Samuel Neaucit, <i>M</i>	"	"
Thomas Waban, <i>m</i>	"	"
George Moonisco, <i>G</i>	"	"
Eleazer T. Pegin,	"	"
Simon Sacomit,	"	"
Great Jacob Jacob,	"	"
Elisha Million, <i>O</i> ,	"	"

In the second deed is the following: "All that part of the sajd Nipmug country . . . lying & being on the south part of the sajd colony of the Mattachusets, beyond the great riuer, . . . bounded with the Mattachusets patent line . . . on the south, and certeine marked trees, beginning at the sajd riuer and runing south east, till it strike vpon the bounds the of sajd patent line; on the north, the said great riuer; on the east, and coming to a point on the west."—1 Mass. Col. Rec., V, 362-365.

Feb., 1681-2. The commissioners reported to the Court, "The whole tract in both deeds conteyned is in a forme of a trjangle & reduced to a square, conteyneth a tract about fifty miles long and twenty miles wide."—Ibid, 342.

In the second deed there was a reservation of five miles square, to the native Indians, which might be chosen in two separate tracts of land. The first was on the Quinebaug river at Maanexit, three or four miles southerly of Chaubunagun-gamaug. The other tract of land, four or five miles southeasterly of Maanexit, in the present town of Thompson.—1 Mass. Col. Rec., V, 488.

Most of the first reservation was subsequently conveyed to Dudley or his heirs, and a part of the land was incorporated in the town which received his name.

The second deed was of the same date, the same territory

included, with the consideration of twenty pounds lawful money of New England, making fifty pounds as the full payment for the relinquishment of the Indian title to the tract of country thus conveyed, but had a reservation, viz.: "Reserving always unto ourselves, our heirs and assigns, out of the above said grant, a certain tract of land five miles square, at such two places as we shall choose, to be wholly at our own use and dispose." This reservation was at "Chaubunagungamang, surveyed in October, 1684, to Black James and others. It extended west from Chaubunagungamang pond (from which the Indian town here took its name), over Maanexit river (French river). Nearly all this tract, with other lands between the towns of Oxford and Woodstock, became the property of Joseph Dudley, and afterwards fell to his sons, the Hon. Paul and William Dudley. Part of this Indian land is now within the limits of Thompson, Ct., and part in Dudley."

Second deed, signed sealed and delivered in presence of,

William Parker,
Isaac Newell,
John Gove,
Samuel Ruggles, Jr.,
Peter (his X mark) Gardiner,
Ralph Brodhurst.

Black James, <i>U</i>	and seal.
Sam Jaco, <i>E</i>	"
Benjamin, <i>O</i>	"
Simon Wolamp, <i>Lo</i>	"
Wolowa Nonck, <i>F</i>	"
Pe Pey Pegans,	"
Poponi Shant, <i>Ts</i>	"
Cotoosowk, son of	
Wolompaw, by his order,	
Wabequola, <i>Wab</i>	
Siebquat, his mark, <i>S</i>	

A grant of land was made to Robert Thompson in the Nipmug country, as follows :

“This Court, being informed by our agents, now in England, of the good will & friendship of Maj Robert Thompson, of London, & his readiness vpon all occasions to be assistants to them in the service of this colony, wherein they are, according doe, by way of gratuity, give vnto the said Major Thompson & his heires, five hundred acres of land in the Nipmug country, to be lajd out, to him wth all reasonable convenience. Dated May 16th, 1683.”—1 Mass. Col. Rec., V, 409.

Major Robert Thompson, who is mentioned in this grant, had been for a length of time a resident of Boston, New England.

He was a member of the first corporation established in England, by an act of Parliament July 19, 1649, for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians of New England, and when the Hon. Robert Boyle resigned the office of president of the society, he was succeeded by Major Thompson.

He received a special grant of five hundred acres of land from Massachusetts, besides his share of the grant for Oxford, in 1683, in acknowledgment of his good will and friendship for the colony. This grant was afterward laid out in the territory EAST of Woodstock, which became the north part of Killingly. In 1731 the General Assembly of Connecticut granted to Joseph Thompson, Esq., of the Inner Temple, London, grandson and heir of the said Robert Thompson, Esq., of the parish of Stoke, Newington, deceased, two thousand acres,

NOTE.—Governor Gurdon Saltonstall, in behalf of his great grandfather, Sir Richard Saltonstall, owned one thousand acres here.

Josiah Wolcott, of Salem, had two thousand acres here, formerly the property of Thomas Freake. The first sale of land in this tract was by this Mr. Wolcott and his wife Mary (Freake) Wolcott, of Salem, to Josiah Sabin, April 10, 1716.

near the grant before to his grandfather, which, with the five hundred as aforesaid, making two thousand five hundred acres, was given in remembrance of the valuable services of Major Thompson. In 1730, "The North Parish of Killingly" was, in honor to Major Thompson, changed to Thompson's Parish. In 1785 it was again changed to Thompson.

The grant for Oxford, Mass'tts, was made May 16 — 1683.

"This court having information that some gentlemen in England are desirous to remove themselves into this colony, & (if it may be) to settle themselves vnder the Massachusetts; for the incouragement of such persons, and that they may haue some from among themselves, according to their motion, to assist & direct them in such a designe, this Court doth grant to Major Robert Thompson Willjam Stoughton and Joseph Dudley, Esq., and such others as they shall associate to them, a tract of land in any free place, conteyning eight miles square, for a towneship, they settling in the sayd place w'thin fower yeares, thirty famijes & an able orthodox minister, and doe allow to the sayd towneship freedom from country rates for fower years from the time aboue ljmited" — May 16, 1683." — Mass. Col. Rec., vol. V, p. 408.

"The plan, a copy of which is now in the town clerk's office, comprehended forty-one thousand two hundred and fifty acres, or a little less than sixty-five square miles, and was two thousand one hundred and fourteen rods, or six and two-thirds miles on the easterly side; three thousand three hundred and forty rods, or about ten and a half miles on the southerly; one thousand nine hundred and sixty-eight rods, or about six miles on the westerly; and three thousand two hundred and sixteen rods, or about ten miles on the northerly. The description in the deed of division — hereafter described — begins at the south-west corner of Worcester, which was near the present village of Auburn, and from thence the line ran nearly south, to the north-west corner of Mr. Dudley's grant of one thou-

sand acres before alluded to,* and thence south fifteen degrees east, by the west line of said farm to a point about one and a quarter miles south-westerly of the village of West Sutton, and a mile and a half west of Manchaug pond, known as 'Manchang Corner' — thence west fifteen degrees south, to a point a little north of Peter pond in the easterly part of Dudley, and thence continuing westerly, crossing the Quinebaug river to a point in the vicinity of Sandersdale, in the easterly part of Southbridge, thence northerly to a point about two miles westerly of Charlton city, on the Sturbridge line, thence easterly, bearing northerly, to the south-west corner of Worcester.

"These lines enclosed, besides the present town of Oxford, nearly the whole of Charlton, about one-fourth of Auburn, one-fifth of Dudley, and three or four square miles of the north-eastern portion of Southbridge.

"Through this tract there ran, due north and south a 'way,' twenty rods in width, called 'the common way.' The design of this unusual provision can only be conjectured, but as it is called on an old plan the 'proprietors' common way,' it was a reserve for the purpose of access to the several allotments of the lands west of the village. We find no subsequent allusion to it in the records, and later it is believed, it became a part of the village territory, and its western lines the boundary. This dividing line cut off from the main grant eleven thousand two hundred and fifty acres of the eastern portion, a tract six and two-thirds miles long, and two and one-half miles wide, which was given to the (planters) for a 'Village,' or a general Plantation.

"The remaining thirty thousand acres was divided into five equal parts, the division lines running easterly and westerly. These parts were allotted as follows: The northernmost to

*The Huguenots in the Nipmuck country.

Robert Thompson, the second to Daniel Cox, the third to William Stoughton, the fourth to John Blackwell, and the southernmost to Joseph Dudley. Mr. Cox's portion is subdivided on the plan between Blackwell, Freak and Cox. All the bounds mentioned in this deed were of a transient nature — marked trees, a heap of stones, or a stake, constituting them all except one, which is permanent, and this was at the north-east corner of the natural pond at the present Hodges' village. This bound marked 'the village line,' as it was called Mr. Blackwell's north line joined the village line at this point, so that the pond was in the north-eastern angle of his portion, and is called on the plan referred to, 'Blackwell's pond.' On another plan of early date his share is designated as now 'Papillon's,' and on another later as 'Woleut's and Williams'."

The following letter from Dr. Cox, of England, to Governor Bradstreet, dated "London, October 10, 1684.

NOTE.—Josiah Wolcott, Esq., a gentleman in his time distinguished in the history of the town — as was Mr. Williams, both were grandsons of Peter Papillon of Boston.

NOTE.—The deed of division gives the Indian name to the pond which was "Augutteback."

NOTE.—The deed of division is a document of historical interest, and is now in possession of the New York Historical Society. It was presented by Charles Welford, Esq., of London, in the year 1872. This deed is on parchment, and elegantly executed, and is in good preservation, the prominent words and phrases in old English German text. In size its length is two feet three inches, and two feet five inches in width ; it is closely written in a legible hand.

Attached to the instrument are five loops of parchment, bearing only the remains of seals in wax at the bottom of the parchment like pendants.

The left hand seal bears the name of Joseph Dudley, and the second William Stoughton, and the fifth has the name of John Blackwell.

On the back of the document are the signatures of witnesses, viz.: Samuel Witty, Edward Thomas, Daniel Bondet, J. B. Tuffean and William Blackwell.

“Divers persons in England and Ireland, gentlemen, citizens, and others, being inclined to remove themselves into foreign parts, where they may enjoy, without interruption, the public exercise of the Christian religion, according to what they apprehend to be of Divine institution, have prevailed with Mr. Blackwell to make your country a visit, and inquire whether they may be there welcome, and which they may reasonably expect — that liberty they promise themselves and others, who will attend their motion.”

Among the associates of these three gentlemen whose names appear in the grant for Oxford, were Doctor Daniel Cox, Captain John Blackwell, of London, and Thomas Freake, of Hannington, in the county of Wilts, England.

It would appear that these gentlemen were Puritan Dissenters, who designed to remove and settle permanently in this country, but they were deterred by a favorable change in England in political and church affairs by the death of Charles II, and the short reign of James II, and William III succeeding to the throne of England, giving to England a constitution protecting the rights of the people.

On the petition of these grantees, in 1685, the General Court extended the time for settling upon this grant the thirty families, as follows:

“In answer to the motion and request of William Stoughton and Joseph Dudley, Esq, on behalf of Major Thompson and themselves, desiring this Court’s favor to enlarge the time of their grant of their plantation, this Court do enlarge the time for settling that plantation therein mentioned, the space of three years from this day. January, 1685.” — See Records of General Court, vol. V, p. 594.

CHAPTER XII.

“THE HUGUENOT’S FAREWELL.”

- “And I obey—I leave their towers
Unto the stranger’s tread;
Unto the creeping grass and flowers,
Unto the fading pictures of the dead.
- “I leave their shields to slow decay,
Their banners to the dust;
I go, and only bear away
Their old majestic name—a solemn trust.
- “I go up to the ancient hills
Where chains may never be;
Where leap in joy the torrent rills,
Where man may worship God, alone and free.
- “There shall an altar and a camp,
Impreguably arise;
There shall be lit a quenchless lamp,
To shine unwavering through the open skies.
- “And song shall ’midst the rocks be heard,
And fearless prayer ascend;
While thrilling to God’s most Holy Word,
The mountain pines in adoration bend.
- “And there the burning heart no more,
Its deep thought shall suppress;
But the long buried truths shall pour
Free currents thence amidst the wilderness.
- “Then fare thee well, my mother’s bower,
Farewell, my father’s hearth!
Perish my home! whence lawless power
Hath rent the tie of love to native earth.
- “Perish! let death-like silence fall,
Upon the lone abode;
Spread fast, dark ivy—spread thy pall!
I go up to the mountains, with my God.”

MRS. HEMANS.

At the revocation of the Edict of Nantes 1685, many of the French exiles from Normandy, Languedoc, and other parts of France, repaired to England and Ireland. In London they were received with great kindness. Here the French artisans commenced trades in silk, tapestries, fine linens and the building of ships, and reached great success in other commercial departments.

"The Episcopal church is not without its own traditions of amity with the Huguenots. In the closing years of the sixteenth century the silk looms of the French and Flemish refugees filled the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, and to this day the descendants of the persecuted people maintain their worship beneath the roof of that ancient and accredited home of Anglican religion."—Wm. R. Huntington, D. D.

The Protestant countries of Europe, England, Holland, Germany and Switzerland, extended their sympathy and hospitality to the Huguenots.

"The cordial understanding that existed between the Reformed Churches of France and the Church of England, dated from the time of Calvin."

On their part the English Reformers showed no less cordiality toward Calvin and other Continental divines, freely acknowledging the validity of their orders, and inviting their counsel and concurrence in the most important measures.

The Church of England extended to them a generous welcome. Bristol next to London presented great attractions to the French refugees, for here they enjoyed the favor and patronage of the Bishop, Sir Jonathan Trelawney, and a church offered them for French service.—Dr. Baird.

Many refugees escaped to England without being able to secure any portion of their estates. For these provision was already secured. There was a balance that remained of a fund raised some few years before by contributions throughout England for the relief of French Protestants. Additional

benefactions were added in April, 1686. The fund thus contributed amounted to the sum of a quarter of a million pounds sterling, known as the Royal Bounty. A royal letter or brief enjoining these collections was necessary in order to their legality, but as neither Charles II nor James II had any sympathy in the movement, it was done reluctantly. Refugees were assisted by the committee that dispensed the Royal Bounty, or by the consistory of the French church in London.

"A brief for a collection on behalf of the Protestant refugees, was issued by King William III, in the year 1699. The proceeds amounting to nearly twelve thousand pounds, were intrusted as usual to the Chamber of the city of London, for safe keeping. From this fund disbursements were made by the Chamberlain, upon the order of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir William Ashurst, and others composing the Committee."

In the early part of the seventeenth century it would appear from the history of the Church of England of that time that the French divines were held greatly in favor by the English church, as extracts from an ancient "Treatise," by Bishop Hall will establish their relations of church sympathy. Bishop Hall refers to Dr. Prideaux, of Oxford, and Dr. Primrose of the French church, in London.

While many of the French exiles were leaving the Old World and abandoning their homes, they sought protection and new homes on the shores of New England. "America was regarded by the wandering Huguenot as a blissful home," and no inconsiderable number came to this country.

Mrs. Lee states with great truthfulness :

"In viewing the refugees, we are not to lose sight of the peculiar circumstances under which they fled to this country ; — whole families together, women tenderly educated, and unaccustomed to hardship, 'men of refined and cultivated minds.' 'Some few were able to secure a portion of their wealth, others

escaped with only their lives.' But they all brought with them those accomplishments and mental acquisitions which they had gained in polished society. Wherever the Huguenots made a settlement they were among the most estimable citizens."

Dr. Snow, in his history of Boston, states that "during the summer of 1686 a number of vessels arrived at that port, having on board French refugees.

"Many of whom were of the company who came to New Oxford, and had left England in reference to a settlement on that grant for a township."

Thursday, July 5th. On this day Foy arrives. Several gentlemen came over with Foy, some of them with estates.—*Diary of Samuel Sewell*, vol. 1, p. 219.

Gabriel Bernon arrived in Boston July 5, 1688, in the ship *Dolphin*, John Foy, master, with a company of forty persons.

Bernon certifies he paid the passage of over forty persons to America. Bernon ship'd himself with his family, servants, and associates, with Capt. Foye and also with Capt. Ware.

Foy did not sail from Gravesend before April 26, 1688, when Bernon signed a contract with Pierre Cornilly.—*Bernon Papers*.

Bernon arrived in London from Amsterdam early in the year 1687.

Here he was introduced to Mr. Robert Thompson by a French refugee.

Mr. Thompson was the president of the Society for Promoting and Propagating the Gospel in New England.

The General Court of Massachusetts had granted to a company, organized with Robert Thompson at its head, a large tract of land, eight miles square, for the site of a settlement in New Oxford, in the Nipmuck country. No settlement had as yet been made. Bernon was made a member of this society for propagating the gospel among the Indians, and was offered a share in the company's Massachusetts lands, and be-

came the founder of Oxford. Isaac Bertrand du Tuffeau, a refugee from Poitou, hearing of Bernon's plans, offered to proceed to New England, obtain a grant, and commence a plantation. Bernon advanced money for the settlement.

There was a French congregation in Boston established in 1685; a French church was erected in 1715 on School street. Rev. Laurent Van den Bosch was the first minister of the French congregation in Boston, having removed from Holland to England; he conformed to the English church, and received a license from the Bishop of London. Mr. Van den Bosch was not received favorably in Boston. He was succeeded by Rev. David de Bonrepos, who came from the island of St. Christopher to Boston in 1686, but subsequently in 1687 removed to New Rochelle, Staten Island, and New Paltz, in the New York province. Rev. Pierre Daillé came to Boston in 1696, from New York, where he had been the French minister. Mr. Daillé was possessed of great learning; he wrote Latin fluently.

The English sometimes attended the French church, as Rev. Pierre Daillé was a favorite in society, but some of the English Puritans could not be pleased when a liturgy formed a part of the church service, or with any observance of Christmas or Easter.

In the famous diary of Samuel Sewall there is the following item:

"This day I spake with Mr. Newman about his partaking with the French Church on the 25th of December on account of its being Christmas day, as they abusively call it."

Yet the excellent Cotton Mather said:

"'Tis my hope that the English Churches will not fail in Respect to any that have endured hard things for their faithfulness to the Son of God."

NOTE.—Diary of Samuel Sewall, vol. 1, p. 491.

NOTE.—A large folio French Bible was presented to the French Protestant Church of Boston by Queen Anne.

In the French church after the benediction the congregation was dismissed with an injunction to remember the poor as they passèd the alms chest at the church door.

The will of Peter Daillé, of Boston, clerk, is on record in the Probate Office of Suffolk County, Boston.

In respect to his funeral, there is a "restriction that there be no wine at my funeral, and that none of my wife's relations have mourning clothes furnished them except gloves, and a request that 'all ministers of the Gospel within the sd Town of Boston and to the Rev. Mr. Walter of Roxbury shall have scarves and gloves, as well as my bearers.'"

The following bequests:

"I give all my French (and Latin) Books to the French Church in Boston (where I have been a Teacher) as a Library to be kept for the use and benefit of the Ministers."—Vol. II, p. 238.

"Item: I give and bequeath to my loving wife Martha Daillé, the sum of Three hundred and fifty pounds in Province bills or silver equivalent thereto, and my negro man serv^t named Kuffy, and also all my plate, cloaths, household goods and furniture, to hold the same, to her the s^d Martha Daillé, her heirs executors admin^{rs} and assigns forever.

"Item: I give devise and bequeath unto my loving Bróther Paul Daillé (in Amsfort) in Holland and to his heirs and assigns forever all the residue of my estate both real and personal where-soever the same is lying, or may be found.

"I give five pounds to old Mr. John Rawlins, French School-master.

"Ult^o: I do hereby nominate and appoint my (good friend Mr James Boudoin the sole) executor of this my last Will and Testament.

NOTE.—Mr. Daillé was married three times. His first wife Esther Latonice, died Dec. 1696.

"In Witness whereof I have hereunto put my hand and seal the day and year first within written.

"DAILLÉ." (SEAL).

"Witnesses :

"BENJAMIN WADSWORTH,

"PHEBE MANLEY,

"MARTHA WILLIS."

Offered for probate, May 31, 1715.

The date given of the notice of his death in the Boston News Letter of May 23, 1715:

"On Friday morning last, the 20th current, Dyed here the Reverend Mr. Peter Daillé, Pastor of the French Congregation, aged about 56 years. He was a person of great Piety, Charity, affable and courteous Behaviour, and of exemplary life and Conversation, much Lamented, especially by his Flock, and was Decently Interred on the Lord's Day Evening, the 22d Instant."

Rev. André Le Mercier, a graduate from the Academy of Geneva, while in London, was invited to come to Boston by the French church, and one hundred pounds per year promised him. Le Mercier was a native of Caen, Normandy.

Soon after the arrival of the French minister Le Mercier a small brick church was erected on School street upon the land which had been purchased with King William's gift. Mr. Le Mercier was the minister of the French church for thirty-four years until 1748.

In 1730, O. S.

Mr. Daniel Johonnot,

Le Mercier,

Andrew Sigourney,

NOTE—In 1715 Andrew Faneuil, James Bowdoin, Daniel Johonnot and Andrew Sigourney were influential members in the church, and each at his death left a generous bequest to the minister of the French church.

Mr. Martin Brimmer,

John Petel,

Adam Duckeran,

petitioned the General Court of Mass. Bay, praying the Court to confer on them the rights and privileges of denizens or Free born subjects of the King of Great Britain or otherwise as the Court shall see meet for reasons mentioned.

The prayer was so far granted as that the petitioners shall within this Province hold and enjoy all the privileges and immunities of his Majesty's natural born subjects.

Jour. House Rep.

Mass. Bay

in New England.

FRENCH SETTLEMENT OF OXFORD, 1687.

There are no records of the Oxford French settlement until November, 1687.

A letter of a French Protestant refugee in Boston, dated November, 1687, published by the French Protestant Historical Society :

[TRANSLATION.]

"The Nicmok country belongs to the President, himself (Gabriel Bernon), and the land costs nothing. I do not know as yet the precise quantity that is given to each family; some have told me it is from fifty to a hundred acres, according to the size of a family. . . . It lies with those who wish to take up lands whether to take them in the one or the other plantations (Boston or New Oxford)—on the sea board or in the interior. The Nicmok plantation is inland, at a distance of twenty leagues from Boston, and equally distant from the sea; so that when the settlers wish to send any thing to Boston, or to obtain any thing from thence, they are obliged to transport it in wagons. In the neighborhood of this settlement

there are small rivers and ponds abounding in fish, and woods full of game. M. Bondet is their minister. The inhabitants as yet number only fifty-two persons."—Bulletin, xvi, 73.

At this time the number of French in Boston was very small.

"Here in Boston," says the French refugee, writing in November, 1687, "there are not more than twenty French families, and they are every day diminishing on account of departing for the country to hire or buy land,* and to strive to make some settlement. They are expected this spring from all quarters. Two young men have lately arrived from Carolina, who give some news from that colony."—Report of a French Protestant refugee in Boston, 1687. Translated from the French by E. T. Fisher, Brooklyn, N. Y.

May 24, 1688, is the date of the deed of Dudley and other proprietors, to Gabriel Bernon. The deed of division was executed July 3, 1688.

These documents would prove that the thirty families were occupying their French plantations in the spring of 1688, the stipulated time having expired in the January previous.

In the deed of division dated July 3, 1688, there is a description of Mr. Dudley's portion of land, where it names his northeastern bound as "a white oak, square driven in the meadow, by the river which runs by and from the French houses. This bound was about one-third of a mile down the river from where the road to Webster now crosses it, and of course due south from the north-east corner of the Augutteback pond."†

This is the only record we have relating to the existence of the houses of the French habitants at that time, and is a confirmation of their location from tradition.

* The French plantation of New Oxford.

† The Augutteback pond is the original lake in Howarth's, not the present reservoir.

The deed to Bernon required that he should build a corn or grist mill within twelve months from the date of his deed; 1689 is the next record of the French settlement.

In March, 1689, is the contract of Mr. Church for the mill for New Oxford.

Mr. Bernon states that he had built in New Oxford "a corn miln [mill], a wash leathern miln, and a saw miln." The corn mill was the upper site near what is known as Rich's mill. The saw mill near the south village street on the highway leading to the French fort. The wash leather mill on the same river, situated between the corn and saw mills.

These mills were located upon the river east of the village street. In the village records in 1714, the one near the south end is called the "Old Mill Place," and was the saw mill. At a later date the corn mill was built, at the upper site.

THE OLD FRENCH MILL OF NEW OXFORD.

[*"contract De Mr Cherch pour Le Moulin de New-oxford."*]

"Articles of Agreement had made concluded and agreed upon by and Between Caleb Church of Watertown Millright and Gabriel Bernon of Boston Merc^t this Day of March Anno Domini One Thousand six hundred Eight Eight Nine.

"Imp^s The said Caleb Church doth Covenant and Agree with the s^d Gabriel Bernon that he shall and vill att his own Proper Costs and Charges Erect Build and finish a Corn or Grist mill in all poynts workmanlike in Such Place in the Village of Oxford as shall by the s^d Bernon be Directed the s^d Mill House to be Twenty two foot Long and Eighteen foot Broad and Eleven foot stud Substantially and Sufficiently covered with a jett to Cover the Wheele and a Chamber fitt for the Laying and Disposing Corn Bags or other Utensills Necessary for the s^d Mill and the s^d Church doth Covenant to find att his Own Proper Costs all the Iron Worke Necessary for

the s^d Mill and all other Things Except what is hereafter Expressed

“Item, the said Gabriel Bernon doth Covenant and Agree with the said Caleb Church that hee will bee att the Charge of scarthing Preparing and Bringing to Place the Mill Stones for the s^d mill and that he will by the Oversight and Direction of the s^d Church Make Erect and finish the Earth of the Dame that shall bee by the s^d Church adjudged necessary for the s^d Mill and also will dig and Prepare the Place where the Mill shall be Erected and also will allow to the s^d Church five hundred foot of Boards and Persons to help for the Cutting Down of the Timber and will bee att the Charge of Bringing the Timber to Place and further doth Covenant to pay to the s^d Church for his Labor and Pains herein the Sume of forty Pounds two thirds thereof in money the Other Third in goods att money price in Three Equall Payments One Third att the ffalling the Timber One Third att the Raising and the Last att the finishing the s^d mill

“Lastly the s^d Church doth Covenant and Promies to finish the s^d Mill all sufficient and workemanlike and Sett her to Worke by the Last day of Aug^t next after the Day of the Date hereof In Wittness whereof they have hereunto sett their hands and seals the day and Year first above written

“CALEB CHURCH. [Seal.]

“Sealed and Delivered
“in Presence of

“I. BERTRAND DUTUFFEAU
“THO DUDLEY.”

On the back of the original paper is the following:

“Within named Caleb Church do ingage and promis to find the stones and laye them on to make mele att my one costs and charge for the which m^r Bernon doth ingage and promis to

paye for the same one and twenty pounds in corent mony for the same to be concluded when the mill grinds

"Boston May: y^e 20: 1689

"RICHARD WILKINS

CALEB CHURCH

"EDMOND BROWNE

GABRIEL BERNON."

[*Seal.*]

	<i>L</i>	<i>s:</i>	<i>d</i>
"ffor the mill in first the sum of forty pounds	40:	00:	
secondly for the stones of the said one and twenty pounds		21:	00:
forthely for an addition to the house six pounds		6:	00:
(sic)			
	67:	00:	

Two receipts from Mr. Church:

"Received one third Part of the within mentioned sume of forty welch is Thirteen Pounds six shillings and Eight Pence two thirds in money and one third in Goods by me

"CALEB CHURCH."

"More I have received fifty three pounds tirteen shillings wich the above said sum are in all the sum of sixty and seven pounds in full following our s^d bargain Boston: 4 february 1689-90 received by my

"CALEB CHURCH."

"PETER BASSET in witness

"GABRIEL DEFONT present."

— Bernon Papers.— Dr. Baird.

CHAPTER XIII.

INTERCOLONIAL WARS.

1. *King William's War*, 1689.

The French settlement is established at Oxford.

The inhabitants are located on their plantations. Rev. Daniel Bondet is their minister; he so states in a letter to Lord Cornbury, and accompanied these French Protestants to New Oxford.

The mills are being erected for the convenience of the inhabitants.

When in 1689 King William's war was declared in the colonies it continued nearly eight years, and was the cause of the French inhabitants abandoning the settlement of New Oxford, it being unsafe to remain from the hostility of the Indians.

Mr. Dan^l. Bondet's Representations referring to N. Oxford, July 6th, 1691.

He mentions it as upon "an occasion which fills my heart with sorrow and my life of trouble, but my humble request will be at least before God, and before you a solemn protestation against the guilt of those incorrigible persons who dwell in our place.

"The rum [rum] is always sold to the Indians without order and measure, . . . inasmuch that according the complaint sent to me by Master Dickesteane with advice to present it to your honor.

"The 26 of the last month there was about twenty Indians so furious by drunkenness that they fought like bears and fell upon one called Remes . . . , who is appointed for preaching the gospel amongst them he had been so much disfigured by his wounds that there is no hope of his recovery. If it was your pleasure to signify to the instruments of that evil the jealousy of your atheni and of the publique tranquillity, you would do great good maintaining the honor of God, in a Christian habita-

tion, comforting some honest souls which being incompatible with such abominations feel every day the burden of affliction of their honorable perigrination aggravated. Hear us pray and so God be with you and prosper all your just undertakings and applications tis the sincere wish of your most respectful servant.

“D. BONDÉ,

“minister of the gospel in a

“French Congregation at New Oxford.”

1693 is the date of the following record :

“André Sigourney aged of about fifty years doe affirme that the 28 day of novemb^r last past he was with all of the village in the mill for to take the rum in the hands of Peter Canton and when they asked him way (why) hee doe abuse so the Indians in seleing them liquor to the great shame and dangers of all the company, hee s^d Canton answered that itt was his will and that he hath right soe to doe and asking him further if itt was noe him how (who) make soe many Indicans drnk he did answer that hee had sell to one Indian and one squa the valem of four gills and that itt is all upon w^{ch} (which) one of the company named Ellias Dupenx told him that hee have meet an Indian drunk w^{ch} (which) have get a bott (le) fooll (full) and said that itt was to the mill how sell itt he answered that itt may bee truth.

“ANDRÉ SIGOURNAY.”

“Boston, Dec. 5, 1693.”

The original document is in the possession of the Hon. Peter Butler. Quincy, Mass. — Huguenot Emigration to America, vol. 2, p. 273.

In 1693 Daniel Allen was chosen representative from New Oxford to the General Court at Boston. Mr. Allen's name is found in the list for 1693, as from this place.

In this county Lancaster, Mendon and Oxford were represented.

Oxford having been granted by the Provincial government the privilege of representation was made liable to taxation.

In 1694 a moderate assessment was made and sent with an order for its collection, to the "Constable of the French Plantations."

The following was sent in reply to this order:

[*Andrew Sigourney to Sir William Phipps, etc.*]

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR WILLIAM PHIPPS, KN'T CAPT.
GENERAL AND GOVERNOR IN CHIEF OF THEIR MAJESTIES'
PROVINCE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY IN NEW ENGLAND,
AND TO THE HONORABLE COUNCIL":

*"The humble petition of Andrew Sigourney, Constable of the
French Plantation,*

"Humbly Sheweth unto Your Excellency and to Your Honors, that your petitioner received an order from Mr. James Taylor Treasurer for collecting eight pounds six shillings in our plantation for Poll money, now whereas the Indians have appeared several times this Summer, we were forced to garri-son ourselves for three months together and several families fled, so that all our Summer harvest of hay and corn hath gone to ruin by the beasts and cattle which hath brought us so low that we have not enough to supply our own necessities many other families abandoning likewise, so that we have none left but Mr. Bondet our minister and the poorest of our plantation so that we are incapable of paying said Poll unless we dispose of what little we have and quit our plantations. Wherefore humbly entreat this Honorable Council to consider our miseries and incapacity of paying this poll, and as in duty bound we shall ever pray."*

* Mass. Archives, C, 502.—Payment was not enforced. We find an act later, "abating, remitting and forgiving" taxes from this place to the amount of thirty-three pounds and six shillings.—Province Laws, 698, p. 341.

This paper without date is endorsed, Read Oct. 16, 1694.—Mass. Archives, C, 502.

Mr. Sigourney's declaration "The Indians have appeared several times this summer, we were forced to garrison ourselves for three months together, and several families fled." This statement reveals the cause of the decline and final extinction of the settlement.

Not long after the date of this petition, Rev. Mr. Bondet retired from the New Oxford settlement, and became a resident of Boston. He left his plantation of two hundred acres of land, which he and his heirs never claimed.

The Society for Propagating the Gospel Among the Indians of New England was incorporated by Parliament in 1649. It was this society that appointed the Rev. Daniel Bondet to preach to the remaining Nipmuck Indians in the Indian town of Manchaug (Oxford village), where he commenced his labors with both the French and these natives in 1687.

At this time Major Robert Thompson, the first named in the grant for Oxford, was President of the Society.

"During this summer of 1694, a daughter of Mr. Alard, one of the refugees in the settlement of Oxford, on leaving her home, near the lower mills, accompanied by two younger children of the family, was murdered by some roving Indians, and the younger children were made prisoners, and taken to Quebec. Several months must have elapsed before the parents knew the fate of their children who were captured."—Note, Bernon Papers.

The following sketch is a transcript from an interesting and valuable paper, entitled :

NOTE.—Andrew Sigourney, Constable (Connétable), an ancient officer only second to the crown of France, formerly the first military officer of the crown.—See Constable Montmorency.

"A MEMOIR OF THE FRENCH PROTESTANTS WHO SETTLED AT OXFORD, MASSACHUSETTS, 1687, BY REV. ABIEL HOLMES, D. D., OF CAMBRIDGE, MASS., COR. SEC'Y MASS. HIST. SOCIETY."

"Every thing concerning this interesting colony of exiles has hitherto been learnt from tradition, with the illustrations derived from scanty records, and original manuscripts. Many of these manuscripts, which are generally written in the French language, are in the possession of Mr. Andrew Sigourney,* of Oxford, and the rest were principally procured by Mr. Sigourney for the compilation of this memoir."

"Mr. Andrew Sigourney is a descendant from the first of that name who was among the original French settlers of Oxford. To his kindness I am entitled for nearly all my materials for this part of the memoir. After giving me every facility at Oxford, in aid of my inquiries and researches, he made a journey to Providence for the sole purpose of procuring for me the Bernon papers, which he brought to me at Cambridge. These papers were in the possession of Philip Allen, Esq. (Governor Allen, of Providence, a descendant of the Bernon family), and who has indulged me with the MSS. to the extent of my wishes."

Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D., visited Oxford, Mass., in April, 1817. He writes:

"I waited upon Mrs. Butler†, who obligingly told me all she could recollect concerning the French emigrants."

"Mrs. Butler was the wife of Mr. James Butler, who lives

*Andrew Sigourney (Captain), son of Anthony Sigourney, of Boston, was born in Boston, Nov. 30, 1752.

NOTE.—Capt. Sigourney made his journey to Providence in a one-horse chaise, and subsequently to Cambridge, in the same manner of traveling.

†Mrs. Butler was the daughter of Anthony Sigourney of Boston, and was b. in Boston, March 23, 1741-2.

near the First Church in Oxford;* and when I saw her, was in the seventy-fifth year of her age. Her original name was Mary Sigourney. She was a granddaughter of Mr. Andrew Sigourney, who came over when young with his father (Andrew Sigourney, 1st, from France).

MRS. BUTLER'S REMINISCENCES.

Her grandmother's mother (the wife of Captain Germaine), died on the voyage, leaving an infant of only six months (who was the grandmother of Mrs. Butler) and another daughter, Marguerite, who was then six years of age.†

"The information which Mrs. Butler gave me, she received from her grandmother, Mrs. Mary (Germaine) Sigourney, who lived to the age of eighty-three years, and from her grandmother's sister, Marguerite (Germaine), married to Captain de paix Cazeneau, who lived to the age of ninety-five or ninety-six years, both of whom resided and died in Boston.

REMINISCENCES OF MRS. MARY (GERMAINE) SIGOURNEY OF BOSTON, AS GIVEN TO MRS. BUTLER.

"The refugees left France in 1684, or in 1685, with the utmost trepidation and precipitancy. The great grandfather of Mrs. Butler (Captain Germaine), gave the family notice that

*The church on the north common.

NOTE. — Mrs. Butler in her interview with Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D., narrates facts relative to the Germaine ancestry in leaving France, and not of the Sigourney family.

†In an ancient French prayer-book of the Sigourney family, published 1641, there is the record of Marguerite (Germaine) Cazeneau's birth, viz. : Aunt Casno, born ye 12 Decemb. 1671. Mother Sigourney (Mary Germaine), ye 2 March, 1680.

In 1686, at the time of Mrs. Germaine's death, leaving an infant, Mary Germaine, the grandmother of Mrs. Butler, was six years of age, and her sister, Mrs. de Paix Cazeneau, was fifteen years of age.

they must go. They came off with secrecy, with whatever clothes they could put upon the children," and left without waiting to partake of the dinner which was being prepared for them. When they arrived at Boston they went directly to Fort Hill, where they were provided for, and there continued until they went to Oxford.

Mrs. Butler's account was entirely verbal, according to her recollection.

Mrs. Butler stated the "French built a fort on a hill at Oxford, on the east side of French river." She also stated another fort and a church were built by the French in Oxford.

Dr. Holmes writes :

"Mrs. Butler lived in Boston until the American Revolution, and soon afterward removed to Oxford. Her residence in both places rendered her more familiar with the history of the emigrants than she would have been, had she resided exclusively in either. She says they prospered in Boston after they were broken up at Oxford. Of the memorials of the primitive plantation of her ancestors she had been very observant, and still cherished a reverence for them."

In 1817, very soon after my visit to Mrs. Butler, I received a letter from her husband, expressing his regret that she had not mentioned to me Mrs. Wheeler, a widow lady, the mother of Mr. Joseph Cooledge, an eminent merchant in Boston. Her maiden name was Oliver (Olivier). She was a branch of the Germaine family, and related to "Old Mr. Andrew Sigourney,"

NOTE.—*French Families*.—Mrs. Butler named as of the first emigrants from France, the following families: Bowdoin and Boudinot came to Boston; could not say whether or not they came to Oxford. Bouyer, who married a Sigourney. Charles Germaine, removed to New York. Olivier did not know whether this family came to Oxford, or not; but the ancestor, by the mother's side, was a Sigourney.

NOTE. — Bouyer married Marie Anne, daughter of Daniel Jonhnot, and Susanne Sigourney Jansen, who was daughter of Andrew Sigourney, Sr.

in whose family she was brought up, and at whose house she was married.* Mrs. Butler supposed she must be between eighty and ninety years of age, and that being so much older than herself, she had heard more particulars from their ancestors. But on inquiry for Mrs. Wheeler, in Boston, I found that she died a short time before the reception of the letters.

How much do we lose by neglecting the advice of the son of Sirach? "Miss not the discourse of the elders; for they also learned of their fathers, and of them thou shalt learn understanding, and to give answer as need requireth."

DR. HOLMES CONTINUES MRS. BUTLER'S REMINISCENCES.

"Mrs. Johnson (Jansen) the wife of Mr. Johnson (Jansen), who was killed by the Indians in 1696, was a sister of the first Andrew Sigourney.†

"The husband, returning home from Woodstock while the Indians were massacreing his family, was shot down at his own door.

*Mrs. Marguerite Wheeler was the daughter of Antoine and Mary Sigourney Olivier (French refugees). She was born at Annapolis, Nova Scotia, November 6, 1726. She was married three times; in her first marriage to Joseph Cooledge of Boston; in her second marriage to Capt. Israel Jennison of Worcester, a son of Peter Jennison and a nephew of Hon. William Jennison; after Mr. Jennison's death she was married to the Rev. Joseph Wheeler, who was a member of the Provincial Congress in 1774; removed to Worcester in 1781, where he was register of the Probate Court till his death in 1793. Mrs. Wheeler died in Boston, at her son's house, Mr. Joseph Cooledge, 1816, aged 90 years.

NOTE.—Captain Israel Jennison died in Worcester, September 19, 1782. Mr. Joseph Wheeler died in Worcester, 1793.

†Mrs. Susanne Johnson (Jansen) was the daughter of the first Andrew Sigourney and sister to Andrew Sigourney, Jr., who rescued her from the Indians. It was early evening when the massacre of the Jansen family occurred; Mrs. Jansen was anxiously awaiting the return of Mr. Jansen from Woodstock.

The names of the three unfortunate children of Jean Jansen who were massacred by the Indians were: André (Andrew), Pierre (Peter), Marie (Mary). Jean Jansen was a native of Holland, but of French extraction.

"Mr. Sigourney, hearing the report of the guns, ran to the house and seizing his sister carried her out of a back door and took her over French river, which they waded through, and fled towards Woodstock, where there was a garrison. The Indians killed the children, dashing them against the jambs of the fire-place."

FROM WOODSTOCK RECORDS.

"The inhabitants were aroused at the break of day by the arrival of the fugitives with their heavy tidings. The news of the massacre spread through the different settlements, filling them with alarm and terror. The savages might at any moment burst upon them. Their defenses were slight, ammunition scanty, their own Indians doubtful; the whole population, men, women and children, hastened within their fortifications. Posts were at once dispatched to Lieutenant-General Stoughton, commander of the Massachusetts forces, and to Major James Fitch at Norwich. The day and night were spent in watching and terror, but before morning the arrival

NOTE.—The chimney base of the Jansen house is still preserved in Oxford at the Memorial Hall, as a relic of the massacre of the Jansen family. The name of Jansen is, in the Boston Records, Jeanson.

A memorial stone has been erected on or near the site of the dwelling on the old Dudley road, on land belonging to the late Charles A. Sigourney, Esq., of Oxford. Tradition states Captain Andrew Sigourney visited yearly the site of the Jansen house to mark the ruins.

NOTE.—"Mrs. Shumway, living near the Jansen house, showed Mrs. Butler the spot where the house stood, and some of its remains.

"Col. Jeremiah Kingsbury, fifty-five years of age (1817), had seen the chimney and other remains of that house.

"His mother, aged eighty-four years, told Mrs. Butler that there was a burying place called 'the French Burying Ground,' not far from the fort at Mayo's Hill. She herself remembered to have seen many graves there."

Mrs. Shumway was the wife of Peter Shumway whose ancestor was a Huguenot from France.

of Major Fitch, with his brother Daniel, a few English soldiers, and a band of Pequots and Mohegans, somewhat allayed apprehensions. No enemy had been seen, but it was rumored they had divided into small companies, and were lurking about the woods.

"It was proposed to leave a sufficient number of men for the defense of Woodstock, and send others to range for the marauders. The Wabquassets eagerly welcomed Major Fitch as their friend and master, and offered to join the Mohegans in their congenial service. The Woodstock authorities would gladly have employed them, but could not supply them with ammunition according to the laws of Massachusetts. To refuse their offer at this critical juncture, or to send them forth without ammunition, might enrage and forever alienate them, while conciliation and indulgence might make them the firm friends and allies of Woodstock. Under these circumstances, Major Fitch took the responsibility of employing and equipping these Indians; calling them all together he took their names, and found twenty-nine fighting men, twenty-five native Wabquassets, and four Shetuckets, married to Wabquassets.

"Eighteen Wabquassets and twenty-three Mohegans then sallied out together, under Captain Daniel Fitch, to range through Massachusetts, with a commission from Major Fitch, as magistrate and military officer, asking all plantations to which they might come for supplies and accommodations. Scarcely had they gone forth when four strange Indians were discovered at the west end of the town, but whether enemies or not they could not tell. At evening a scout from Providence arrived, being the captain with fourteen men, who had been out two days northward of Mendon and Oxford, but made no discovery. Captain Fitch and his men were equally unsuccessful, and the invading Mohawks effected their escape uninjured."

“It is stated on the intelligence of those outrages, and the appearance of hostile parties near Woodstock, Major James Fitch marched to that town. On the 27th a party was sent out of thirty-eight Norwich, Mohegan and Nipmuck Indians, and twelve soldiers, to range the woods toward Lancaster, under Captain Daniel Fitch ; on their march they passed through Worcester, and discovered traces of the enemy in its vicinity.”

A LETTER FROM CAPTAIN DANIEL FITCH TO THE RT. HON. WILLIAM STOUGHTON, ESQ., LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, ETC.

“Whereas we are informed of several persons killed at Oxford on Tuesday night last past, and not knowing what danger might be near to Woodstock and several other frontiers toward the western parts of the Massachusetts province, several persons offering volunteers, both English and Indians, to the number of about fifty (concerning which the bearer, Mr. James Corbin, may more fully inform your honor), all of which were willing to follow the Indian enemy, hoping to find those that had done the late mischief: In prosecution whereof, we have ranged the woods to the westward of Oxford, and so to Worcester, and then to Lancaster, and were freely willing to spend some considerable time in endeavoring to find any of the enemy that may be upon Merrimac or Penicook rivers, or any where in the western woods; to which and we humbly request your Honor would be pleased to encourage said design, by granting us some supply of provisions and ammunition; and, also, by strengthening us to any thing wherein we may be short in any respect, that so we may be under no disadvantage or discouragement.” They may further inform your Honor that on the Sabbath day coming at a place called Half Way River, betwixt Oxford and Worcester, we came upon the fresh tracks of several Indians, which were gone towards Worcester, which we apprehend were the Indians that did the late

damage at Oxford, and being very desirous to do some service that may be to the benefit of his Majesty's subjects, we humbly crave your Honor's favorable assistance.

"Herein I remain your Honor's most humble servant, according to my ability.

DANIEL FITCH."

"LANCASTER, 31st August, 1696.

"Not far from Oxford, in the village of the Wabquassets, a clan of the Nipmuck tribe, near New Roxbury, or Woodstock, lived an Indian known to the English as 'Toby,' who was distinguished among his more sluggish and pacific people for a restless, sclieming disposition. Toby is now the 'great man or captain' among these Nipmuck Indians."

"On Tuesday, the twenty-fifth of August, 1696, Toby, with a party of Indians, toward evening approached the 'French houses' at New Oxford. The habitation of Jean Jansen was situated on what has ever since been known to the English as Johnson's plain."

"Toby leaving his residence, is sometimes privately among his relatives at Woodstock, and at hunting houses in the wilderness."

"But his activity in the service of the Canadian enemy is greater than ever. At one time, he appears at a meeting of the Canada Mohawks with their brethren among the Five Nations, and tells them if they will 'but draw off the friend Indians from the English,' they can 'easily destroy' the New England settlements."

NOTE 1.—Huguenot Emigration to America. Dr. C. W. Baird, vol. II.

NOTE.—"January 29, 1700, Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut, in correspondence with Governor Bellemont of New York, referred to it as an occurrence to be remembered, and the friendly Mohegans who met in council at New London, spoke of Toby as the Indian 'that had a hand in killing one Jansen. One Toby...the principal instigator...who had a particular hand in killing one Jansen.'"

Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York. Vol. IV., pp. 612-620.

"At another time he is in Norwich, Connecticut, bearing a belt of wampum to the loyal tribes, inviting them to join in a general uprising."*

REMINISCENCES OF MRS. MARY GERMAINE SIGOURNEY, AS GIVEN
TO MRS. MARY SIGOURNEY BUTLER.

Immediately following the massacre, the Huguenots decided to abandon the settlement in New Oxford. Early on the morning of their departure, the different families bade adieu to their homes and plantations; the doors of their dwellings were closed, and the narrow diamond casements were darkened by the heavy inside shutters, and their homes with their gardens, orchards and vineyards were again to be deserted for new homes, leaving their harvests and vintage unharvested.

*"The Information of Black James, taken from his own mouth on Feb. the 1st, 1699-1700:

"That he being in the woods a hunting, came to a place near Massomuck to a great Wigwam of five fire places and eleven hunting Indians; he went into the Wigwam towards one end of it, and saw an Indian w^{ch} seemed to hide himself, he turned himself towards the other end of the Wigwam, and met there a man called Cawgatwo, a Wabquasset Indian, and he asked if he saw any strange Indians there; he said I saw one I did not know; then Toby came to him, and another stranger and Cawgatwo told him that was Toby; he said he would go away to-morrow, they bid him not go away, for to-morrow they should discourse; the next morning they went out and called this James and bid him come and see the Wampom they had gathered; he asked what that Wampom was for, they said it was Mohawk's Wampom; the Dutchman had told them that the English had ordered to cut off all Indians, and they had the same news from the French, and therefore we are gathering and sending Wampom to all Indians, that we may agree to cut off the English; and Cawgatwo told this James that Toby brought that Wampom and that news from the Mohawks; then he went home and told his own company, and desired them to send Word to the Mohawks and Nihan-ticks of this news."

(Information respecting a rumored rising of the Indians. Documents, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 613-616.)

The refugees repaired to their chapel for a matin service; they then retired to the little churchyard in front of the chapel to take leave of the graves of their friends. In imagination one can picture the little groups as they departed in a silent procession and moved onward over the forest paths toward Boston.

Nothing can be added to this simple narrative of Mrs. Mary Germaine Sigourney who was herself one of the refugees and whose reminiscences have been treasured so sacredly by her descendants.

Mary Germaine, born in France in 1680, must have been at this time sixteen years of age, and her sister, Mrs. Marguerite (Sigourney) Cazeneuve, twenty-five years of age.

THE DESERTED HOUSE.

Life and thought have gone away
Side by side,
Leaving door and windows wide:
Careless tenants they!

All within is dark as night:
In the windows is no light;
And no murmur at the door,
So frequent on the hinge before.

Close the door, the shutters close
Or thro' the windows we shall see
The nakedness and vacancy
Of the dark deserted house.

Come away; no more of mirth
Is here or merry-making sound.
The house was builded of the earth,
And shall fall again to ground.

Come away; for life and thought
Here no longer dwell;
But in a city glorious—

A great and distant city have bought
A mansion incorruptible.
Would they could have stayed with us!

TENNYSON.

A French document signed in Boston, September 4, 1696, by the principal French planters of "new oxford," shows that Mrs. Jeanson and her brother, Mr. Sigourney, had returned

from Woodstock, to which place they had fled on the night of the massacre, August 25th, and, also, the abandonment of the French plantations in New Oxford, and the return of the French inhabitants to Boston.

The first record we find of the French refugees after leaving New Oxford is the following certificate, signed in Boston, September 4, 1696, O. S.

Nous sousignes certiffions et ateston que Monsr. Gabriel Bernon non a fait une despence [depense] considerable a new oxford pour faire valoir la Ville et encourager et ayder les habitants. et quil [qu'il] a tenu sa maison en etat jusques a ce que en fin les Sauvages soient venus masacerer et tuer John Johnson et ses trois enfens [enfants] Jet que netant [n'étant] pas soutenu il a été obligé et forse d'abandoner son Bien. en foy de quoy lui avons signe le present Billet, a Baston le 4^e Septembre 1696.*

JERMONS

BAUDOUIN

BENJA FANEUIL

JAQUES MONTIER

Nous attestons ce qui est desus et

† marque

[est] veritable.

X marque de PAIS CAZANEAU

MOUSSET Entien [Ancien]

V marque de ABRAHAM SAUUAGE

JEAN RAWLINGS Ancien

* marque de la vefue de JEAN JEANSON

P. CHARDON

CHARLE GERMON

Entien

* NOTE.—We subscribe, certify and attest that Mr. Gabriel Bernon has been at a considerable expense at New Oxford for to make valuable the village, and to encourage, aid the inhabitants, and that he held his house and estate until the time the Savages came and massacred and killed John Johnson and his three children, and not being protected he was obliged and forced to abandon his goods.

In faith of which we have signed the present bond.

BASTAN,* the 4th September, 1696.

* The French orthography of Boston.

Nous certiffions que ee sont les marques de personnes susdites.

DAILLÉ Ministre	BAUDOUIN
JACQUES MONTIER	BARBUT
ELIE DUPEUX	ANDRÉ SIGOURNAY
JEAN MAILLET	JEAN MILLET Ant.

Nous declarons ce que dessus fort veritable ce que John Johnson et ces trois enfans ont été tué le 25^e Aoust [Aout] 1696 : en foy de quoy avons signé.

MONTÉL DUPEUX	I. B. MARQUE DE JEAN BAUDOUIN
JACQUES DEPONT	PHILIP [obscuré]
JERMON	RENÉ GRIGNON

Je connais et le soy d'experience que Mr. Gabriel Bernon a fait ses efforts pour soutenir notre plantation, et y a depancé pour cet effet un bien considerable.

BUREAU L'AINÉ [the elder or senior]
PETER CANTON

We underwriters doe certifie and attest that Mr. Gabriel Bernon hath made considerable expences at New oxford for to promote the place and incourage the Inhabitants and hath kept his house until the s^d 25th August that the Indians came upon s^d Plantation & most barbarously murthred John Evans John Johnson and his three childrens. Daeed Bastan 20th Septemb. 1696.

JOHN USHER

JOHN BUTCHER	WM STOUGHTON
LAUR HAMMOND	INCREASE MATHER
	CHARLES MORTON
	JER. DUMMER
	NEHEMIAH WALTER min ^r
	WM. FOX.

TRANSLATION.

“By original manuscripts, dated 1696, and at subsequent periods, it appears that Gabriel Bernon, merchant, of an an-

cient and noble family in La Rochelle, was the president of the French plantation in Oxford, and expended large sums of money for its improvement. An original paper in French, signed at Boston, Sept. 4, 1696," by the principal French planters, certifies this fact in behalf of Mr. Bernon; and subjoins a declaration that the massacre of Mr. Johnson [Jansen] and of his three children by the Indians was the unhappy cause of his losses, and of the abandonment of the place.

FROM AN ANCIENT RECORD OF 1697.

All the places are named between New York and Boston "where travelers could find entertainment for man and beast."

And over this forest path all the French refugees traveled from Oxford via Boston, to New York, and New Rochelle, N. Y.

"From New York to Boston it is accounted 274 miles, thus, viz.: From the post-office in New York to Jo. Clapp's in the Bowery, is 2 mile [which generally is the baiting place, where gentlemen take leave of their friends going so long a journey], and where a parting glass or two of generous wine

"If well applied, make their dull horses feel

One spur i' the head is worth two in the heel."

From said Clapp's (his tavern was near the corner of Bayard street), to half-way house, 7 miles; thence to King's bridge, 9; to old Shute's at East Chester, 6; to New Rochel Meeting-House, 4; to Joseph Norton's, 4; to Denham's, at Rye, 4; to Knap's, at Horseneck, 7; to Belben's, at Norwalk, 10; to Burr's, at Fairfield, 10; to T. Knowles' at Stratford, 9; to Andrew Sanford's, at Milford, 4; to Capt. John Mills', at New Haven, 10; to the widow Frisbie's at Branford, 10; to John Hudson's, at Guilford, —; to John Grissil's, at Killinsworth, 10; to John Clarke's, at Seabrook, 10; to Mr. Plum's, at New London, 18; to Mr. Sexton's, 15; to Mr. Pemberson's, in the Narragansette country, 15; to the Frenchtown, 24; to Mr. Turnip's, 20; to

Mr. Woodecock's, 15; to Mr. Billings' farm, 11; to Mr. White's, 6, to Mr. Fisher's, 6; and from thence to the great town of Boston, 10, where many good lodgings and accommodations may be had for love and money."

CHAPTER XIV.

RESETTLEMENT OF THE FRENCH IN OXFORD — INTERCOLONIAL WARS.

II. *Queen Anne's War.*

At the close of King William's War, the peace of Ryswick, in 1697, was of short continuation. In 1702, England was engaged in war with France and Spain, and the American colonies were interested in what was called Queen Anne's War.

In 1699 there was a resettlement of French Protestants at New Oxford, with the Rev. James Laborie for their minister. Queen Anne's War soon commenced. This war between England and France greatly exposed the New England colonies to increased Indian irruptions and barbarities. And this war caused the dispersion of the second French settlement in New Oxford. An ancient record of this settlement is the petition of the "Inhabitants of the town of New Oxford," by James Laborie, their minister, dated October 1, 1699."

[*James Laborie "Tou His Excellencie and tou the Honorable Council."*]

"MY LORD AND MOST HONORABLE COUNCIL:

"Mr. Bondet, formerly minister of this town, not only satisfied to leave us almost two years before the Indians did commit any act of hostility in this place, but carried away all the

books which had been given for the use of the plantation, with the acts and papers of the village, we most humbly supplicate your Excellency and the most Honorable Council to oblige Mr. Bondet to send back again said books, acts, and papers belonging to said plantation.*

“The inhabitants, knowing that all disturbance that hath been before in this plantation, have happened only in that some people of this plantation did give the Indians drink without measure, and that at present there is some continuing to do the same, we most humbly supplicate your Excellency, and the Honorable Council to give Mr. James Laborie, our minister, full orders to hinder those disturbances which put us in great danger of our lives. The said inhabitants complain also against John Ingall, that not only he gives to said Indians drink without measure, but buy all the meat they bring, and goes and sell it in other villages, and so hinders the inhabitants of putting up any provisions against the Winter. We most humbly supplicate your Excellency and most Honorable Council to forbid said John Ingall to sell any rhoom, and to transport any meat out of the plantation that he hath bought of the Indians, before the said inhabitants be provided.”

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 11 CHANDOS STREET, }
CAVENDISH SQUARE, W., 28, 6, '84. }

DEAR MADAM — At last I am able to send you all the information that is probably now to be had here about M. Bondet.

The “Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,” to which you refer, is now known as the “New England Company,

* NOTE.—Mr. Bondet was the minister of the church and public clerk, and the custodian of the records.

The records of the French settlement in Oxford, are not to be found with French records in Boston. They were doubtlessly sent to England by Mr. Bondet.

London," whose history I have the pleasure to send you by book post. The secretary of the company (Dr. Venning) has been kind enough to make a most careful search through the papers of the company, but only, I regret to say, with small result, as all the papers of the company between the years 1685 and 1696 inclusive, were destroyed by fire many years ago. The only notice he has found is in the minutes of a meeting held 17th Feb., 1698 :

"A letter from Richard, Lord Bellemont, to the governor, being read, relating to a proposal of providing five itinerant ministers to preach the Gospel to the Five Nations of the Indians,

"Ordered, That Monsieur Bondet (recommended by Mr. John Ruick) be one of the said five ministers, and that the other four be sent from Harvard College in Cambridge, to be chosen by the Commissioners there. And that the said five ministers dwelling in and preaching to the inhabitants of those Five Nations have £60 per annum allowed them out of the stock of the Company in New England."

With many regrets that I am able to add so little to your knowledge of M. Bondet,

I remain, dear madam,

Very faithfully, yours,

P. EDWARD DOVE.

MRS. MARY DE W. FREELAND.

LAMBETH PALACE, S. E., }
13 March, 1884. }

MADAM—I am directed by the Archbishop of Canterbury to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 20 Feb.

His Grace desires me to inform you that he believes the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel have no records prior to the establishment of the Society.

For information as to records, prior to that date, it might be advisable for you to apply to Professor Baird of New York, or to S. W. Kershaw, Esq., M. A., Librarian Lambeth Palace.

I am, madam,

Yours faithfully,

MONTAGUE FOWLER,
Chaplain.

MRS. MARY DE W. FREELAND.

A LETTER FROM THE LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.

LONDON HOUSE,
ST. JAMES' SQUARE, S. W., }
March 22, 1884.

MADAM — I have much pleasure in forwarding to you the enclosed extract from Bishop Compton's Registry.

You will observe that Daniel Bondet was ordained Deacon & Priest on the same day.

No less than 27 Frenchmen were ordained by the Bishop of London between Feb. 28, 1685, & August 26, 1686, and all of them were made Deacons and Priests at the same time.

This is not the case with the English Clergymen ordained at the same period. They remained for some time in the Diaconate. I infer therefore that the French Clergy were ordained for service abroad where they would not have an opportunity of obtaining Priest's Orders; and it is probable that they did not officiate in England.

NOTE:—

LAMBETH PALACE, S. E., }
11 June, 1884.

DEAR MADAM — I am directed by the Archbishop of Canterbury to thank you for your letter of the 16th inst., and to send you the enclosed autograph.

I am, dear madam,

Yours faithfully,

MANDEVILLE B. PHILLIPS,

Asso. Secretary.

MRS. M. DE W. FREELAND.

You have I understand received from the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel all the information they have in their office respecting Mr. Bondet and I fear that there are no further records of him in England

I am Madam

Yr obedient Servant

J. LONDON.

MRS. MARY DE W. FREELAND.

DOCUMENTS RECEIVED FROM THE LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.

Extract from Bishop Compton's Register of the Names of Persons ordained by him; preserved in the registry of the See of London.

A Latin copy of the ordination of Rev. Daniel Bondet was enclosed in the Lord Bishop of London's letter and the copy certified by the Sub-Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral.

A translation.

13 day of April 1686

On this day Daniel Bondet of France was admitted to holy orders as Deacon and Priest by the above written Lord Bishop.

The Lord Bishop above written is the Reverend in Christ, Father Henry, Bishop of London by divine authority.

FULHAM PALACE, }
June 30, 1884. }

MRS. M. DE W. FREELAND :

The Bishop of London is very sorry that he cannot give Mrs. Freeland any information about records of the "Lords of Trade" or as to the office in which they are likely to be found. He has no doubt that the Sec. of the Soc. for Propagation of the Gospel, will give Mrs. Freeland any information he can if he be applied to but he has of course very little spare time.

"James Laborie in this particular most humbly supplicate your Excellency and the most Honorable Council to give him a peculiar order for to oblige the Indians to observe the Sabbath Day, many of the said Indians to whom the said Laborie hath often exhorted to piety, having declared to submit themselves to said Laborie's exhortations if he should bring an order with him from your Excellency, or from your honorable Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Stanton, or the most Honorable Council.

"Expecting these favors, we shall continue to pray God for the preservation of your Excellency, and the most Honorable Council, etc.

JAMES LABORIE.

This petition is indorsed "L^r re, written 1st Xbr 99 with a proclamacon for the observance of the Lord's Day inclosed."

MONSIEUR LABORIE TO THE EARL OF BELLEMONT.

"At NEW OXFORD, this 17th June, 1700.

"MY LORD :

"When I had the honor to write to your Excellency, I did not send you the certificate of our inhabitants with reference to Monsieur Bondet, for the reason that they were not all here. I have at length procured it, and send it to your Excellency. As to our Indians, I feel myself constrained to inform your Excellency that the four who came back, notwithstanding all the protestations which they made to me upon arriving, had

NOTE.—Same year "His Excellency also acquainted the board that by express from New Oxford that he had received a letter from Lieutenant Sabin of Woodstock," "concerning the Indians who had gone eastward."—Council Rec., 94.

Advised and consented that his Excellency issue forth his warrant to Mr. Treasurer, to pay forty shillings unto John Ingall, sent with an express from Oxford bringing the news."

February 7th, 1699.—Council Rec., 95.

no other object in returning than to induce those who had been faithful to depart with them. They have gained over the greater number, and to-day they leave for Penikook — twenty-five in all — men, women and children. I preached to them yesterday in their own tongue. From all they say, I infer that the priests are vigorously at work, and that they are hatching some scheme which they will bring to light so soon as they shall find a favorable occasion.”

EARL OF BELLEMONT TO THE LORDS OF TRADE, LONDON (July 9, 1700).

“Mons. Labourie is a French minister placed at New Oxford by Mr. Stoughton, the Lieutenant-Governor, and myself, at a yearly stipend of £30, out of the corporation money; there are eight or ten French families there that have farms, and he preaches to them. * * *

“The Indians about the town of Woodstock and New Oxford, consisting of about forty families, have lately deserted their houses, and corn, and are gone to live with the Penicook Indians, which has much alarmed the English thereabouts, and some of the English have forsaken their houses and farms and removed to towns for better security. That the Jesuits have seduced these forty families is plain. * * * Mr. Sabin is so terrified at the Indians of Woodstock and New Oxford quitting their houses and corn, that he has thought fit to forsake his dwelling and is gone to live in a town. All the thinking people here believe the Eastern Indians will break out against the English in a little time.”

THE COMMERCE OF OXFORD NEARLY TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

In 1700, during the time of the return of the French refugees to the settlement of Oxford, “from time to time wagon

NOTE.—Pennacook was the name of an Indian settlement at the present site of Concord, N. H.

loads of dressed skins were sent down to Providence, to be shipped to Bernon (who was residing in Newport) for the supply of the French hatters and glovers in Boston and Newport," quite a contrast to transportation by railroad of the present time. "Several of the French Protestants in Boston were engaged in the manufacturing of hats. They were supplied with peltries for this purpose by Bernon, who received the dressed skins from his 'Chamoiserie' at Oxford, and forwarded them to Peter Signac, John Bandonin and others in Boston, as well as to John Julien, who pursued the same business in Newport.

"A cargo shipped in August, 1703, to his agent Samuel Baker, comprised otter, beaver, raccoon, deer and other skins, valued at forty-four pounds."

The dressing of chamois skins, and the making of gloves, were among the arts in which the Huguenots excelled.

"Hat making was among the most important manufactories taken into England by the refugees. In France, it had been almost entirely in the hands of the Protestants. They alone possessed the secret of the liquid composition which served to prepare rabbit, hare and beaver-skins; and they alone supplied the trade with fine Caudebec hats, in such demand in England and Holland. After the Revocation, most of them went to London, taking with them the secret of their art, which was lost to France for more than forty years.

"It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century, that a French hatter, after having long worked in London, stole the secret the refugees had carried away, took it back to his country, communicated to the Paris hatters and founded a large manufactory." *

A record from the French church in Boston, dated June 29,

* History of the French Protestant Refugees, from the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes to Our Own Days. Charles Weiss. Vol. I, book III, Chapter III.

1702, signed by Peter Chardon and René Grignon. The French Protestants of Boston, in a petition to Governor Bellemont, to the Council and Assembly of Representatives, then in session in Boston, for aid in support of the Gospel ministry among them.

(We) "have borne great charges in paying taxes for the poor of the country, and in maintaining their own poor of this town and those of New Oxford, who by occasion of the war withdrew themselves, and since that they have assisted many who returned to Oxford in order for their re-settlement." (They) "have recourse to this honorable Assembly, which God has established for the succour of the afflicted, especially the faithful that are strangers."

Gov. Dudley to (Boston, July 7th, 1702) Mr. Gabriel Beron, in reply to his petition for aid in the protection of his property against the Indians. "Herewith you have a commission for captain of New Oxford. I desire you forthwith to repair thither and show your said commission, and take care that the people be armed, and take them in your own house, with a palisade, for the security of the inhabitants; and if they are at such a distance in your village that there should be need of another place to draw them together in case of danger, consider of another proper house, and write me, and you shall have orders therein.

"I am, your humble servant,

"J. DUDLEY."

The resettlement of French Protestants in Oxford, is named in the Council records. In the summer of 1703, soldiers were stationed here for the protection of the inhabitants from the Indians.

"An accompt of wages and subsistence of thirteen soldiers, whereof one a sergeant, posted at Oxford and Hassanamisco in

NOTE.—In 1702, the Indians were conspiring to attack the settlement. Lieut. Tobin of Woodstock reported to the Massachusetts Council, April 9, 1702: "That the Indians were plotting mischief, and that he had ordered a garrison to put in repair and a military watch kept."

the summer past, was laid before the board and there examined and stated the whole sum, with other incidental charges amounting to forty pounds, fifteen shillings, three and a half pence.

“Ordered paid Dec. 24th, 1703.”

— Council Rec., 509.

In 1704 Bernon had transactions in business with people in New Oxford.

CHAPTER XV.

J. DUDLEY TO G. BERNON.

“BOSTON, 20th May, 1707.

“Sr: I am very unhappy in my affayres at Oxford, both with your Cooper & the negro Tom. I must desire you to take other care of your affayres than to improve such ill men that disquiet the place, that I have more trouble with them than with seven other towns. If you do not remove them yourself, I shall be obliged to send for the Negro & turn him out of the place, & I understand Cooper is so criminal that the law will dispose of him. I pray you to use your own there not to Destroy or Disturb the Governour or your best friend, who is, Sr., your humble servt.,

“J. DUDLEY.

“Send an honest man and he shall be welcome. I pray you to show what I write to Mr. Grignon.”

“To Mr. GABRIEL BERNON, Newport, Road Iland.”

Mr. Bernon soon makes an engagement with new tenants.

NOTE 1.—In 1704, James Laborie left Oxford, and was in October established over the French church in New York. A final abandonment of the settlement ensued, and no further record of its history is to be traced.

NOTE 2.—The accounts of the Chamoiserie show that Oxford continued to be occupied by the French until 1704.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN GABRIEL BERNON AND OLIVER AND NATHANAEL COLLIER.

"Know all men by these presents that I Gabril Bernon hath bargind with and let vnto Oluer Collier and Nathanel Collier my howse and farme at new oxford Called the olde mill; with four Cowes and Calfes the which said farm and Cowes I have let for five years upon the conditions as foloweth — that they brake up and monnure and plant with orchod two Aeers and half of land with in the s^d Term of Fiue and also to spend the remain-part of their time to work upon the other lands; and all that is soed dow now to ly to English grass and at the end of fiue years for s^d oluer Collier and Nathanel Collier for them to resine up peceble posestion of the s^d hous farm and four Cowes and Calves and half the increes to the s^d Gabril Bernon or his heirs or assigns the s^d two Aeers and half of land ly a boue the spring on the side of the hill; and for thare in Coungment I haue let them one pare of oxen for one year, the which s^d oxen they must Deliuier to me at s^d term; and in case the oxen be lost they must make them good; Exsept by the enemy.

"to the performence of this our bargin we have heer unto set our hands in the presents of us —

menerandom they have
ingaged to brak up half
one Acer of land euer
year and to pay the three
first yers six shilling p year
and two last years to
pay twenty shilling p
year and we have
ualled the s^d four
Cows at tw pounds

"The mark of X OLUER COLLIER

"The mark of — NATHANAEL COLLIER

"JOSEPH TWICHELS

"THOMAS ALLERTON"

G. BERNON TO GOV. DUDLEY.

PROVIDENCE, 1st March, 1710.

Translation.

"Mr. Dudley your son told me the last time I had the honour to see him, that it was your Excellency's design to re-establish New Oxford: as it also appears through the public news.

"I hope your Excellency will be so good as to take into consideration the fact that Mr. Hoogborn has done his utmost to ruin my interest in the said Oxford.

"He has caused Couper to abandon the old mill, and Thomas Allerton [to leave] my other house, threatening that he would hinder them from haying, and [declaring] that I had no power to settle them. When I made complaint of this to him he told me that he would drive me from the place, myself.

"Samuel Hagburn was one of the thirty English settlers, and was the first named in the deed of Dudley, etc., to them. In 1726 an entry was made of an extract from his will, on the records of the Congregational Church, by which, although not a member of it, he bequeathed to it the sum of fifty pounds." For that I have been treated, after spending at the said Oxford more than fifteen hundred pistoles [and] the better part of my time during more than twenty years possession.

"Should it please your Excellency to examine the case you will find that I have chief had at heart the furtherance of your Excellencies wishes. I have been found singularly attached to your person, more than to all else that I have had in the world.

"It is notorious that the said Mr. Hoogborn, your brother, has caused the planks of my granary to be torn up; that he has conveyed them elsewhere, and that by his orders the oxen that I was reserving to be fattened have been put to work."

By this record, notwithstanding Dudley's censure of Couper, he remained in occupancy of the farm called the "Old Mill," and that he and the Collers had been dispossessed by Hagburn.

Bernon thus relying upon his possession to ownership of the lands which were occupied by his tenants without conveyance by deed.

G. BERNON TO THE SON OF GOV. DUDLEY.

"SIR:

"October, 1720.

"I would entreat you to assist me in petitioning his Excellency and the General Assembly, inasmuch as the inhabitants of New Oxford oppress my rights to lands.

"The Court and Government can confirm my title, and then I can dispose of what I have there, and pay my debts, and have wherewithal to help myself; and thereby ease my mind and body, which is now more than the Pope can do.

"The above said inhabitants oppress me as I can make it appear by Maj. Buor, who would have bought my plantation. The inhabitants told him not to do it;—that my title was nothing worth, that they also pretended that they would dispute my title with Mr. Dudley and Mr. Thompson. They also abused me in a very outrageous manner in Maj. Buor's presence; as he states in his certificate, which I make bold to send to you enclosed in this.

"Ephraim Town, John Elliott, and John Chamberlin, for whom I have advanced considerably to uphold my said plantation, will not pay me what they owe me. Besides, the loss of my servant, who was drowned, was fifty pounds loss to me. These men, and one Josiah Owen, my last tenant, higger-mugger together to cheat me of a hundred pounds in cattle and movables that I had upon the place, so that I am not able to advance any more.

"I see myself about ruined by this oppression and malice. Sir—you are perfectly acquainted with the affairs at New Oxford, and I do not understand things as well as I would. Therefore I intreat of you, Sir, to help me. Your charity and generosity are (so to speak) interested in it.

"I am so hard driven by my dunning creditors — the masons and carpenters and others that I employed to build my house in Providence, that I know not what to do : and, besides my wife now lying in, six or seven children implore my compassion, which makes me implore that of Government, and yours, Sir, that my title may be confirmed, after a possession of 36 years, so that I may sell it. Within 30 years I have laid out on it £200, for which reason my family did slight me, as well as my best friends. I have always been protected by Mr. Dudley, your honored father, who always thought as I did, that I might sell it, and not be in any wise molested. But I don't know whether it won't be a mistake. Indeed, one cannot always foresee the events of things, often hid from the wisest. But this I see,—the Evil one still reigns, and God suffers it, to try his children.

"My great desire is to keep myself in the fear of God, and to love my neighbor, and to seek lawful means to maintain my family. My great age of nearly eighty years does not dispense me of this duty. I address myself to you with all humility to assist me, that I may be assisted by the Governor. Such a testimony of your love and favor will rescue me, to terminate my days in America, or to return once again to Europe. Surely my staying or going depends upon the action of the Assembly. But be it as it will, Sir, as an honest, well-minded man ought, I pray for the government, and all the faithful in Christ.

"GABRIEL BERNON.

"From my chambers at Mr. Harper's,

"adjoining unto Judge Sewalls, Oct. 1720."

"In Sept., 1714, it was voted that 'the committy shall take care to notify Mr. Gabriel Bernon to come and join us in settling division lines between us and him.'* Again in Oct., 1718, a similar vote was taken."†

* Prop. Rec. 3.

† Ibid. 27.

"But there was a good reason why this matter was not attended to by Bernon. The complicated nature of the case is shown in his deed from Dudley and company. Du Tuffean, at the beginning of the settlement had 'elected' seven hundred and fifty acres, which were deeded to him and Bernon jointly. Afterward, to Bernon, seventeen hundred and fifty acres were granted, which were deeded to him in his own right, and also to Bondet were deeded two hundred acres.* These grants were all embraced in one plat and conveyed as a whole. We have no intimation of a mutual division, and without this, no power but a court could give to either of the grantees an indisputable right to a single acre which should be set off and located.

"Another point which is shown in the deed, added to the complications, namely; that a very valuable portion of the land taken up and occupied by Du Tuffean and Bernon, jointly, was not included in the conveyance. This was a long triangular tract of nearly five hundred acres, lying between Bernon's land, as deeded, and the land of the village proprietors. Its westerly line ran over the high land between the site of the fort and Bondet hill, and continuing in a course north, thirteen degrees east, crossed the present Sutton road at the fork, about three-fourths of a mile easterly of Main street. This line is called in the town records, 'Bernon's line,' and has been marked on the western boundary of the estate now known as the Ebenezer Rich farm, by permanent division fences to the present day.

"On this tract were the fort and the grounds around it, where Bernon had expended considerable money, and the upper mill site. It also enclosed some of the best farming lands within the limits of the town. Of course Bernon was anxious to retain it, but he could plead possession only, as ground of owner-

* There is no proof that Bondet ever had possession of this grant or received any benefit from it.

ship. In conveying his property he followed the deed he had received from Dudley and company, and did not include the disputed tract.

"Du Tuffeau having died before the autumn of 1720, Bernon applied to the probate court of Suffolk county for a letter of administration on his estate, as chief creditor. This was granted Dec. 5th, and he was enabled in due course of law thereby to take possession of the twenty-five hundred acres as sole owner. Negotiations with Thomas Mayo, Samuel Davis and William Weld, all of Roxbury, soon followed, and a sale of the tract was made to them early in the spring of 1721, for twelve hundred pounds, current money of New England.*

"On March 27th, 1721, at a meeting of the village proprietors to hear what the 'Gentlemen which signifie that they have bought Mr. Bernon's farm, have to be communicated to the inhabitants and proprietors of Oxford village,' and to 'act as shall be thought best to come at their own rights:—

" 'Voted and chose Dea. John Town, Benoni Twichel, and

* The quantity of land sold was twenty-five hundred acres, and the description in the deed is as follows: "Beginning at a walnut tree marked S. D., standing at the southwest corner of Manchaug, and thence running west, fifteen degrees south, three hundred and fifty-two perches, from thence to be set off by a line to be drawn parallel to the utmost easterly line bounds of the said Oxford village and township, as far as will complete the full quantity of twenty-eight hundred and seventy-two acres."

Of this were reserved one hundred and seventy-two acres of meadow in one piece which Dudley gave to the village. But the two hundred acres for Bondet's farm are not mentioned. A provision in it required the annual payment of forty shillings quit-rent to Dudley, etc. This deed was dated March 16th, 1720-1, and is recorded in Suf. Co. Rec., xxxv, 119.

It is said that Weld, coming to see the premises in the spring after the snow had gone, was dissatisfied, and soon after sold his share to Davis.

"Thomas Mayo never came to Oxford, but his son John did, and Samuel Davis came in 1728 or 9, probably the latter."

Isaac Learned' to act as a committee to establish the line between the said farm and the village, and instructed them to 'improve' John Chandler, Esq., as surveyor.

"The report of this committee, dated April 11th, 1721, was accepted at a meeting of the proprietors, Sept. 21st, 1721. In accordance with its terms, a portion of land at the north end of the Bernon tract was released to the village, and the triangular plat which had been in dispute was yielded to the purchasers.

"John Mayo, son of Thomas, made a home on the height near the fort, and died there, and his descendants continued to occupy the premises for many years. Davis chose for his dwelling, a spot nearly half a mile northerly from the fort, on the farm now known as the Nathaniel Davis place, where he died.*

"The facts in connection with the delivery of the deed to Bernon are remarkable. It will be remembered that it was drawn May 24th, 1688, probably upon the completion of the contract to settle the thirty families. There was in it, however, a consideration which had not been rendered, namely, the building of a grist mill, for which reason it was not at once delivered. A little less than two years passed, the mill was built, and Bernon had Church's receipt for the same. Two days after the date of this receipt, we find two of the grantors acknowledging the deed before a magistrate—but still it was not delivered. Years passed; the first colony flourished a while and became extinct—the second colony began and continued five years and was abandoned—for nine years afterward the plantation lay waste. Then the thirty English families came in and laid the foundations of a permanent settlement. Bernon gave up his right in the mills, and gave the valuable stones and irons for the benefit of the new colony. At last, after his hopes and

* Persons living in Oxford well recollected the leaden sash and the small diamond panes of glass of the old windows of this ancient house of Samuel Davis, which many years ago gave place to more modern ones.

expectations had been again and again disappointed, and he had grown old, and become unable for lack of means to assist the settlement further, on Feb. 5th, 1716, nearly twenty-eight years after the deed was written, it was acknowledged by Dudley, and passed over to him."

"Six days afterward, Feb. 11th, 1716, he conveyed the property for a thousand pounds to James Bowdoin,* who held it until March 16th, 1720-1, when he re-conveyed it to Bernon,† who the same day executed the deed to Mayo, Davis and Weld."

* *Suf. Rec.* xxxi, 79.

† "This conveyance was made by returning the deed he had received, with an indorsement upon it in legal form, signed, sealed, and witnessed by John Mayo, Samuel Tyler, Jr., and acknowledged before John Chandler, Justice of Peace." — *Ibid.*

DEED, DUDLEY, ETC., TO BERNON.

"This indenture made the 24th day of May A. D. 1688 * * * between Joseph Dudley of Roxbury, William Stoughton of Dorchester * * * Esqs. Robert Thompson of London * * * Merchant, Daniel Cox of London aforesaid, Doctor in Physick, and John Blackwell of Boston * * * Esq. on the one part and Gabriel Bernon of Boston aforesaid, Merchant on the other part — Witnesseth

"Whereas Isaac Barton, [Bertrand,] Gentleman, hath heretofore had the allowance [of said parties of the first part] to elect and make choice of 500 acres of land * * * within * * * the southeast angle of [a tract of land called New Oxford village] to and for the use of him the said Barton and the said Gabriel Bernon, * * * and whereas since the electing of the said 500 acres, he [Betrand] hath proposed that he may have 250 acres more of said land * * * to the use aforesaid; and he the said Gabriel Bernon that he may have 1750 acres more of the said lands, * * * adjoining to the said 500 acres to and for the use of said Gabriel Bernon, his heirs and assigns —

"Now these presents witness that [the above named parties of the first part] as well for and in consideration that the said Gabriel Bernon hath undertaken and by these presents doth undertake and engage within twelve months after the day of the date of these presents at his own proper cost and charges to erect build and maintain a Corn or Grist Mill in some convenient and fitting place within the said

By another paper in the MS. Collection, it appears that Mr. Bernon petitioned the King in council for certain privileges, which indicate the objects to which the enterprise of this adventurer was directed. It is entitled, "the humble Petition of Gabriel Bernon of Boston in New England." It states:

town of Oxford for the use of the inhabitants of said town and village [unto which mill * * * said inhabitants shall be obliged] at all times forever hereafter to make their suit as also for and in consideration of the sum of 5 shillings * * * paid by said Bernon * * * and the rents and covenants hereafter mentioned * * * [the parties of the first part] do grant bargain sell and confirm to the said Isaac Barton and Gabriel Bernon * * * all that tract * * * of 500 acres * * * elected as aforesaid by said Isaac Barton, to hold to them the said Isaac Barton and Gabriel Bernon * * * and all that and those 250 acres more desired by said * * * Barton as aforesaid, and 1750 acres more desired by the said Gabriel Bernon adjoining to the said 500 acres * * * within the southeast angle of Oxford village * * * as followeth * * *

"Beginning at a walnut tree marked (S. D.) standing at the west angle of Manchaug — and thence running W. 15° S. 352 perches, and from thence to be set off by a line to be drawn parallel to the utmost easterly line and bounds of the said Oxford village * * * as far as will complete the full quantity of 2872 acres * * * so that if the said line shall *not* extend unto and include and take in the utmost westerly part of the said 500 acres * * * said Barton elected for himself and the said Gabriel Bernon * * * the said 500 acres shall nevertheless be included * * * within the * * * 2872 acres aforementioned * * * the whole quantity of 2872 acres shall be set out accordingly whereof the forementioned 500 acres and 250 acres more desired by the said Isaac Barton to be jointly held and enjoyed by them the said Isaac Barton and Gabriel Bernon * * * also 1750 acres more thereof to be held and enjoyed by him the said Gabriel Bernon [his heirs and assigns for their use and behoof] and 200 acres more thereof to the use of Daniel Bondet, his heirs and assigns forever.

"Excepting and reserving to [said parties or the first part] 172 acres of meadow land * * * in one entire parcel and adjoining unto the lands of Manchaug aforesaid [in such place as they may choose.]

"And providing [the parties of the first part or any two or more of

“ That being informed of your majesty’s pleasure, particularly in encouraging the manufactory of Rosin, Pitch, Tarr, Turpentine, etc., in New England, in which manufactory your Petitioner has spent seven years time and labor and considerable sums of money and has attained to such knowledge and perfection, as that the said comodities made and sent over by him have beene hereapproved of and bought for your Majesty’s stores; your Petitioner’s seal and affection to your Majesty encouraged him to leave his habitation and affairs (being a merchant) and also his family to make a voyage to England on purpose humbly to propose to your Majesty in how great a measure and cheap price the said Navall stores may be made

them resident in New England may lay out over such lands] such common paths or ways * * * as they shall judge necessary or commodious for the said [township or village.] Yielding and paying therefor yearly and every year on the 24th of March at or in the Town house of Boston aforesaid, unto [said parties of the first part] or to their certain attorney deputy or agent by them * * * appointed to receive the same, the annual rent of 40 shillings current money of New England. * * * And the said Gabriel Bernon for himself his heirs and assigns * * * doth covenant, grant and agree with [the parties of the first part] that he [or his heirs or assigns] will well and truly pay or cause to be paid to the said [parties of the first part] the said yearly rent [as aforesaid] and that in case of non-payment thereof or any part thereof [it shall be lawful for the parties of the first part to] enter said premises and distrain and the distresses there found from time to time to lead carry away sell or dispose at such rates as they can get for the same * * * and with the proceeds imburse and satisfy themselves [for all arrearages and charges] rendering the overplus (if any be) to him the said Gabriel Bernon * * *

“ And that in case of his the said Isaac Barton and Gabriel Bernon deserting or relinquishing the said lands [or there shall not be found on said premises sufficient goods] for satisfying within any twelve months after the same shall grow due, this present grant and all the matters and things therein contained shall thenceforth cease, determine, and be utterly null and void, and the lands * * * shall revert * * * unto [the said parties of the first part] and shall and may lawfully be by

and brought into any of your Majesty's kingdoms to the great promotion and advantage of the Trade and Commerce of your Majesty's subjects of New England, all which is most evident by the annexed paper."

He prays his Majesty to take the premises into consideration, and to grant him his royal patent or order for providing and furnishing his Majesty's fleet with the said stores under the conditions his Majesty in his royal wisdom should think fit, or otherwise to except him out of any patent to be granted for the said manufactory, that he, may have liberty to go on and continue in the said manufactory in any part of New England."

This paper is indorsed: "Peticon of Gabriel Bernon."

them entered upon, possessed and enjoyed as in their former estate

* * *

"[The parties of the first part] covenant and agree with said Isaac Bartron and Gabriel Bernon their heirs and assigns [that they the said Bartron and Bernon performing the afore named acts faithfully as specified, may] have hold and enjoy the premises hereby granted against [said parties of the first part] or any other person or persons lawfully claiming or to claim the same or any part thereof * * * by, from or under them or any of them.

"In witness whereof the said Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton, Robert Thompson, Daniel Cox and John Blackwell have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year first above written. JOSEPH DUDLEY and a seal, WILLIAM STOUGHTON and a seal, JOHN BLACKWELL and a seal. Feb 6th 1690 William Stoughton Esq. and John Blackwell, Esq. acknowledge this instrument to be their voluntary act and deed.

"Before SAM^l. SEWALL *Ass't*

"Signed sealed and delivered in presence of us by Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton and John Blackwell, Daniel Allen, Richard Wilkins, Jno. Herbert Howard, Suffolk etc., Boston 5th of February 1716.

"The Hon. Joseph Dudley Esq., personally appeared before me the Subscriber one of his Majesty's justices of the Peace in Said County, and did acknowledge this Instrument to be his free act and deed.

"SAMUEL LYNDE—*February* 5th 1716.

"Received and accordingly entered and examined.

"John Ballantyne Regr."

Suffolk Co. Rec. XXX, 268.

“Papiers qui regarde deux voyages de Londres pour les affaires a fabriquer des Resme.

Examine le premier Octobre 1719.”

By a statement of G. Bernon, intended to prove his claim upon the plantation, it appears that he considered “the Plantation of New Oxford” indebted to him for 2,500 acres of land, besides the amount of expenses laid out by him upon the place. This claim appears to have been made about the year 1717, or 1720; for on his account there is a charge of interest “for above 30 years.” The statement alleges that 500 acres of the plantation were “granted by their excellencies Mr. Dudley and Mr. Stoughton to Isaac Bertrand Du Tuffeau and Gabriel Bernon in the year 1687,” and that 250 acres were “granted since, making in all 750 aikers;” and that “their excellencies Mr. Dudley and Mr. Stoughton did grant to the said Mr. Bernon for his own use alone 1750 aikers more, which makes in all 2500 aikers, which Mr. Bernon justly claims, upon which he hath built a corn miln, a wash leathern miln and a saw miln, and laid out some other considerable expenses to improve the town of New Oxford, as he has made appear by the testimonys of several worthy gentlemen whose names he has hitherto subjoined.”

By a plan of Mr. Gabriel Bernon’s land in Oxford, taken in 1717, it appears, that it measured 2,672 acres, “exclusive of Mr. Daniel Bondet’s of 200 acres, and out of said 2672 acres must come out 172 acres of meadow in one entire piece, which Mr. Dudley and Compa. give to the village.” The tract of land “within this Plan” was estimated by the selectmen of Oxford “to be worth one thousand pound;” and this valuation was certified by them on the plan, 11 January 1716–17. Signed Richard Moore, Benoni Twitchel, Isaac Larned. Another certificate was given on the same paper by the selectmen of Mendon, concerning the justness of the above valuation, add-

ing, "that we know nothing but the said Bernon hath been in the quiet possession of said land for or nere thirty years." Signed Thomas Sanford, Robert Evans, Jacob Aldrich.

November, 1720, Bernon made application for reimbursement of money expended upon the French settlement.

"THE HONORABLE PETITION OF GABRIEL BERNON OF NEW OXFORD,
IN NEW ENGLAND.

"To his excellency Samuel Shute, and to his Majesty's council, and house of representatives in General Court assembled, Gabriel Bernon, one of the most ancient families in Rochelle, in France, begs of your excellency and honor graciously to assist him in his great necessity, and that your excellency and honors would be pleased to take into your wise consideration; that your petitioner, upon the breach of the edit of Nantes, and the persecution of France, fled to London; upon his arrival ——— Tefferau, Esq., treasurer of the Protestant Churches of France presented your petitioner to the honorable, the Society for the propogating of the Gospel among the Indians in New England; of which Mr. Thompson, the Governor, offered to instal him in the said Society, and offered him land in the government of the Massachusetts Bay, whereupon one Isaac Bertrand du Tuffeau desired your excellency's and honors petition 'to assist him, the said Bertrand du Tuffeau, to come over to New England, to settle a plantation for their refuge;' which he did, by advancing unto the said Tuffeau the sum of two hundred pounds sterling; and since three hundred pounds eight shillings and ten pence; which with the exchange and interest from that time would amount to above one thousand pounds. The said Isaac du Tuffeau being arrived at Boston, with letters of credit from Major Thompson and your humble petitioner, delivered them to his late excellency Joseph Dudley, Esq., and the honorable William Stoughton, Esq., deceased, who did grant to the said Du Tuffeau seven hundred and fifty acres of land for the said petitioner at New Oxford, when he laid out or spent the above said money. Further more, the said Du Tuffeau did allure your excellency's and honor's petitioner, by exciting of him by letters to come to Boston, as he can show. The said Du Tuffeau's 'being (through poverty) forced to abandon the said plantation, sold his cattle and other moveables for his own particular use, and went to London, and there died in a hospital.' Your excellency's and honor's petitioner being excited by letters of the said Tuffeau's shipped himself, his family, and servants, with some other

To prove his claims on the plantation of New Oxford Bernon gives the testimonies of several worthy gentlemen whose names he has hitherto subjoined :

The four elders of the French Church	William Fox	Governor Usher
Mousset } Daillie minis-	Benj. Faneuil	William Stoughton
Rawling } tre of the	P. Jermon	Increase Mather mtre
Charden } French	Jacques Montier	Charles Morton mtre
Babut } Church,	Paix Cazaneau	Jer. Dummer
	Abraham Sauvages	Nehemiah Walter minr.
	Jacques Depau	John Butcher
	Jean Beaudoin	Laurence Hammond
	René Grignon	
	Phellipe Engerland	

By the Inhabitants of New Oxford

Montel	Ober Jermon
J. Dupen	Jean Maillet
Capt. Jermon	Andre Segourne
Peter Cante	Jean Milleton
Bercau Caéini	Peter Canton
Elie Dupen	&c,

“ The Widow Levenfe Jean Johnson of which her husband and three children was kil and murder by the Ingen.”

families, as can be made to appear; and paid to Captain Fayle, and Captain Ware, passage for above forty persons. Your excellency's and honor's petitioner being arrived at Boston, presented letters from Major Thompson, afore mentioned to the above said Dudley and Stoughton, Esqrs. who were pleased (besides the seven hundred and fifty acres that were granted to Bertrand du Tuffeau and your humble petitioner,) to grant to your petitioner one thousand seven hundred and fifty acres of land more; and for a more authentick security, his late Excellency and Honor was pleased to accompany me to New Oxford, to put me into possession of the said two thousand five hundred acres of land, which I have peacefully enjoyed far better than these thirty years last past, having spent above two thousand pounds to defend the same from the Indians, who at divers times have ruined the said Plantations, and have murdered men, women, and children.

“ Your excellency's and honor's petitioner does now most humbly represent, that the inhabitants of New Oxford, do now dispute my right and title in order to hinder me from the sale of the said plantations, which would put me to the utmost extremity, being now near eighty years of age, and having several children by my first wife, and so seeing children

“ Records from the English Settlement May 13th 1713.

“ Surveyed for Joseph Chamberlin sen^r Round the great house 40 acres being a home lott in Oxford; and four acres and one Rood in it being allowed for a highway going through

* * * surveyed by John Chandler Jun. approved and established by order of the original proprietors provided he pay for the bettering of his lott by former Improvement and building.

“ By John Chandler who made such an agreement at the beginning.”— *Village Rec.* 13.

Joseph Chamberlin's house lot in the English settlement of Oxford, was on the French Plantation of Rev. Daniel Bondet and subsequently in the English settlement it came into the possession of the descendants of Thomas Mayo.

Joseph Chamberlin's choice of a house lot is the first on record, being by estimation the most valuable.*

“ Oxford the 4 of february 1714 Joseph Chambbbarline siner

of my children—I have since married an English women, by whom also I have several children, all which have dependance (under God) for a subsistence on me, after I have spent more than ten thousand pounds towards the benefit of the country; in building ships, making nails, and promoting the making of stuffs, hats, and rosin etc.

“ Your petitioner, therefore, doth most humbly beg your excellency and honor's compassion and that you would graciously be pleased to grant me such titles as may confirm to me and mine the said two thousand five hundred acres of land without any misunderstanding, clear and free from any molestation either from the inhabitants of the said New Oxford, or any pretensions of the above said Bertrand du Tuffeau, so that I and mine may either dispose of, or peaceably and quietly live upon, the said plantation of New Oxford; and your petitioner shall ever pray for, and devote himself to your government, begging leave to assure you, that he is, may it please your Excellency's and Honor's your most Dutiful and Obedient Servant.

“ GABRIEL BERNON.”

* The Oxford records state that in 1713, when the English settlement was commenced, there were French orchards and a house once belonging to the Huguenots, which were regarded by the English as improvements

House loute bein uponn boundet hel* so caled, bounded on the nourest with a stake and a hape of stons rounceing a hundred and twenty rodes soourly on burmun line† to a black oke running westerly sixty rods to a stack and a hepe of stones then ronning nurarly on hundred rods to a stack an Hepe stones foust named * * * provided he pays as tow men shal judge is beater than other lots in sd village." Ibid.†.

"The highway which passed through this plantation was Woodstock 'great trail' which passed from Johnson [Jansen] plain north easterly over Bondet hill near the 'great house' which stood on its eastern slope."

A large hollow in the earth now marks the site of the "great house" which was once the home of Rev. Daniel Bondet.

Mr. John Mayo who was a native of Oxford, and lived near the place said it was used as a tavern in the second French settlement or early in the English town history.

In by-gone time the old Boston road or old Connecticut road was the thoroughfare in a quiet way from Boston to the Connecticut towns.

It entered the town from what was afterward the Sutton road, passing near the mills of Ebenezer D. Rieh, and from this point entering the road which afterward passed the farm house of Samuel Davis, and continued on until the foot of the French

to the plantations, for which those who came into possession of them were required to make a suitable compensation to the village corporation.

"Jan. 25th 1714 Voted that Ebbenezar Humphry should have the orchard joining to the South west corner of his home lot making allowance to the Town in money to full of what tow men shall judge it to be worth."—*Oxford Records*, p. 69.

There are vestiges of this Huguenot orchard still remaining; some very ancient trees with hollow trunks are said to have been standing in the English settlement.

* Rev. Daniel Bondet's Hill (plantation.)

† Gabriel Bernon's boundary line.

fort hill was reached, and then, when near the house of late John Mayo in the first English settlement, designated as near the site of a French house, about one-half mile distant from the French church and churchyard, here the road entered a broad Indian path known as the "Woodstock trail," passing near the residence of the late John Hurd and entering the highway near the late Peter Shumway's residence, and continued to Woodstock. The present highway from these points is nearly on the paths of the old Connecticut road and Woodstock trail.

"It was voted * * * in Nov. 30, 1714 that the committy shall begin to lay out meddow att East End of the great meddow, from thence to the meddow on Elliat's mill brook, from thence to the croth of the Reveir so down strame the Reveir; to the line from thence to bundits meddow." [Bondet's meadow.]

REMAINS OF THE FRENCH FORT.

Dr. Holmes writes: "My first visit to Fort Hill in Oxford was 20th April, 1819.

"Mr. Mayo, who owns the farm on which the fort stands, believes that his grandfather purchased it of one of the French families; and Mr. Sigourney, of Oxford, writes it was bought of his ancestor, Andrew Sigourney.*

"I measured the fort by paces, and found it 25 paces by 35 within the fort; on the outside I discovered signs of a well, and, on inquiry, was informed that a well had recently been filled up there.

"On a second visit to the fort, in September of the same year, 1819, I was accompanied, and aided in my researches,

* The ancestor of Mr. Mayo purchased the estate of Gabriel Bernon, the president of the French settlement.

The ancestor of Capt. Sigourney had taken this plantation as his estate and resided at the fort while in the settlement, as the keeper of the French garrison—Bernon—could not give a deed to Sigourney, as he had not received a conveyance of the land by a deed at that time.

by the Rev. Mr. Brazer, then a professor in our University, who went over from Worcester, and met me by agreement in Oxford. We traced the lines of the bastions of the fort.

"We next went in search of the Johnson place, memorable for the Indian massacre in 1696. Mr. Peter Shumway, a very aged man, of French descent, who lives about thirty rods distant from it, showed us the spot. It is at a considerable distance from the village, on the north side of the road to Dudley,* and is now overgrown with trees. We carefully explored it, but found no relics.

"The last year (1825) I called at Mr. Shumway's. He told me that he was in his ninety-first year; that his great grandfather was from France; and that the plain on which he lives is called 'Johnson's Plain.'

FRENCH CHURCH-YARD.

"While Mr. Brazer was prosecuting our inquiries concerning a second fort and a church that had been mentioned to me by Mrs. Butler, he received a letter (1819) from Mr. Andrew Sigourney, informing that Captain Humphrey, of Oxford, says his parents told him there was a fort on the land upon which he now lives, and also a French meeting-house, and a burying-ground, with a number of graves; that he had seen the stones that were laid on the top of them, as they lay turf, and that one of the graves was much larger than any of the others; that they were east and west, but this, north and south; and that the Frenchman who lived in this place, named Bourdine, had been dead but a few years."†

"In May, 1825, I visited Captain Ebenezer Humphrey, and

*The north side of the "old road" to Dudley, which passed Mr. Shumway's residence.

†The flat stones were placed on the ground to preserve them from the molestations of wild beasts. The small fort and orchard were north of the church.

obtained from him satisfactory information concerning the plan of this second fort, and the meeting-house, and the burying-ground.

"Captain Humphrey was in his eighty-fourth year. He told me that his grandfather was from England, and that his father was from Woodstock, and came to Oxford to keep garrison (in the second French settlement). He himself now lives where his father lived, about half a mile south-east from Oxford village. His house is near a mill, standing upon a small stream that runs on the left near the great road leading to Norwich.

"About fifty or sixty rods from his house he showed me the spot where the fort stood, *and near it the lot* upon which were the meeting-house and burying-ground. No remains of either were visible. He pointed to an excavation of the earth, where, he said, was a well, which had been filled up. It was at the place of the fort, and had been, probably, within it.

"In the lot there were apple trees, which, he told me, he heard his father say, 'The French set out.'*

"The field was under fine cultivation, but I could not forbear to express my regret that the memorial of the dead had not been preserved.

"He said an older brother of his had ploughed up the field, and it was in this state when it came into his possession. He told me that one of his oldest sisters said she remembered the old horseblock that stood near the French meeting-house.

"He said he had seen the blood on the stones of the Johnson (Jansen) house; and that Mrs. Johnson on the night of the massacre went to Woodstock.

"Bourdille †(so he pronounced it) lived near the brook which

* The remains of the apple trees were visible in 1854 on the fort lot.

His father must have been a competent witness, for he was seventy years old when he told him this, and he himself was then twenty years of age.

† The same as Bourdillon.

runs by his house. The land of Captain Humphrey, upon which were a French fort, church and burying-ground, lies near the foot of Mayo's hill, on the summit of which stood the great fort, whose remains are still to be seen." *

It was stated by the late Capt. Andrew Sigourney that Mrs. Andrew Sigourney, Sr., who came from France, was buried in this church-yard, as was Mr. Jansen and his three children. Capt. Humphrey stated that he recollected twenty graves in the French burying-ground.

Mr. Ebenezer Humphrey of Oxford, a grandson of late Captain Humphrey, and a resident proprietor of the landed estate of Captain Humphrey, in 1890 states that his grandfather informed his father "that the French church was on the north side of the extremely small church-yard," and to enter the church the narrow avenue of access passed through the church-yard as in European countries.

The locality of the church-yard is still pointed out by Ebenezer Humphrey. Mrs. Adaline D. E. Moffat, a lineal descendant of Captain Humphrey (a grand-daughter), is the only person now living to whom Captain Humphrey pointed out the grave of Jean Jansen as the one placed north and south in the French burying place. In the English settlement it was designated as the "giant's grave," his three children being placed at the foot of his grave, and is so designated at the present time.

A few years since there was an old road that passed nearer to the French church-yard than the present road as it now

*Dr. Holmes writes of this interesting place: "We feel reluctant to take leave without some token of remembrance, beside the mere recital of facts, some of which are dry in detail, while many others are but remotely associated with it.

"Were any monumental stone to be found here, other memorials were less necessary. Were the cypress, or the weeping willow, growing here, nothing might seem wanting to perpetuate the memory of the dead."

passes to the fort. This old road entered the land of Ebenezer Humphrey in the lowlands, not far from a large oak tree, now standing (1890). It can be easily pointed out by the proprietor. This road was closed several years since as not required for travel. The old road is thus described: "A way laid out from the four rod way to benicmanne lands home lot, begining att a wihite oake tree on the lowlands on ye Southwardly Side of the frinch burying place, from thence marked on the North sid to ne-lands home lot; said way is tow rods wide february the sixt on 1713-4."— *Village Record*.

There is no authentic description of the French church and church-yard in "new oxford" excepting the one given by Captain Humphrey to Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D., and also the locality of the church with its church-yard as pointed out by Captain Humphrey to his descendants. "The large stones said to have been a part of the foundation of the building as seen within the memory of persons now living is erroneous, the stones having been excavated by the Humphrey family." The church and church-yard lot of land can still be traced by the division wall or stone foundation of a fence separating it from the small fort lot containing an orchard and well as placed by Arthur Humphrey for cultivation, which fact Dr. Holmes so much regretted in his interview with Captain Humphrey.

The landed estate belonging to the late Captain Humphrey has remained in the family since the English settlement of the town in 1713, his father being the original proprietor and is now owned and occupied by Ebenezer Humphrey, the fourth in descent from the first of the name.*

In confirmation of Benjamin Kneeland's first lot of land

* Ebenezer Humphrey, a lineal descendant of Captain Humphrey, and the present owner of this estate, which has been in the possession of his ancestors since 1713, induced by an antiquarian interest, opened one of the graves, as plainly indicated by the dimensions, but found only the earth, which gave indications of what had been once a grave.

taken in Oxford, and the old road leading to his homestead, a deed given by Marvin Moore to Ebenezer Humphrey, in 1796, contains the following item :

“ One tract of land in Oxford containing by estimation four acres be it more or less laid out southward from the house lot Benjamin Nealand (Kneeland) first took up in Oxford at a place called the stony runs it being in lew of meadow in said lot bounding southwardly on a four rod high-way going estward from Ebenezer Humphreys house to Thomas Hunkins* bounded part on said Humphrey land west and Northwardly and estwardly on said Hunkins land however else bounded.”†

At the French fort in Oxford there was a bridle-path winding down through the French orchard to the church and mills, and entering on to the Woodstock trail and the trading-house, or, as they were then styled, “ the trucking-house,” and to the dwellings of other refugees in the valley within view of the fort. There are still to be seen traces of bridle-paths and cart-ways which have long since gone into disuse.

Many old paths abandoned, of which only the faintest tradition and slightest trace remain of those silent highways.

The natives had no roads; they had trails or paths to suit their convenience; they were quite well defined when the English colony came to this section of country. There were tracks through the forest from one Indian settlement to another, from the seacoast to the Connecticut valley. In 1630 the Wabquasset Indians had visited Boston, passing over the Woodstock trail.

The roads in those days were only bridle-paths, or, as they were called, “ bridle-roads,” through the forest, unfenced and ungraded, and were indicated by marked or hewn trees and stones. The land-holders whose land bounded on these highways

* The Stony run remains with its boundary wall the same as anciently at the present time.

† Known as once the Harwood farm.

or through whose land these rude highways passed, were allowed to maintain bars or huge gates across them to prevent their cattle from straying, as there was a great scarcity of fences.

There were formerly gates to pass through leading to the residence of the late John Mayo at the French fort.

THE NAMES OF HUGUENOT FAMILIES WHO MADE A SETTLEMENT
AT NEW OXFORD.

Benjamin Faneuil.	M. Alard.
Jean Boudoin.	M. Bourdille [Bourdillon].
— Montel.	René Grignon.
I. Dupeux.	Jean Jansen.
Capt. Jermon [Germain].	Capt. de Paix Cazeneuve.
{ Charles [Germain].	Isaac Bertrand Du Tuffeau.
{ Ober Germon [Germain].	Rev. Jacques [James] Lab-
{ Pierre Jermon [Germain].	orie.*
Francois Bureau, l'ainé.	Rev. Daniel Bondet.
Elie Dupeux.	Jean Machet.
Jean Martin.	Elie Boudinot.
André Sigournais, Sr.	Daniel Johannot.
André Sigournais, Jr.	Jean Papineaux.
{ Jean Mallet, anc.	Daniel Allen.
{ [amién] [Elder] in the	Gabriel Du Pont.
French church.	Jacques Du Pont.
Peter Canton.	

* Jacques Laborie of Cardaillac, Province of Guyenne, completed the study of theology in the Academy of Geneva March 12, 1688 (Livre du Rectuer).

He was ordained in Zurich Oct. 30, 1688, and went to England; he arrived at the time of King William's coronation; he obtained a license from the Bishop of London, for teaching grammar and catechising in the parish of Stepney. He officiated in several of the French churches of London for nine or ten years, and then, in 1698, came to America.

After a residence for some time in the French settlement in New Oxford as a clergyman over the French church, and engaged as a missionary among the savages in the vicinity, he went to New York, and was the minister of the French Reformed church in that city for two years, Oct. 15, 1704, to August 25, 1706. After this he engaged in the practice of

Elie Boudinot was a wealthy French merchant of Marans, in France, known in his own country as Seigneur de Cressy. His name and title are found written on the fly leaf of a book in the possession of one of his descendants.

Gabriel Bernon, President of the settlement; Isaac Bertrand Du Tuffeau was the Magistrate of the French settlement of New Oxford, being appointed by the General Court on the twenty-first day of June, 1689, to be "Commissioner for the Towne of New Oxford to have Authority for Tryall of small Causes not exceeding forty shillings, and to act in all other matters as any other Assistant may doe, as the Lawes of this Colony direct."

Du Tuffeau was from Poitiers, the principal town in the province of Poitou.

When in Oxford he was married to Demoiselle Rochefoucauld, a lady descended from one of the most noble families in France.

CHAPTER XVI.

FRENCH GARDENS.

There are French gardens, vineyards and orchards of which we have descriptions that carry us far back to those days of the Huguenots leaving France.

"The Huguenots were acknowledged to be the best agriculturists, wine growers, merchants and manufacturers in France.

medicine and surgery, and about the year 1716 settled in Fairfield county, Connecticut, as a physician, occasionally assisting the Church of England missionary; he married Jeanne de Ressignier, in a second marriage Abigail Blacklach, August 29, 1716, and died about 1731, leaving two sons, James and John, both of whom became physicians.

NOTE.—Bernon resided in Boston.

No heavier crops were grown in France than on the Huguenot farms in Bearn, and the south-western provinces. The slopes of the Aigoul and the Epernon were covered with their flocks and herds. The valley of the Vaunage was celebrated for its richness of vegetation, and was called by its inhabitants the 'Little Canaan.' * * * The diligence, skill and labor with which they subdued the stubborn soil and made it yield its increase of flowers and fruits, and corn and wine, bore witness in all quarters to the toil and energy of the men of the religion." — *Smiles' History of the Huguenots*.

Disosway in his "Huguenots in America," states: "The different parts of the country to which they came were greatly benefited by the introduction of their superior modes of cultivation of the soil, and of different valuable fruits which they brought from France. * * * When Charles II, in 1680, sent the first band of French Protestants to South Carolina his principal object was to introduce into that colony the excellent modes of cultivation which they had followed in their own country."

In 1709 Lawson in his "Journal" gives us pictures of the Huguenots in their scattered settlements in South Carolina, and states "their lands presented the aspects of the most cultivated portions of France and England."

Tradition states that the plantations of the French *habitans* of New Oxford were cultivated with such care and taste that the whole settlement presented to view one beautiful garden. There is found at the ruins of the French fort in Oxford, which was once the plantation of André Sigournais, in the French settlement of 1687, remains of a vineyard, orchard and garden.*

* The following fact was communicated to the writer of the Memoir of the French Protestants, Rev. Dr. Holmes, by the late Capt. Andrew Sigourney, of Oxford, Mass., who was born in Boston 1752:

"A bill of lading, dated London, March 5, 1687, of a variety of Merchandise, etc., shipped on board the ships *John* and *Elizabeth*, mentions

On a second visit to the fort, in September of the same year (1819), we "were regaled with the perfumes of the shrubbery, and the grapes there hanging in clusters on the vines, planted by the Huguenots above a century before."

"Grape vines, in 1819, were growing luxuriantly along the line of the fort; and these, together with currant bushes, roses, and other shrubbery nearly formed a hedge around it. There were some remains of an apple orchard. The currant and asparagus were still growing there. These, with the peach, were of spontaneous growth from the French plantation; the last of the peach trees was destroyed by the memorable gale of 1815," as stated by Mr. Mayo, the landed proprietor.

Mrs. Lee, the author of the "*Huguenots in France and America*" writes of the French garden of Andrew Sigourney :

"The narrative of Mr. John Mayo (given to her in 1828, when he was eighty-one years of age) is perhaps the most graphic. He says the fort of the French was near my house; it inclosed about a quarter of an acre and was about square. There was a very considerable house, with a cellar, well, etc., within the fort. There was a garden outside the fort, on the west, containing asparagus, grapes, plums, cherries, and a bed of gooseberries. There were probably more than ten acres cultivated around the fort; some of the apple trees and pear trees are still standing, also the currant bushes and cinnamon rose bushes, asparagus, etc."

among the rest, 'two chests of vine plants, marked X 5 X,' and were to be delivered to Mr. Daniel Stading, or Petre à Sailes" (of Boston for the French settlement of New Oxford).

The bill of ship lading was on a half sheet of paper, large size, of a thick course quality of paper and much discolored by time. It was folded in a small square form.

Some years since, on the decease of Capt. Andrew Sigourney, of Oxford, his executor, Capt. William Sigourney, found the ship lading bill of these same vines and fruit trees. The bill was afterward destroyed, with other French papers, by fire.

A portion of the garden was devoted to herbs, roots, medicinal sweet mint, and remnants still remained of blood root, Solomon's seal and some others.

Very little remains at the present time of this once lovely French flower garden, vineyard and orchard (having passed into the hands of the restorer)—a remnant of the cherry trees which had replanted themselves, the fruit retaining its rich flavor, but in size resembling the wild cherry. These cherry trees formed a lovely trellis for the grape vines, but unfortunately they were destroyed; with these vines clusters of asparagus, stray hop vines and rose trees, had formed a French garden and vineyard for two centuries.

Mr. Mayo stated to Dr. Holmes: "Every thing here is left as I found it."

The descendants of Mr. Mayo shared in his refinement of taste.

"The flower thereof falleth and the grace of the fashion of it perisheth."

A LETTER FROM THE LATE MRS. L. H. SIGOURNEY.

HARTFORD, *Sept. 30th*, 1856.

MY DEAR MISS DE WITT:

On returning from a little visit to my daughter I found your box of delightful Huguenot grapes awaiting me. Their fragrance betrayed them ere the casket was fully opened. This sentiment of remembrance on your part was indeed very kind, and I earnestly thank you. Does it require much stretch of the imagination to depict that saintly group who, for "righteousness sake," left the vine-clad hills of la belle France, and sought among these shaded valleys, "a faith's pure shrine?"

Your own ruined fort is peculiarly rich and graphic in its delineations, especially so to us, who regard the ancestral name of Sigourney with respect and affection.

I hope this Huguenot vine may long flourish ; I have pressed some of its clusters into a little wine, thinking that the most enduring form in which they could be treasured. Should it succeed well, I shall hope you will taste it with me, when it attains its maturity, the next year.

I trust your loved mother and sister are well. I often think of you as a peculiarly happy family not to have been severed and tossed about, as so often happens "amid the chances and changes of this mortal life." Please remember me affectionately to them, and believe me,

Very sincerely your friend,

L. H. SIGOURNEY.

AN EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF DR. OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES
TO MRS. FREELAND, DATED BEVERLY FARM, JUNE, 1881.

"I remember my father's visit to Oxford, and the enthusiasm with which he explored the traces of the French Pilgrims. I have not forgotten, either, my own visit many years ago to the fort and the scenes of the massacre by the Indians, and how I looked for the rose bushes and the grape vines which my father had seen, and of which Mrs. Sigourney had sung. There is no town in New England which can show more interesting localities than Oxford. The French exiles rested there, as a flight of tropical birds might alight on one of our New England pines, and one can hardly visit the places that knew them without looking for some relics of their sojourn as he would hunt for an empty nest or a painted feather after the bird has flown."

Rev. Dr. Abel Holmes states :

"In the year 1822 a letter was also received from a lady, well known in our literary community, enclosing a poetical tribute to the memory of the Huguenots of Oxford, which is not less worthy of her pen, than of her connexion.* Her marriage with a worthy descendant of one of the first French fami-

* L. Huntly Sigourney.

lies that settled in Oxford fairly entitled her to the subject which her pen will perpetuate, should the Memoir be forgotten. A leaf of the grape vine was enclosed in the letter which has this conclusion: 'We received great pleasure from our visit to Oxford, and as we traced the ruins of the first rude fortress erected by our ancestors, the present seemed almost to yield in reality to the past. I send you a leaf from the vine, which still flourishes in luxuriance, which, I am sorry to say, resembles our own natives of the woods a little too strongly. Something beside, I also send you, which savours as little of the Muse's inspiration, as the vine in question does of foreign extraction; but if poetical license can find affinities for the latter, I trust your goodness will extend its mantle over the infirmity of the former.' "

AN EXTRACT FROM THE POEM OF L. H. SIGOURNEY, RECEIVED
BY REV. DR. HOLMES.

"The savage arrow scath'd them, and dark clouds
Involved their infant Zion, yet they bore
Toil and affliction with unwavering eye
Fix'd on the heavens, and firm in hope sublime
Sank to their last repose. Full many a son
Among the noblest of our land, looks back
Through Time's long vista, and exulting claims,
These as his Sires."—L. H. S.

Mrs. Lee writes: "The Huguenots, after their return to Boston (from Oxford), gratified their taste in the cultivation of rare and beautiful fruits and flowers. Vestiges long remained of their cultivated and refined tastes." And adds, "A friend of mine, now no more, the honored and regretted Daniel Sargent, Esq., told me, he perfectly recollected 'fine gardens pointed out to him when a boy, as having belonged to the Huguenots.' " — *Mrs. Lee*, ii, 68.

There were the rich and luxurious French gardens of Daniel Johonnot of Boston, and of his son Zachariah Johonnot, rival-

ing gardens of India in splendor, which were cultivated through their wealth to remind them in sweet memories of the lovely homes of their ancestors in sunny France.

The beautiful garden of Daniel Johonnot was by his "will" bequeathed to his son Andrew as a choice inheritance, and again by him bequeathed to his son Andrew.

These gardens were ornamented with flowers and shrubs of exquisite varieties and choice fruit trees, and were for many years remembered by the inhabitants of Boston.

And the gardens of Zachariah Johonnet were afterward inherited by his son Peter. These gardens are said to have been filled with rare fruit trees, beautiful flowers and shrubs from the "dear fatherland." Tradition states that every tree, shrub and flower came from France, and that these gardens extended in length entire streets.

There was also the spacious garden appurtenant to the rich mansion of Andrew Faneuil* in Boston; he had acquired a taste for flowers which he gratified in one immense French garden, containing seven acres of land, interspersed with choice fruit trees. The garden was of such loveliness that it was styled an "Eden of beauty." Choice tropical fruits were cultivated in hot-houses, the first of their kind in New England.

"The deep court-yard," says Miss Quincy, in her memoir of her mother, "ornamented by flowers and shrubs, was divided into an upper and lower platform by a high glacis, surrounded by a richly wrought railing, decorated with gilt balls."†

The terraces, which rose from the paved court behind the house, were supported by massive walls of hewn granite, and were ascended by flights of steps of the same material.

*The residence of Andrew Faneuil was on Treamount St. (Tremont St.), opposite the King's chapel and its church-yard. On the death of Andrew Faneuil, it became the home of his nephew, Peter Faneuil where he lived and died.

†Memoir of the Life of Eliza S. M. Quincy, p. 88.

One of the ornaments of this tasteful garden was a summer-house which resembled an eastern pagoda, and from the little spire which surmounted it, there glittered and whirled about in olden times a gilded grasshopper, for a vane in imitation of the one upon the Royal Exchange in London. This summer-house from its elevated situation commanded a lovely view, and for many successive decades of years the Johonnet and Faneuil gardens were remembered for their choice fruits and flowers as things of æsthetic beauty.

At the commencement of the sixteenth century, there lived in a small castle near Gap, in Dauphiny, the noble family of Farel.—*History of France, M. Guizot.*

Among the French gardens, vineyards and orchards there is a description of an orchard at the ancient home of William Farel in France, which d'Aubigné has so quaintly and beautifully described :

“In these Alpinesolitudes, three leagues from the town of Gap, in the direction of Grenoble, not far from the flowery turf that clothes the tableland of Bayard's mountain, on the extended plain, stood a house of the class to which in France the appellation of ‘gentilhomme’* is attached (a country gentleman's habitation). It was surrounded by an orchard which formed an avenue to the village — there lived a family bearing the name of Farel, a family of long-established reputation, and as it would appear, of noble descent. In the year 1489, at a time when Dauphiny was suffering from oppression, a son was born in this modest mansion, who received the name of William Farel.”†

* Some of the Huguenots were termed “gentilhomme” (gentlemen). In old France “gentilhomme” meant much more than “noble;” a man's ancestors must have been noble for at least three generations, else he dared not assume that envied designation of which the King himself was proud, considering it amongst his highest honors to be called “premier gentilhomme de France (the first gentleman of France).

† John Calvin, in writing of William Farel, dwells upon the disinterestedness of his character, and speaks of him as a man of such noble birth.

“Grenoble to Gap, distant a quarter of an hour’s journey from the last post-house, and a stone’s throw to the right from the high road, is the site of the house which belonged to the father of the Farel still pointed out. Though it is now occupied by a cottage only, its dimensions are sufficient to prove that the original structure must have been a dwelling of a superior order. The present inhabitant of the cottage bears the name of Farel.”

A description of the modern French garden of the late Charles Sigourney, Esq., of Hartford, Ct., who was a lineal descendant of Andrew Sigourney, who came from France, and was in the French settlement of Oxford, and afterward became a resident of Boston.

Mrs. Sigourney describes her beautiful home with its lovely rose gardens :

“The mansion was environed by an extensive lawn, whose curving gravel walks were adorned with shrubbery, and spacious gardens, one of which stretched downward to the fair river that girdled the domain, from which it was protected by a mural parapet. One of the most unique features of scenery was a grove sloping rather precipitously to the borders of the same graceful stream, traversed by winding paths, and shaded by lofty trees. On its margin, and partially sustained by the trunk of a strong oak that bent over the water, a rustic recess with two or three seats, called the Hermitage, had been constructed. It was approached by a kind of wilderness path through the lawn grounds (where every thing grew as it pleased, yet pleased to grow gracefully). * * * An adjoining eminence was crowned by a summer-house, on whose vane, which was in the form of an arm and hand with a pointing finger, was the classic inscription, ‘ Ut ventus vita,’ — our life is as the wind, our domain was beloved by the flowers.

"Roses of every hue and variety cast their perfume upon the air; the clematis threw over the piazzas its rich masses of cerulean blue; brilliant woodbines and trumpet honeysuckles spanned the arching gate-ways, or clung to the trellises of the summer-house; the alternate white and purple lilacs bowed their heads over the avenue allotted to them, as if in close consultation; the neighboring lilacs bent back their listening petals; on the border of the gravel walks the gorgeous coxcomb flaunted, the peony and lupine advanced their pretensions; the pansy lifted its deep eye of intelligence, and the arbor-judea waved its pendulous banner when the slightest zephyr claimed homage.

"(Birds, fearing no shaft of the fowler, peopled the boughs, and made a paradise of song.) (A line of foot-bridges with their passing groups, rendered picturesque its adjacent lowlands, where were groups of little ones, who amassed daisies and king-cups, or gadded after the bright-winged butterfly.) Garden seats were placed in different positions, so as admirably to reveal the charms of nature and art which were here combined, the velvet lawn, the stream that at one point exhibited a slight cascade, and at another seemed to have a lake-like termination. The trees which were scattered here and there seemed instinct with the spirit of grace; and methought I had never beheld such enchanting moonlights as fell through their chequering branches."

Fain would I bear away,
And keep the changeless picture in my heart
Of those fair woods and waters,—summer dress'd
And angel-voiced, until I lay me down
On the low pillow of my last repose.—*L. H. Sigourney.*

On leaving the village street in Oxford in a southerly direction to visit the site of the ancient French gardens and ruins of the fortification, you will take the first road on your left hand; it is now known by a guide-board as "Huguenot avenue."

"A high way laid out Feb. 6th 1714* by the Select men beginning att the Eight rod way on the southwardly sid of an orchard neer the old mill† running over the old mill brook to a rock on the East of said Brooke, from thence marked on the northwardly side with mark trees tel it coms to barnon's‡ land neer the North East corner of Joseph Chamberlin seneor's home lot (In the French settlement the home lot of Rev. Daniel Bondet) said way being four rods wide."

Soon a view is presented of the site of the French fort, situ-

* Village Rec., p. 132.

† French Mill of Gabriel Bernon.

‡ Gabriel Bernon's land.

There was once a large orchard planted by the Huguenots on the north-west corner of the way four rods wide as it entered the Eight rod way, and within the present century the remains of another orchard of apple trees was to be seen, and it is said vestiges of these old trees are now to be found on the late Capt. Humphrey estate. The rock over the brook remains the same partly concealed under the bridge, and a modern mill is now seen on the site of one of the old French mills of Gabriel Bernon. The ancient site of the Humphrey house is passed on your left hand, shaded by its ancient elms and a memorable oak. The descendants of Capt. Humphrey continue still in the possession of this ancient estate. There was the old path or road leading to the French church-yard entering at the oak tree in the lowlands, and now, if the traveler should inquire his way, he is told by some obliging countryman "to rise a holler, keep straight along until you reach the top of a hill," and he pursues the winding highway.

He soon passes on the left hand an eminence, the site of the ancient French church and church-yard. The valley below the church, shaded by dark plummy pines, and the site of the lower fort (as it was called), built to protect the French refugees during church service and the burial of their dead, and then is passed on the left the opening of the old Boston road, as it was called two hundred years ago the "Kenecticut road," and then on the Woodstock trail he passes on his right hand the site of the Rev. Daniel Bondet's plantation and its high round top hill, known at the present day as "Bondet's hill," and soon on his left hand he pursues his way on a slope of the French orchard of some five acres of land, once belonging to Andrew Sigourney as a part of his plantation.

ated pleasantly in a close of ten acres of cultivated land crowning the height of the plantation. There was once a vineyard on the south side of the fortification, the grape-vines of which caressed the rude palisade, and supplied wine to the refugees (it is said the French have wonderful proclivities for the grape vine). The hop vine and the rose tree had their share of culture in the garden on the west side of the fort, and thus the fort appeared to rise from this garden of roses and vines.

Within the site of the French fortifications there is still to be discovered the outline of the small cellar of the garrison-house. On the south side of the palisade was the vineyard; outside of the fort, on the north side of the garrison-house, there was a stone chimney, and its uncouth wide fire-place, a part of which is still standing, and the ancient well is still preserved. There are now to be seen the ancient stone steps ascending a terrace from the garden, leading to the house on its north-westerly limits, just as they were in position when the settlement was abandoned, not having the misfortune to have passed into the hands of the restorer. At the base of the terrace, west of the fort, was the garden, and the orchard lying westerly of the garden.

"The main block house was thirty feet long and eighteen feet wide, with a doubled wall cellar twenty-four feet long by twelve feet wide and about six feet deep. The inner wall supported the floor beams; the outer wall, three feet from this, was made of heavy boulders on a foundation about three feet deep, and supported the logs forming the walls of the house."

A covered stone drain seventy feet in length, constructed when the fort was built, is still to be seen in good preservation.

"At the south-west corner of the cellar a flight of stone steps have been unearthed, which led to the cellar of this block-house. On clearing out the debris and rubbish at this point, three or four of the original benches, or offsets, cut in the hard

earth, for laying the steps when the cellar was built, were found as distinct as if just made."

The fireplace was in the middle of the north side of the house. It was nearly ten feet wide at the opening of the jambs, and admitting logs eight feet long at the back.

The broad foundations (one hundred square feet) supporting it and its chimney, almost wholly outside of the house, gave ample room for those huge logs and for an outside oven.

There was but this one fireplace to this old garrison-house. There was no annex attached to this block-house *of any description*. Mr. John Mayo remembered the garrison-house, as his ancestors had purchased this estate of M. Gabriel Bernon.

Mr. John Mayo, in his description of the French garrison-house (as he well remembered it in good preservation when his father resided on the French plantation), informed Mrs. J. P. Davis, his granddaughter, that the port-holes were only on the south side of the house, as there was lying southerly of the garrison-house at some little distance a line of forest running easterly and westerly, forming as it were a boundary, and from this point the French must have feared an invasion of the Indians.

THE OXFORD FORT.

Notes on its construction, etc.

The French plantations of Rev. Daniel Boudet and André Sigournay were not included in the large tract of land purchased by Gabriel Bernon of Dudley and others. The French made a first settlement in (New) Oxford in 1687. A garrison-house was erected on the plantation of Sigournay, and he was the Commandant of the fort. He planted a vineyard, orchard, and cultivated a garden of much beauty, composed of shrubs and rose trees which he obtained from France. This garrison-house remained until after the English settlement in 1713. The site of its ancient cellar is still to be seen, with its immense stone chimney foundations and fireplace, with the remains of that

once lovely vineyard, orchard and garden, and these were the only relics to be seen on the site of the French fort in 1884. This fortified garrison-house was surrounded only by a palisade of logs and earthworks. It is conjectured by some that "the fort was built of stone, the walls some four feet high, banked with earth and topped with logs, and having a ditch surrounding it, with perhaps a stockade beyond," and that certain outlines of the fort are indicated "by the solid stone foundations, three feet in thickness and just covered by the sod enclosing the whole area." There is no record or reliable tradition to support these theories.

The only explanation that can be given of this view of these fortifications is the following : The large area of land now surrounding the site of the French fort was in ancient times composed of several small lots of land. One of these parcels, lying south of the ruins of the fort, was separated by a wall of stone running east and west near the vineyard, which was outside of the fort. This was rebuilt several times by the Mayo family during the 130 years of their residence on the farm, and every time removed three or more feet south of the old wall; and besides, this wall intersected another wall at right angles, running south and north, which extended from the highway boundary wall. What is now thought to be the site of an old ditch surrounding the fort is only the appearance of the ground from whence was removed one of these former walls. The last of these old walls was removed some 50 years since.

All the debris of these old walls was deposited in the French vineyard, under the vines and among the shrubs and rose trees of the French garden. This accounts for the supposed fortification wall of "some three feet in thickness and just covered by the sod." When this supposed discovery was made there was no vestige of a wall standing. The wall now placed is a modern wall just erected in imitation of what was in imagination supposed to be the original wall of defense.

It also appears that there were no stone walls three feet in thickness around the "French garrison-house" as a defense against the natives, the first French settlement having been abandoned in August, 1696, and a second French settlement made in Oxford in about 1699, and continued until 1704, only 17 years after the first fort was erected.

Gabriel Bernon, the President of the "French habitants," petitioned Governor Dudley for protection against the natives. Governor Dudley, in reply to his petition, dated July 7, 1702, writes:—

"Herewith you have a commission for Captain of New Oxford. I desire you forthwith to repair thither and show your said commission, and take care that the people be armed, and take them in your own house with a palisade, for the security of the inhabitants; and if they are at such a distance in your village that there should be need of another place to draw them together in case of danger, consider of another proper house, and write me, and you shall have order therein.

"I am your humble servant,

"J. DUDLEY."

In Lincoln's "History of Worcester" is found the description of a garrison-house of this period, 1675-1713, in Worcester:—

"On this road (Marlborough to Brookfield) south of the fording place, was erected at a very early period, one of those edifices called block or garrison-houses, and denominated on the records 'the old Indian fort.'

"The structure for defense against the tribes prowling in the forests, so far as specimens have survived the waste of time, or description been preserved by tradition, had great uniformity in construction. They were built of timbers, hewn on the sides in contact with each other, firmly interlocked at the ends, and fastened together with strong pins. They were generally square and two stories in height. The basement was furnished with a single thick door of plank. The walls were perforated with narrow loop-holes for the use of

musketry against an approaching foe. A ladder, easily drawn up if the lower floor was forced, ascended to the next room, which projected two or three feet over on each side, having slits for infantry, and wider port-holes for cannon. The gentle slope of the roof afforded an elevated position to overlook the surrounding country, and was sometimes crowned with a little turret for an observatory. These watch-towers, impervious to ball or arrow, were of abundant strength to resist an enemy unprovided with artillery, and might defy any attack except that by fire on the combustible materials. To these wooden castles, in the infancy of the country, the inhabitants repaired on the alarm of danger, and found ample protection within the rude fortresses, seldom reduced by the savage, of too fierce temperament to await the lingering progress of a siege. Lincoln mentions "another of these fortresses of logs" for the protection of Quinsigomond (Worcester), and then "The third of these wooden castles was on the new Connecticut road north of Lincoln Square, affording shelter to the traveller and defending the mills on the stream."

In the "Memorial History of Boston" is a description of the fortification of Charlestown, "which was begun as early as 1630, when a fort was built on the top of Town Hill, with palisades and flankers made out, which was performed at the direction of Mr. Graves by all hands, men, women and children, who wrought at digging and building till the house was done. The fort was maintained at great expense, and was fostered by the colony because of its importance." The works were abandoned just previous to 1700.

The fortifications are described in New York city as existing in 1700 or about that time. "The city lies crowded below Wall Street with only a path stretched out along Chatham Street and the east side. A line of crumbling palisades and earthworks extending originally from river to river, still fenced Wall Street from the open beyond."

Dr. Holmes visited Oxford in 1817 and had an interview with Mrs. Mary Sigourney Butler, who lived in Boston until the American Revolution and soon after removed to Oxford. Dr. Holmes states "of the memorials of the primitive plantation of her ancestors she had been very observant, and still cherished a reverence for them." Mr. John Mayo, who resided at this time on the plantation of her ancestor, Andrew Sigourney, Captain Humphrey, Mr. Peter Shumway, who was of French extraction, Mrs. Kingsbury* and her son, Col. Jeremiah Kingsbury, had rendered Mrs. Butler every assistance in her researches. They were all persons of great intelligence and respectability, and were living on the landed estates of their ancestors adjacent to the French fort, and all lived to be more than 90 years of age, with the exception of Col. Kingsbury, who was more than 80 years of age. These persons had never seen any stone fortifications around the French fort, in the English settlement of 1713.

In 1720 Thomas Mayo of Roxbury purchased the plantation on which was the French fort. This estate continued in the Mayo family for some 130 years. If there had been stone fortifications or walls four feet in height and three feet in thickness around the fort, would there not have been some remains? In 1819 Mr. Mayo informed Dr. Holmes: "Every thing here is left as I found it."

NOTES.

A new modern cellar wall has been laid in imitation of the ancient cellar wall,† which quite destroys its interest as a relic

* The widow of Capt. Jeremiah Kingsbury.

† Mrs. J. P. Davis of Worcester, a lineal descendant of Mr. John Mayo, recollects the old walls which stood on the southerly side of the ruins of the French fort. In 1884 the remains of the two walls were to be seen, which formed a salient angle. These walls had been built in the English settlement in making divisions of land.

of the past. Its ancient outline was all that was desirable to preserve, with its foundation of an ancient stone chimney and fire-place.

The safety of the garrison-house would not have permitted an ell attached to the house. The house may have extended beyond the cellar wall.

There was but one chimney attached to this garrison-house, and that was built outside of the house on its north side. There was but one chimney to houses of that period, and to some modern houses of only 100 years ago one chimney of huge dimensions was deemed sufficient. There were no ovens; all was done in kettles or in the ashes, excepting a stone oven, in the chimney outside of the house.

Some few relics have been found, of which there is no proof of their ever belonging to the French, as the cellar was used by the Mayo family for the place of all refuse for more than 100 years.

There could not have been any old pottery belonging to the French. They confined themselves to utensils made of pewter and wooden ware, excepting some few who had brought from France small articles of silver plate. André Sigournay is said to have brought from France a small silver pitcher concealed with other valuables on his person, which was of great service to his family in their flight. The pitcher is now in the possession of Charles Sigourney Burnham of New York, a grandson of the late Charles Sigourney of Hartford, Conn.

Then still descending into the valley a tiny river is seen disappearing altogether from view, then reappearing, yet flowing ceaselessly, with trees skirting its bank, in all their varied shades of color. The river, fringed with tall grass and meadow flowers of blue gentian and the clematis with its fluffy blossoms, with graceful bends loses itself in the rich river meadow lands, and flows into the French river. This river had strength sufficient to turn the wheels of the French mills, and could be heard as it tumbled into the mill-race.

On its banks were the mills and rustic French dwellings, with casement windows aglow with brilliant blossoms, encircled with orchards, vineyards and parterres of flowers dotting the whole valley, which must altogether have presented a most romantic landscape of loveliness, stretching far into the valley, through which passed the rude bridle-paths and foot-trail which led the refugees to the mills, church, church-yard, and other French plantations in the valley.

The remains of the ancient bridle-path can be traced on the Harwood farm, so called, to the fort, and extending to the site of the French church and church-yard.

On the right hand of the Sutton road, one mile distant from the village street, is the site of one of the French mills of Gabriel Bernon.

"In the midst of a small meadow which is skirted by wooded uplands, and in midsummer is so overhung and shut in by trees and wild undergrowth as to be hidden from the casual observer. Here the substantial dam, some sixty feet in length, both wall and embankment, stands almost entire — a deep trench to convey the water from the pond to the mill-wheel, a distance of seventy-five feet, is distinctly to be seen — the position of the mill can be fixed — and the waste-way, running from the wheel about one hundred feet to the stream below, seems to have been but recently made, so little has it been obstructed.

"In this retired spot, the kindly hand of nature has protected and preserved the handiwork of the Huguenots, as it has been kept in no other locality in Oxford. The place is full of interest to the antiquary, and is well worth a visit, not only for its associations, but for its quiet, picturesque beauty."

The views from the French fort present quiet pastoral scenes of exquisite loveliness, environed in the distance by enchanting forest hills; and from the hill sides there is a long extent of beautiful vista, and beyond are distant hills, with Wachusett mountain seen fading away in a fainter blue.

The river winding its silvery way, and its flowery meadows remain the same in view as in the days gone by, and the ripple and rush of the water-way is now the only sound in this enchanting valley, for the "old French mills" have long since fallen to decay.

There is seen the same lazy distance of mountain landscape gilded with the same bright sunshine as when the refugees gazed upon this new wilderness home. "But as generations of men come and go these old ruins look down on many changes."

To-day there is seen in the distance the village street with its churches, rising among them the tower of the Episcopal church, very different in its architecture from the rude French chapel of two hundred years ago, where preached the Rev. Daniel Bondet, ordained at Fullam palace by Bishop Compton of London.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE ANNALS OF OXFORD.

In 1713 at the close of Queen Anne's war was the settlement of English families commenced in Oxford, the required number of thirty families being obtained. The settlement was made in the good old colony time, when we lived under the queen "when queues were long and patches large."

Richard Moore, Esq., Lieut. John Town and Col. Ebenezer Learned were gentlemen, then good servants to the queen, and were enhancing her most gracious Majesty's interests by endeavoring to increase her government by the settlement of Oxford.

"Oxford was made a town May 16, 1683. In the year 1693 a particular act passed empowering Oxford to send a representative to the 'General Court' as appears by the records in the Secretary's office of this Commonwealth."*

* Whitney's History of Worcester County, Mass.

In 1694 an assessment of taxes was made and sent with an order for its collection, to the constable of the French plantation, Andrew Sigourney. The grant for Oxford was made 1681-2.

Mr. John Gore of Roxbury made the survey, and a return of the same being presented to the "General Court," it was accepted, and on May 16, 1683, they granted the plantation and it received the name of Oxford, after a city of that name in England, and was at that time a town in Suffolk county.*

The grant for Oxford had a great prospect of success with such efficient guardians to watch over its interests as Dudley and others of high position in the colony.

Dudley thought the locality of the Oxford grant "capable of a good settlement, with its western part, including many hills, and its eastern section was set apart for a village, being more attractive because of its plains and meadows.† These plains ex-

* "Towns were made when there were few, or no inhabitants in them, and when a sufficient number of people had settled in them, a special resolve of court passed to empower them to meet and choose their town officers."

"But in a later date they have been incorporated, named and empowered to hold town meetings by the same act."

July 31, 1716, Town meeting.

Richard Moore chosen moderator, voted in y^e affirmative y^t Lt. John Towne and In^{sn} Ebenezer Learned should go to ye Court to search ye Records to see what may be found concerning Oxford being granted for a Township, also to petition the General Court if we may be made a town if it be needful.— *Oxford Records*.

May 28, 1718.

At Great and Gen. Court of Assembly for ye province of ye Massachusetts Bay in New England held at Boston on ye 28 day of May 1718.

On the petition of John Towne Selectman of the town of Oxford June 18, 1718, Read and ordered that a tax may be levied upon the lands of non-residents to enable them to build a meeting-house and settle a minister.

† Now the town Charlton.

tend three miles north and south, the soil of which is a warm sandy loam, and the Nipmuck country was famed for its Indian corn."

Major Gookin said of Manchang (Oxford), "It is situated in a fertile country for good land."

The natural meadows bordering the rivers which ran on either side the plains, were considered the most valuable of all the lands, on account of the quantity of hay they yielded.*

Another attraction presented to the minds of Dudley and Stoughton, favorable for a settlement of the Oxford grant, was that this location was easy of access.

The old Bay road from Boston to Springfield crossed this part of the Nipmuck county, afterward known as the New Oxford settlement, in its northern part, and the old Connecticut road passed through its southern section.

"I gave New Roxbury the name of Woodstock, because of its nearness to Oxford, for the sake of Queen Elizabeth and the notable meetings that have been held at that place bearing the name in England."—*Diary of Judge Sewall of Boston.*

In the time of the Oxford settlement all varieties of animals common to the New England forests were to be found in the woodlands of Oxford. Deer, wolves, wild cats and bears were game for the hunters, and fish abounded in the small lakes and rivers, affording means of subsistence. Deer were numerous and were quite an article of traffic.

* "The artificial pond in the eastern part of Oxford, called 'Robinson's pond,' covers what was one of the finest meadows in the vicinity, which has been known from the first history of the town as "Mendon meadow," as Mendon people came here yearly to cut the hay before the settlement of the town.

"As late as at the commencement of the present century, it was a custom every spring, at a certain time, to open the waste-gates at the mill near the south end of the plain, and draw the water from the meadows above, that the crops of hay might grow and be harvested."

One of the town officers chosen annually was a "deer reeve" to protect the deer; these officers were chosen until near the close of the last century.*

Bears were not uncommon in the settlement of Oxford. The last bear in the town was killed by Samuel Davis and John Dana. Mr. Davis resided on the farm now owned by James Lovett, and the adjoining farm was the residence of Mr. — Dana. Both of these farms are near to a swamp, long known as "Bug swamp." Each of these proprietors had a corn field near the swamp, and adjoining to each other.

Before harvesting, the owners were decided that they were suffering in their corn, by the depredations of some bear concealed in the swamp, which was a most unfrequented place, and its solitude and silence had favored the bear to select the trunk of some hollow forest tree, as they both climb and descend trees with great agility, for his den, or in some natural cavern among rocks.

Mr. Davis, and his neighbor Mr. Dana, decided to appoint a morning, at the early hour of 2 o'clock, to meet and watch for the bear. Mr. Dana was first, upon the time appointed, and soon sighted the bear, and fired his single-barreled heavy shotgun, which wounded the bear. Dana at once sought his safety by refuge in the swamp. The bear came toward him, and

* In 1792 Capt. Amasa Kingsbury and Joshua Merrian were the last deer Reeves chosen by the town.

Among the early punishments found on the court record of Worcester county, 1748, one having in his possession the flesh of a deer, killed contrary to law, was fined fifty shillings, one-half to the King, and half to the informers, which was paid with costs.

Tradition states at Ballard's grain mill (now Howarth's) that wolves were common. On a winter morning seven wolves were counted on the ice of Angretteback pond.

At the farm of Mr. John Larned, west of the river, in the south-west part of the town, the family would be awakened many a time by the cry of the wolves from the highlands near their home.

when almost within hugging distance, rose on his haunches to throw himself upon Dana, who, perceiving his situation, had gathered in his hands and arms mud and decayed roots, which he threw into the face of the bear, who stopped very leisurely to wipe with his paws the mud from his eyes. Mr. Davis had heard the report of Dana's gun, and arrived at this critical moment, armed with his shot-gun, and fired upon the bear, which now fell dead in a heap before them.

In the History of the Huguenots in France and America, Mrs. Lee, quoting from the manuscript of Mr. John Mayo, of Oxford, narrates :

"I heard Joseph Rockwood, who served in the fort, tell of having got lost in the woods when out for the cows. He heard at a distance the cries of wild beasts, and ascended a tree for safety. He was surrounded during the night by half-famished howling wolves.*

A RECORD OF TROUBLESOME BIRDS.

In a warrant for a town meeting, dated Feb. 19, 1791 :

"6th. To see if the town will bid a bounty on the heads of crows that shall be killed within said town by the inhabitants for the year ensuing or act thereon as the town shall think proper. By order of the Selectmen.—*Samuel Harris, Town Clerk.*

"March 7, 1791, at a town meeting ; voted, a bounty on the heads of crows, viz., for each old crow one shilling a head, and for each young crow four pence per head, that shall be killed within this town by the inhabitants thereof within one year."

The keeping of sheep in those days was quite an item of profit to the land-holders. All sheep were marked by their owners and entered on record in the town. Among many

* Joseph Rockwood was in the English settlement of Oxford, and his plantation was near the French fort, and subsequently was included in the farm lands of John Mayo.

others: "Rev. Elias Dudley marks his sheep with a Swallow Tail on the right ear." — May 14, 1793.

"Mr. James Butler's marking stamp for his Beasts is a capital 'B' thus 'B'" (painted black or red) — January 5, 1795.

In some instances in marking animals humanity was forgotten. "Lt. John Ballard Marks his cattle and Sheep with a crop off the left Ear and the right Ear split of each creature" — Decemr. 1st 1792.

Mrs. Kingsbury (the widow of Capt. Jeremiah Kingsbury) narrated, when in her youth and residing with her father Jonathan Ballard, whose plantation and corn mill included a part of the landed estate of John Nichols, in later time known as Howarth:

The Ballard family, were greatly annoyed by the Indians. When gathering peas and other vegetables from their garden they were obliged to protect themselves with fire-arms. If in any manner they returned to the house leaving the basket, on returning to the garden the basket and peas were gone.

Governor Hutchinson in his history of Massachusetts writes an item in the history of Oxford: "August 6, 1724, four Indians came upon a small house in Oxford, which was built under a hill. They made a breach in the roof, and as one of them was attempting to enter, he received a shot from a courageous woman, the only person in the house, who had two muskets and two pistols charged, and was prepared for all four, but they thought fit to retreat, carrying off the dead or wounded man."

Tradition states the woman placed a feather-bed in the chimney and with a fire and the smoke prevented them from entering the house. The name of this heroine is not preserved, neither the site of her humble dwelling.

Cattle were often taken from the English settlement by the Indians. When looking for cows at pasture fire-arms were required.

Peter Papillon of Boston died in 1733. (John Wolcott of Salem his son-in-law Administrator of his estate, Boston Feb. ye 11th, 1734).

The stock of creatures, etc., on the Farm at Oxford amounted to £85. 11. 0. as by Inventory lodg'd in ye Registrs. Office and which are still on sd Farm to be deducted out of ye first Inventory of £1033. 9. 6½.

One Mare now at Oxford £12. 0. 0.

One can imagine the English planters as they arrive from various settlements in Oxford village, with their wagons containing household goods and pack-horses overburdened, with their cattle and other domestic animals soon following. The pioneers in a new settlement at that period encountered many hardships, to build their log cabins, make roads and lay rustic bridges over the small rivers, as well as the labor of subduing the soil.

The first houses were rude structures, with roofs covered with thatch. In a few years houses of a better order began to appear; they were built with two stories in front and sloped down to one in the rear "leanto style" the windows were small and opened outward on hinges; they consisted of very small diamond panes of glass. The frames of the houses were of heavy oak timber showing the beams inside. These rustic homes all had immense fire-places, where the blazing fire of huge back logs gave cheerfulness to the whole apartment during the long winter evenings, children and servants sitting in the chimney corners, with a high-backed settle on one side for older people.

But for the great blazing fire that was constantly burning in the wide chimney, the family room of the farm-house would have been gloomy. Then there was the floor so neatly sanded, the spinning-wheels and reels were a part of the furniture, and to the children of the family an amusement, as the spinning on a large wheel made a cheery whirring sound as

though making woolen garments were the most delightful thing possible.

The young people studied their arithmetic and grammar by the dim light of a candle, and for amusements they played "Blind-man's buff" and "Come Philander, let us be a marching," with many other games but long since forgotten. Then there were the harvest parties and the quilting parties enlivened with a cup of tea that gave social pleasures.* But all these fashions have seen their day "as the family hearth and the great iron crane hangs rusty on its hinges and groans rheumatically when wakened from its long slumbers." The cry of the chimney-sweep is no longer heard in the village street.†

The ancient mile stone at "Sigourney's corner" states the distance of Oxford from Boston to be fifty-three and one-half miles. The village street is a mile and a half in length and more than one hundred feet broad, and almost its whole length is presented at one view.

*January 1, 1770. "They are not much esteemed now who will not treat high and gossip about. Tea has now become the darling of our women. Almost every little tradesman's wife must sit sipping tea for an hour or more in a morning, and it may be again in the afternoon, if they can get it, and nothing will please them to sip it out of but china ware, if they can get it. They talk of bestowing thirty or forty shillings upon a tea equipage, as they call it. There is the silver spoon, silver tongs and many other trinkets I cannot name."—*Coffin's "History of Newbury."*

Tea kettles in ancient times held about a pint.

†Whittier writes: "A remarkable custom brought from the old country, formerly prevailed in the rural districts of New England. On the death of a member of the family, the bees were at once informed of the event and their hives dressed in mourning. This ceremonial was supposed to be necessary to prevent the swarms from leaving their hives and seeking a new home."

This antique fashion is continued in some of the country villages within ten miles of Worcester at the present time. It is still regarded as a matter of policy to prevent the bees from deserting their hives.

The old way of telling the bees was for the master or mistress to ap-

The street was silent from noise of carriages in those days ; only a few pedestrians were seen on the highway, with now and then a person passing on horseback, with occasionally a lady seated upon a pillion on the same horse.

The broad highway was lined with flocks of gabbling geese, which marched up and down the street in search of mud pools, to the terror of all small children, and this fashion continued long into the present century.

proach the hives and rap gently upon them. When the bees' attention was thus secured, say in a low voice that such a person, mentioning the name, was dead.

Another way of telling the bees was for the mistress or some one in her place to drape the hives in black, at the same time softly humming some mournful tune to herself.

TELLING THE BEES — *Whittier.*

“Just the same as a month before,—

The house and the trees,
The barn's brown gable, the vine by the door,—
Nothing changed but the hives of bees.

Before them, under the garden wall,
Forward and back,
Went drearily singing the chore-girl small,
Draping each hive with a shred of black.

Trembling, I listened ; the summer sun
Had the chill of snow :
For I knew she was telling the bees of one
Gone on the journey we all must go !

Then I said to myself, ‘My Mary weeps
For the dead to-day :
Happily her blind old grandsire sleeps
The fret and the pain of his age away.’

But her dog whined low ; on the doorway sill,
With his cane to his chin,
The old man sat ; and the chore-girl still
Sung to the bees stealing out and in.

Josiah Wolcott, Esq., at this time was the owner of a pleasure carriage (a square top chaise) and also of a one-horse chair, both vehicles dating back before 1776. Only a few of the country gentry kept a chair or chaise, which was only "tackled" on Sundays, or occasionally for a journey.*

The present time affords in the town facilities for traveling by railroad, a contrast to the former time.

In 1715, two years subsequently to the English settlement, Bernon gave the stones and irons of the grist-mill to Daniel Elliot on condition a mill should be built in a specified time.†

And the song she was singing ever since
 In my ear sounds on;—
 'Stay at home, pretty bees, fly not hence !
 Mistress Mary is dead and gone !'

* A copy from a note-book of Josiah Wolcott:

1776 May 23	Mr. Joshua Turner		
	To chaise to Scituate 72 miles at 16 y ^e mile	5	— 8
	To chais to Worcester 11 miles 16 y ^e mile	2	0 0
	Settled	£ . 8 . 4 . 6 .	

† [*Gov. Dudley to G. Bernon.*]

ROXBURY, Apr. 6th, 1715.

"SIR :

"We are now in a way to thrive at Oxford, and I particularly thank you for what you have done toward a grist-mill in the village, by giving the mill stones to Daniel Elliot, conditionally that the mill should be built to serve the town within a prefixed time, which is now past and nothing done. I desire you to write to him to go forward immediately, so as to finish the mill presently to the satisfaction of the Inhabitants, or that you will order the said mill and Irons to be given to such other person as will go forward in the work, that they may not be starved the next winter.

"I pray you take effectual order in the matter.

"I am your humble servant,

"J. DUDLEY.

"To Mr. Gabriel Bernon, Narraganset."

In his reply, Bernon says he has "ordered Daniel Elliot to finish the crist-mill at Oxford or to let the town have the two mills-town, to set the mill in a convenient place," — "it will be a great blessing to strive [thrive] after so much disturbanee." *

Col. Ebenezer Learned of North Oxford built a dam and saw-mill on his estate previous to 1728. This mill was run until 1859 when factories were erected in its place.

The old grass-grown Charlton road, the northerly boundary to the church-yard near the south common, was once the traveled way to Ballard's grain mill; at a later date a lovely highway was made to the mill from the south Charlton road, terminating in a broad wooded avenue, which passes the site (intersecting with the old road) of this ancient mill, and is unequaled by any in the town for good taste and rural beauty, and yet all is arranged for utility; even the stone watering trough is a thing of beauty and humanity. The winding avenue is bordered by the forest trees in all their natural gracefulness, fringing the lake even to the water's edge.†

The late Sterens De Witt and subsequently the late George Hodges, Esq., were both much interested in preserving all its natural scenery.

* January 25, 1714, "Voted at a lofel town meten that Danel Elact should build a greust mel for the town use." — *Oxford Records*.

† May 20, 1715, at a town meeting It was also voted to choose two persons to go to Daniel Elliot and discours with him consarning building ye corn mill to see whether he will go on with ye corn mill and accomplish it in a reasonable time. Richard Moore and Benony Twichel were chosen for sd work."

Elliot built the mill on Eliot Mill brook near the crossing of the stream and Worcester road, near the Hawes place adjoining the north cemetery.

† March 11, 1754. Voted "to accept of a highway 2 rods wide beginning at the eight rod highway (now Main Street) Running west by the South side of Dr. Holden's House running up on the said Holden's line to the North West corner of the burying place from thence straight to

Mr. Thomas Davis, in 1747, built a grist-mill on the river passing through his estate, where is situated the mill known formerly as belonging to Ebenezer D. Rich. The old French mill was located near this site on the same landed estate once belonging to Gabriel Bernon, the President of the French plantation. Mr. Thomas Davis had received this large and valuable estate from his father, Mr. Samuel Davis, of Roxbury, Mass., subsequently a resident of Oxford.

Improvements in the present time include the item of saving labor. In the olden time to many of the houses in the first settlement of Oxford, would be attached a small shop, with a chimney in one corner, where the father and sons would be engaged in the winter season only in manufacturing shoes, with occasionally apprentices. This would form the entire establishment.

The last shop that recalls those primitive days was located on the late Josiah Russell place.

A great contrast is now noticeable in modern improvements to these isolated little shops of domestic industry.

Large manufacturing establishments have superseded them, controlled by wealthy owners, who not only supply all that is required for home consumption but make large exportations to foreign markets, thus affording employment to many most estimable inhabitants of New England towns and villages.

But finally the carding-machines, the fulling-mills, the clothier's shop and the spinning and weaving at the farm-house were banished from sight, being superseded by manufacturing by machinery. The two manufacturing villages west of the village street and North Oxford, with its long stretch of

the foot of the hill by Mr. Manning's fence from thence as will be most convenient near or in the road now trod to the bridge by Mr. Ballard's above his mill dam." This road and the Quaboag lane were the only roads to the south part of Charlton and Sturbridge for many years.

villages on the French river, with the town of Webster, are now to be seen in the places of these few solitary mills.

In Oxford, Charlton and adjacent places in the southern part of Worcester county, before banking had become common, Ebenezer Davis, Esq., of Charlton, and his brother, General Jonathan Davis, of Oxford, became the private bankers of the people who had occasion to secure loans of money. Ebenezer Davis, it is said, did not invest in large amounts; he loaned in small sums to hundreds of individuals in Charlton and vicinity. Through the influence of General Jonathan Davis, of Oxford, the Oxford Bank was incorporated in 1823, and for the first ten years he was its president. It was changed to a National bank in 1865. He was succeeded by Richard Olney, Esq., a gentleman of wealth and great influence, from Providence, R. I., John Wetherell, Esq., Hon. Alexander De Witt, and in more modern times, by Charles A. Angell, Esq., and other distinguished gentlemen.*

Fronting on the south-east corner of the south common there was a little gray school-house, itself "toeing the highway," with its two chimneys, with its capacious hearths for log fires of a winter's day. The benches were of the rudest style, instruments of torture, being very narrow and straight backs. For many years this little country school-house, with small high windows of diamond glass, graced the corner of the village common, weather stained with time, its decayed sills and warped clap-boards "crumbled from its moss-flecked sides."

This first school-house in the town occupied the site of the present residence of Mr. Charles Lamb, and for many years re-

*The late Mr. James Freeland, of Sutton, once engaged in commerce with Canada en route for Montreal through the eastern section of New York State, ascertained that the entire site of the present city of Utica could be purchased on very favorable terms. He communicated with Ebenezer Davis, Esq., but failed to interest him in a partnership where so large a fortune could have been attained.

mained fronting upon the common. Tradition states some of its timber is still preserved in the house of Mr. Lamb.*

“Beside yon straggling fence that skirts the way,
With blossom'd furze, unprofitably gay.
There in his noisy mansion, skilled to rule,
The village master taught his little school.
A man severe he was and stern to view;
I knew him well, and every truant knew;
Well had the boding tremblers learned to trace
The day's disasters in his morning face;
Full well they laughed with counterfeit glee
At all his jokes, for many a joke had he;
Full well the busy whisper, circling round,
Conveyed the dismal tidings when he frowned.

Yet he was kind, or if severe in aught,
The love he bore to learning was his fault.
The village all declared how much he knew,
'Twas certain he could write and cipher too:
Lands he could measure, terms and tides presage,
And e'en the story run—that he could gauge;
In arguing, too, the parson owned his skill,
For e'en though vanquished, he could argue still,
While words of learned length and thund'ring sound,
Amazed the gazing rustics ranged around;
And still they gazed, and still the wonder grew,
That one small head could carry all he knew.
But past is all his fame. The very spot
Where many a time he triumphed, is forgot.”

Mr. Richard Rogers was the first teacher of a school in Oxford, date 1740. He was the most accomplished teacher of his time, not only in English and Latin, but noted for his unrivaled penmanship. In those days a master had no need of a pen wiper, for they wiped their pens on the hair under their wigs.

*The benches and the black walnut ferule used in the first schools in Oxford were brought to Sutton by the widow of Mr. Rogers on her third marriage to Isaac Dodge. The relics were to be seen a few years since.

Town meeting July 29, 1714, voted to build a meeting-house thirty feet square, and to set the house on the west side of the highway near Twitchell's field.

This first church was located near the north-west corner of the south common, separated from the church-yard by the Charlton road, as afterward called, the church fronting on the common.

The churches in New England at this time exhibited a peculiar combination of severe plainness. The eastern boundary of the church was the Worcester road, at present opening from the common; as it appears by records of the town the location of the road was anciently.

"Tradition states in 1748 when a new church was erected Col. Ebenezer Learned gave the land and 'commons' around it (now known as the old north common), one and one-half miles south from his residence," and one mile north of the south common.

The old square church on the north common was built in the center of the twelve thousand acres of land comprising the township of Oxford at that period in the history of the town.

"And the church was at the court end of the town," and had the appearance of once being colored a dingy yellow brown, with three doors in the porch entering on the east and west sides, and south front, with corner pews in the gallery for slaves and negro servants.

March 5, 1749, voted to sell the old meeting-house at a vendue to the highest bidder, and Moses Gleason bid £66. 0. 0, and it was sold to him accordingly.

NOTE.—Sumner Baston (Barston), Esq., a native of Uxbridge, Mass., was the first cashier of the Oxford Bank, a gentleman of great natural endowments and of much refinement, with most affable manners. He had received his education at Brown's University. He became a lawyer of distinction and was highly respected in the county as a gentleman of integrity and candor. He had received the appointment of Brigade Inspector with the rank of Major. He had also been a candidate for Representative to Congress.

Oct. 14, 1751, voted that the selectmen shall inquire after the glass of the old house and give account thereof to the town. In 1752 it was again sold with the church land to Dr. Jabez Holden.*

There was a tything-man, whose duty it was to maintain order during the church service, to drive dogs from the church and to watch over the boys and young people. At any misdemeanor the tything-man would give a sharp rap with his long black staff and levelled like a musket at any offender.

This church had a porch bulging out, with its old-fashioned square wall pews and squeaking seats turned upon hinges. The great feature of this church, especially in the eyes of children, was the huge sounding board above the pulpit, and then their fears should it fall upon the minister's head. The body of the house was filled with long seats or pews opening from the center aisle of the church, with a little shelf-like table on hinges at the head of the pew. The pulpit was high and narrow. When the clergyman entered the church the people remained standing while he ascended the pulpit staircase.

In the old churches there were no fire-places, and it was before the days of stoves, furnaces or steam were used for heating them.

The women carried tiny foot stoves, filled with coals from their own fire-side; then between the church services they would have leave to replenish them from the friendly hearths of their friends near the church or at the village hotel.

The male members would frequent the hotel or old store opposite the common and obtain their "flip" or "gin slings" and then return to the church service.

On Sunday morning, a rude picture is presented, as these habitans of the new settlement are seen passing over the common to church, some on horseback singly, others double with

* Some of the timber of this church is still retained as a relic in the Town Hall of Oxford.

saddle and pillion, the wife on the pillion behind her husband, with maybe a little child in her arms, with a small boy on behind, holding on by the crupper.

They all dismounted on the horse-block in front of the church.

Quaint old figures toiling up to the church could be discerned as far as the eye could reach, by the old cocked hat, or many-caped great-coat. The ladies had lovely bouquets of pinks, with some sweet green mint or roses attached to their persons, of a Sunday morning in the summer. During the winter these ladies, many of them, were conspicuous from their fine scarlet broadcloth cloaks and rich sable muffs. The bearskin muff was more common.

For on a Sunday the people put on their best clothes. As wealth increased broadcloth and silk began to take the place of home spun.

The old "meeting-house" and all its surroundings were finally sold at auction, the horse-blocks removed, and all lost to view excepting the lovely common; even the ancient elms with age have disappeared. A new church was erected in 1829, fronting on the South Common.

From the settlement of the town by the English in 1713 there was only one church till 1793. The Universalist church was completed as a place for public service. The society had been formed in 1785. In 1836 the Baptist church was erected at North Oxford.

In 1840 the Methodist Episcopal church was erected. In 1843 it was enlarged by a donation from the late Jonathan Sibley, Esq. A new church has subsequently been erected.

St. Roche Catholic Church is located on Main street opposite the South Common; it commands a fine view. The present site was purchased in 1867 of John O'Shea. Since then the grounds have been improved and extended by additional valuable land purchased of Mr. Peter Butler, of Quiney, by Mr.

Shea, and transferred by him to Rt. Rev. P. T. O'Reilly, Bishop of Springfield.

In 1852 Rev. Napoleon Mignault was placed in charge of this mission by Rt. Rev. John B. Fitzpatrick, Bishop of Boston. Previous to this service was held in private houses; subsequently the present church was erected.

In 1858 Rev. James Quann was appointed rector by Bishop Fitzpatrick. The reverend gentleman is a native of British America, is of kindly manners and esteemed by all classes in society. He remained in charge until 1886, when Oxford was erected into a parish by Bishop O'Reilly of Springfield, and a resident clergyman appointed.

More recently a beautiful rectory with ornamented grounds has been purchased of John E. Kimball, Esq., of Oxford, and is now comprised in the church estate.

Grace Church (Protestant Episcopal) is beautifully located on east side of Main street on the northern portion of the Samuel Hagburn estate, one of the plantations in the first settlement of Oxford. The church rectory is imbedded in its cultivated grounds. The corner-stone was laid with ceremonies September 20, 1864. It was first occupied October 8, 1865. On November 16, following, it was consecrated by Rt. Rev. Manton Eastburn, D. D.

"The whole edifice, externally and internally, is harmonious and elegant. It is an architectural ornament such as few country villages possess." The building is of dark stone.

At the time of the settlement of Rev. Mr. Campbell in Oxford, 1721, all was not luxury and ease. Indians were lurking about. The peace of Utrecht was broken in 1722. As late as August 21, 1723, in the neighboring towns, clergymen carried arms to defend themselves during the church service. It is to be regretted that Mr. Campbell did not leave any diary with allusion to the passing events of this time, and about his journey to Boston in 1722, when he went to be married to

Miss Wheatly. They came to Oxford with two saddle horses. We can trace the Rev. Mr. and Madame Campbell on their bridal route, entertained by the clergymen on whom they called, by the journey of Dr. Parkman, of Westborough, in 1723, the clergyman of that place. He writes that he rode to Westborough from Boston on horseback, leaving Watertown, his first watering-place, at half-past twelve, and reaching Westborough at dark.

Returning to Boston, after he had secured his invitation, he stopped at Hopkinton, where he visited the clergyman and fared sumptuously on roast goose, roast pea-hen, baked stuffed venison, beef, pork, etc.

"After dinner," he adds, "we smoked a pipe and read Gov. Shute's memorial to the king."

Town meeting October 7, 1718, there is found a record stating, that a messenger was chosen to fetch us ye minister Rev. John McKinstry (to accompany him on horseback to Oxford, as was the fashion of the time), Mr. McKinstry, being in Worcester, and a graduate from Edinburgh university. One can easily picture the person of Rev. Mr. McKinstry as he entered Oxford village; his countenance is surmounted by the large round white wig, with its depth of curls, the three-cornered, smartly-cocked hat with its broad brim with loops at the side.

The nice white necktie or white linen scarf, the end falling loosely on his breast (changed for church service for bands and surplice), his black velvet or satin breeches with the silver knee and shoe buckles, his black silk stockings, the long coat with large buttons and the long waist coat with its deep pockets and fair ruffles falling over his hands.

This style of dress marked the clergyman of olden time.

As in ancient fashion a committee was chosen by the town to confer with a clergyman as to what manner he would choose to come into town, and to wait on him accordingly.

There is no mention made of any escort being provided to accompany the clergyman into town until after the settlement of Rev. Ebenezer Newhall in 1823, on his marriage to Miss Sarah Clarke, a niece of Prof. Stuart of Andover. On the day of their arrival a party of ladies and gentlemen from Oxford proceeded with their fine carriages (yellow-bodied chaises) and fleet horses to the town of Grafton, twelve miles distant, to there wait at the hotel the arrival of the clergyman and his bride; then, as their escort, to accompany them to their pleasant home previously made ready for their reception.

As the line of carriages entered the village they met many people much to the surprise of the bride dressed "in their Sunday best," as on a gala-day, and the people seemed to be all hurrying in one direction. At the head of the village street the white gateway at the parsonage was opened for the reception of the party and groups of people were ready to welcome them to their new home. They were ushered into the house, every apartment furnished, for the furniture had arrived from Boston the week previously, and the ladies of the parish had given every direction for its arrangement.

The party were soon invited to the tea-room for a five o'clock tea with every delicacy suitable for the occasion.

Mrs. Newhall writes, "They were our first people" and "this was our first home, for Mr. Newhall had been invited to a parish in the most beautiful country town in all New England."*

In 1832 the south part of Oxford, taken to form the town of Webster, which contained much of the most valuable water power within its limits, reduced Oxford in her territory and commerce.

* Mrs. Elizabeth Stewart Phelps (a cousin of Mrs. Newhall), in her "Sunny Side," published many years since, gives a part of this description as an illustration of the sunny side in a clergyman's life.

The new town has increased to great population, and in its large manufacturing establishments has become a second Manchester, while Oxford is left in a state of quietude and of great beauty and as a country town, ever having been a place of cultivated society. In historic incidents Oxford is not to be surpassed by any town in New England.

CHAPTER XVIII.

NOTABLE OLD HOUSES.

In the English settlement of Oxford there were several garrison-houses in the town for the protection of the inhabitants from an attack from the Indians. The house of Col. Ebenezer Learned in the north section was garrisoned (the house is still standing). There was a garrison at the house afterward known as the Josiah Russell place and the house of Ebenezer Humphrey.*

The house of Col. Ebenezer Learned of North Oxford is one of the most ancient mansions now remaining in Oxford. "Oxford May ye tenth, 1714, laid out to Ebenezer Learned his house lot at or near a place called ye uper fall's." The house is still in good preservation (1890). "A part of the old house is of a more modern construction, having been enlarged many years ago to accommodate his son, Capt. Jeremiah Learned, on his marriage. The interior of the house is modelled in the English heavy massive style of the last century." Col. Learned died in 1772. At his decease in his "will" he places Madame Learned under the care of his son, Capt. Jeremiah Learned, his son affording her "every thing necessary and convenient for her according

*Garrison-houses were nothing more than common dwelling-houses surrounded by palisades, and furnished with a supply of fire-arms and ammunition.

to her rank and circumstances,* and my black man Mingo† to wait upon her during their natural lives.”

An ancient house is still to be seen near the Elliott Mill brook, once the home of Julia Daily.

In the town records is the following :

“ May 20, 1765. The town’s house that Mrs. Bixbee lives in it was voted to sell at a vendue and said house was accordingly sett up at a vendue and Capt. James Griffin bid fifty-three pounds old tenor which was the Highest and it was struck off to him accordingly.” This house was one of the old gar- rison-houses in the first settlement of the English in the town, and is known in the present century as the residence of the late Josiah Russell. In ancient time the house was said to be haunted by a treasure being supposed to be buried in the cellar which had been obtained by robbery. It was said every night at midnight a man could be heard digging in the cellar, as Capt. Reading, a retired sea captain had once been a resident on the estate. From an old tomb-stone is the following inscription, “ Lieut. James Griffin of Gen. Shirley’s regiment died Nov. 17, 1769.”

This house was once the home of Rev. William Phipps, a

* Ebenezer Learned’s lot is allowed by me as to the quantity of 40 acres and the place of being taken up and I Establish him an Inhabitant in Oxford Village.

Witness my hand May ye tenth, 1714.

JOHN CHANDLER.

JOHN TOWNE,
ABIEL LAMB,
BENONEY TWICHELL,

Committee.

† Mingo was an African slave—his shoes of the largest size. His spoon and his block, on which he used to sit in the corner of the deep fireplace in the old west room of the house, were preserved until a few years since in the family. His place in the chimney-corner was to attend Madame Learned’s wood fire.—*Reminiscences of Martha E. Stone.*

retired clergyman of Douglas, who had married Mrs. Abigail Walker, the widow of Mr. Asa Walker of Sutton, a lady possessed of a good dower in a rich landed estate.

Mrs. Abigail Phipps, widow of Wm. Phipps, Esq., died July 31, 1820, aged 92 years.

It was once the home of Peter Shumway, 2d, October, 1791, who came to Oxford on Joshua Chandler's rights.

In the settlement of Oxford the Indians were observed to be lurking about Mr. Hudson's plantation. The family were fearful of an attack, and for safety went to the garrison-house, which was on the site of the late Josiah Russell estate, and remained for two weeks.

On the Hudson place there was a native apple tree of sweet apples, of which fruit the Indians were very fond. This tree was the favorite resort of one Indian in particular, who often regaled himself with the fruit.

A part of the decayed trunk of the tree is still to be seen (1880) embedded in a wall, as stated by the late Mr. Joseph Hudson.

There is no ancient house of more interest than the Hudson house.

The home of the late Captain Humphrey, which tradition states once belonged to Gabriel Bernon. The house by some is called "Bowerwood," so beautifully is it environed by majestic elms and one ancient oak tree that dates back to the French and English settlements and still spreads its branches to shade the traveler.

Capt. Humphrey stated to Dr. Abiel Holmes on one of his visits to Oxford that his father kept the garrison-house in the French re-settlement of Oxford. There were soldiers from Woodstock stationed in Oxford.

It is a tradition that he also kept a garrison-house in the English settlement. The descendants of Captain Humphrey have been in possession of this estate since the first English settlement,

and many of the French annals of the town have been preserved by this family that otherwise would have been lost in history.

Capt. Humphrey was in the Revolutionary War and also his brother Arthur Humphrey.

No gentleman was more respected in his time than Capt. Humphrey, both in church and town history. He lived to a very advanced age and his descendants honor his memory.

The house of the late Jasper Brown is an ancient house, and was in its time built in a very superior style. It was in olden time the home of Duncan Campbell, Esq., for many years, from 1748-1778, and afterward of James Butler. The house is wainscotted very beautifully; a buffet ornaments the parlor. The house stands with extensive lands on the west side of the old North Common. "It is covered with the same shaved clapboards, held by the same hand-wrought nails that were attached to it at the time of its erection."* The ancient money coffer, inlaid in the wall on the west side of the south-east room, is still to be found. The Charlton road, which now passes the house on its north side, formerly was located on the south side of the house.

On the south side of the north common at the opening of the Sutton road, there is one of the most ancient houses in the town. It was known for a long time as the home of the late Dr. David Holman, for many years a physician of Oxford. This ancient house is surrounded with much interest. It still retains remnants of its former style; a parlor buffet is preserved, and its ancient rich staircase remains as a relic of the past. The house is

* This old mansion, and every house of any pretension, had its "cock loft in the steep gable roof" for its house slaves or negro servants. And then the huge old chimney passing through this spacious attic was found convenient for all the requisites of turning the spit for roasting the meats in the kitchen. The services of the "Jack" were of great utility before mechanical improvements rendered them unnecessary by better methods of turning the spit.

pleasantly located, being retired some little distance from the Worcester road by an avenue, the lovely old common on one side and a once small orchard in front giving a very picturesque aspect to this antique house.

The ancient residence of Mr. Ira Merrimon, at the present time, was formerly the home of Dr. Daniel Fiske. The situation of the house has ever been attractive on an elevated site overlooking the "Oxford lake," but formerly known as "Towne's pond," a name given in honor of the family of that name, as the lake was a boundary of their plantations.*

It is said Dr. Daniel Fiske was a gentleman possessed of great refinement. On the lake he had pleasure boats, which added to the landscape picture, and on the south side of his mansion were terraces stretching one after another into the valley. These terraces were filled with rich border flowers and choice herbs, which have now unfortunately disappeared from rustic gardens.

The residence of Mr. John Mayo commanded, from its site near the ancient French fort, a beautiful view of the valley below and the mountains in the distance. Here was an old-fashioned garden, with old-time fashioned flowers and sweet herbs, with choice peach trees. The flowers were arranged with great neatness. The house of Mr. Mayo, with antique garden and flowers, and its lovely views of surrounding scenery, rendered it the most beautiful spot in the county. Mr. Mayo looked out upon the same quiet valley and wooded hill-sides for nearly ninety years. In the warm spring days Mr. Mayo would be seen sitting on the lawn with a book before him, for he was fond of reading or watching the bees, for in those days there were attached to almost every farm-house garden bee-hives ranged on the sunny side of a wall.

* Jacob Towne was the ancestor of General Towne, of Charlton, and Col. Sylvanus Towne, of Oxford.

(The ancient farm-house and the site of the French garri-son-house were formerly approached from the village street by two huge gates, one near the entrance of the old Boston road on the Woodstock trail, as it was then designated, and the second gate above, as the farm-house was more nearly approached.)

The house of Mr. Samuel Davis of Roxbury, who came to Oxford soon following its first settlement, is in the style of an English farm-house. The site of this ancient house was selected with much taste. From its height of situation it commands an extensive view, not only of the valley lands, with the village of Oxford, but distant views of great beauty. The windows of the house were originally small and opened outward on hinges. They consisted of very small diamond panes of glass set in leaden casements.

The Samuel Davis house was the last known to have this style of windows in the town. Mr. Samuel Davis had purchased a large tract of land in Oxford of Mr. Gabriel Bernon, a French gentleman who possessed a large plantation. On a large landed estate, situated on the Boston road about two miles from the village street, was the mansion-house of Edward Davis, Esq., and subsequently of his son General Jonathan Davis. The house was built in the style of an English hall. It would appear to have been originally of a brown shade of stone color, with its narrow windows heavily and richly set. The house was ornamented with a terrace in front. There was an air of home comfort and indescribable hospitable aspect about the whole mansion. The interior of the house is richly wainscotted. The south-east parlor, with its sunny aspect, made it a most charming room, and an old buffet was one of the attractions in ancient time. It contained the silver and the daintiest china possible.

In this rich wainscoting in one of the apartments (a tiny room) there are delightful little cupboards and small drawers and over the chimney piece and in the sides of the room of the out of the way corners.

Such cupboards and drawers are all unknown to modern houses.

If a visitor arrived on a winter's day, the hall door opened into a pleasant sunny square room with a cheerful fireside in full view, which not only presented warmth and cheerfulness, but the comforts and luxuries of a country gentleman's home of more than a hundred years ago.

The comfortable kitchen with its enormous chimney and hearth of stone, upon which the embers were rarely if ever extinguished, and at its side the high-backed settle, the cupboards and dressers resplendent with pewter, and so it appears the home of Edward Davis, Esq., possessed every thing that ever modern aestheticism could suggest for a country home.

On the marriage of his son, General Jonathan Davis, who succeeded his father as the owner of this valuable landed estate as utility required, the mansion was enlarged but its architectural beauty was lessened as being strictly an English hall.

Those quaint old homes are being preserved and all the fashions restored.

There is an effort at the present time in the fashion of country residences to have them a perfect reproduction of the best colonial type of architecture, and the landscape gardening has been made to harmonize with it.

"One of the most charming features is the profusion of old-fashioned flowers, which were so dear to the hearts of our grandmothers, which have never been surpassed in real beauty by their more pretentious successors with botanical names to give them fashion."

The visit of General Lafayette to Worcester is included in the annals of Oxford.

"General Jonathan Davis of Oxford received an invitation from Judge Lincoln to be present at the reception of Gen. Lafayette in Worcester and to extend the invitation to his townsmen."

The morning of Sept. 3, 1824, was pleasant, and the drive promised an agreeable time. Soon after breakfast General Davis, accompanied by several of his friends, all in fine carriages, "the rich one-horse chaise with a yellow body," and stylish horses. But the old Revolutionary soldiers had set out early on foot or in any conveyance at hand to be there to welcome one whom they so well remembered.*

Town meeting, May 21, 1751, voted to build a house for Mr. Rogers, to live in as long as he is our school-master, on the town's land near to the meeting-house.† Sixteen feet long and sixteen feet wide, besides convenient room for a chimney, voted

*The visit of General Lafayette to Worcester, September 3, 1824, was the occasion of an enthusiastic demonstration of popular favor. The arrangements were in the charge of a committee of citizens, whose chairman was Judge Levi Lincoln (afterward governor) who entertained the General at his own house. He was met at West Boylston by a company of cavalry under Capt. James Estabrook, and at the town-line by the committee of arrangements. Judge Lincoln met him in a barouche drawn by four gray horses at Clark's tavern, a mile or two from the town. A regiment of light infantry, under Lieut. Col. Ward, was added to the escort. At the entrance to Dr. William Paine's estate, on Lincoln street, an arch of flags was erected over the street; another over Court Hill, decorated by the ladies of the town.

"The children of the public schools were arranged on each side of Main street, and threw bunches of laurel before the carriage of Lafayette. Another arch of flags was erected on Main street near the Worcester Bank. On the arrival of the procession at Judge Lincoln's house, the Judge in behalf of the committee of arrangements, delivered an address of welcome, to which the General replied. A very noticeable part of the honors rendered to General Lafayette was connected with the veterans of the Revolution, who had assembled from town and country villages, and formed a line of soldiers in the grounds of the Lincoln mansion house, and as he entered, every soldier extended his hand for a welcome to one they had known and honored on the field of battle. The General returned the greeting with much emotion, addressing them as 'my comrades in arms.'"

†In 1752 this church was removed.

thirteen pounds six shillings and eight pence to defray the charge of building said house.

JEREMIAH SHUMWAY,
JAMES HOVEY,
DUNCAN CAMPBELL,
Committee.

This cottage for Mr. Rogers was located on the north-east corner of the South Common fronting south. In later times Mr. Rogers' house was known as a part of the Wolcott mansion, it being the small house attached to the north-east corner of the mansion, used for slaves or colored servants in the family.

The ancient well, near the highway to the Wolcott mansion, with its scooped out Indian mortar which in olden time was used for daily bathing was a well belonging to the town and attached to the house of Mr. Rogers.

Very near to the house of Mr. Rogers was the Wolcott mansion fronting on the south common. This house was erected in 1749 (it is said) for the residence of Duncan Campbell, Esq., on his marriage to Elizabeth, the daughter of Thomas Sterne, of Worcester. On the marriage day, accompanied by twelve ladies and gentlemen on horseback as an escort, Mr. and Mrs. Campbell arrived at their home and commenced house-keeping. In 1750-1 Josiah Wolcott, Esq., a gentleman, came to Oxford to take possession of his Freake and Papillon estates. He married Isabella, the daughter of Rev. John Campbell, and purchased this estate of Duncan Campbell.

This Wolcott home was in its time an elegant residence, constructed with much style, the paneled wainscotting very rich and elaborate, its long narrow windows with hoods or cowls, as they were termed, over windows and doors. In the spacious parlor there was a deep fireplace, ornamented with blue and white Dutch tiles, representing scenes from sacred history. On the parlor walls were rich French hangings, representing belle and beau of the past century, the portraits of the ancient

Freake and Wolcott families, painted in the court style of Charles II, portraits also of the Kitchen family, with an ancient portrait of Judge Wolcott with a huge wig, deep ruffles, and in a red velvet mantle, all these portraits representing persons, as the town records state, of land proprietors of Oxford.

A curiously carved buffet, filled with choice Eastern china and heavy silver plate, of such a quantity that an inventory was demanded by government, and is still preserved as a relic.

"And y^e sconce a hanging candle stick with a heavy plate glass mirror to reflect y^e rays," graced the walls of the elegant old parlor. Rich antique furniture ornamented the apartments.

And in the hall were hung funeral hatchments. "A silent intimation that the rich have been emptying their house and replenishing their sepulchres."

The Earl of Loudoun when he visited the Rev. John Campbell was also entertained at the Wolcott mansion.*

The town had sold the church land on the South Common to Dr. Holden, a residence fronting on the common, and is named in the records of Oxford. It was also the residence of

* 1771, Monday, March 11. In town meeting, among other items. "To know the minds of the Town relating to a strip of land lying between the Revd. Mr. Joseph Bowman's (and) Josiah Wolcott Esqrs. land being part of the old Road between their Houses and to do and act thereon as the town shall think proper.

"Voted and granted to the Revd. Mr. Joseph Bowman part of the eight Rod Highway between his house and Josiah Wolcott, Esqrs., which has not heretofore been granted away about four Rod wided to the corner of said Mr. Wolcott's Wall extending North as his Board fence now stands about sixteen Rods from the Revd. Mr. Bowmans South East corner (both residences fronted south on the south common)."—*Town Records*, p. 144.

It would appear by this conveyance of land that the road, in place of passing on the east side of the residence of Josiah Wolcott, was first on the west side where the street is now located. The highway on the east side is still continued as a private street.

Rev. Joseph Bowman. It was a superior house in its time, and a part of it is still to be seen, though removed from its former site.

This house was the home of several distinguished families. Erasmus Babbitt, Esq., a son of Dr. Babbitt of Sturbridge, or Brookfield, was a lawyer. He was educated at Harvard University, and on his marriage to Mary, a daughter of Thomas Saunders of Gloucester, he became a resident of Oxford, and occupied this ancient mansion. Mary Eliza Babbitt, one of his two daughters, married Elkahan Cushman, and his eldest child was Charlotte Saunders Cushman, the celebrated actress. Erasmus Babbitt was a captain in the army under Col. Rice, stationed in Oxford, in the fall and winter of 1798-1799. It is said Capt. Babbitt died in service during the British war with the United States, in 1812-1815.

It was also at one time the residence of Major Archibald Campbell, a gentleman distinguished in his time. Afterward the old mansion became the home of Mr. John Torrey, of Franklin, Mass. Mr. and Mrs. Torrey were much esteemed in society. Of five sons, two became distinguished lawyers; the eldest son, Ebenezer, was educated at Harvard University, studied law in the office of John Shepley, Esq. Mr. Torrey became distinguished in his profession. In 1849 he was one of the five senators elected at large from Worcester county, and was one of a committee on banks and banking. Hon. Rufus Torrey also was educated at Harvard University. At Mr. Torrey's decease the *Mobile Register* named him as one of the most estimable gentlemen of southern Alabama; he was judge of the County Court of Monroe county; he was chosen to represent the twenty-first district in the State Senate; he died at Claiborne, Alabama, September, 1882.

Harriet, the eldest daughter of John and Sally Richardson Torrey, married Lewis Shumway. Sally R., the second daughter, married Jonathan Dudley of Sutton. On Sept. 13, 1824, "the ladies of Oxford presented an elegant standard to the

'Oxford Invincibles,' commanded by Capt. Andrew Sigourney, Jr.; the standard was presented to Ensign B. Franklin Campbell by Miss Sally R. Torrey. Miss Torrey's address to the soldiers of the 'Light Infantry' was published in the county newspapers and greatly applauded for its merit. Mr. Campbell's reply was quite noted for its gallantry and patriotism. Mr. Campbell closed his address with this sentiment: 'Then, with a soldier's devotion, we would offer the trophies of our arms and the affection of our hearts, a sacrifice to the holy shrine of female virtue.'"

The ancient school-house on the common was abandoned for other localities in different parts of the town, and this ancient building became an English trading-house in Oxford. It was owned by Josiah Wolcott. There are ancient store accounts still preserved, showing its trade to have been of European and India goods. Various kinds of cloth and taffeta are named as items. Then a mug of flip, Bohea tea and other commodities were sold to patrons. This trading-house was continued for thirty years or a longer time. Tradition states that John Wolcott was the proprietor of a store on Sigourney corner 1782-1793.

A store was established in Oxford at the close of the Revolutionary War. It was attached to the residence of James Butler, opposite the North Common. Mr. Butler and his brother in law, Captain Andrew Sigourney, were associated in the business of this country store, which was filled with home-made cloths, linen, tow and woolen fabrics, shoes, with shoe and knee buckles, gentlemen's hats, for such was the demand that a manufactory of hats was included as an item of commerce, as well as the manufacturing of potash; wooden ware was also represented in spinning-wheels, and there were candle sticks and warming-pans, sugar, molasses and tobacco, with cod-fish. Madeira wine and Jamaica rum were articles of trade, including Bohea and extra Hyson teas.

There were European and India goods, with various small commodities.

They were the first to introduce cotton in this section of the country, at one dollar per pound. Long before Samuel Slater of England had established his mills for manufacturing cotton cloth in Oxford. In ancient time cotton was mixed with flax for domestic fabrics. Specimens of this cloth were taken to Worcester to the calico printing establishment of the Stowells,* and returned to Oxford as dress goods. There are fragments of these prints still treasured by some of the descendants of the Sigourney family.

In 1793, or previously, Mr. Butler remained sole proprietor. Mr. Sigourney removed to the village street, and was located in a store on the corner of the Sutton road.

To the tourist who now passes through the town it presents very little of the appearance that it would a century since. Its lovely lakes still glitter in the bright sunshine. The quiet French river glides along through the green meadows as in days gone by. Rev. Peter Whitney, a quaint historian who visited Oxford one hundred years ago, narrates, 1793: "There are two or three stores of European and India goods and in the town there are all the common artificers, tradesmen and mechanics." (The people being land proprietors.) "There are within Oxford limits three grist-mills, six saw-mills, and two clothiers' works. There are also in the town potash works." Webster was then a part of Oxford.

The residence of Rev. John Campbell was situated a little distance from the South Common, on the Worcester road. After

* From the newspaper items of Worcester, January 5, 1793:

"The weavers shop of Cornelius and Peter Stowell was burned. Loss £300.

"They also carried on calico printing and fancy dyeing."

In 1793: "Messrs. Stowel by whom the clothier's business in all its branches is carried on to perfection. They dye fine scarlet and deep blue colors."— *Whitney's History*.

passing the little bridge over the brook there was an avenue to the mansion, with its gambrel roof. The house was superior in its style of building, and its location possessed many attractions, and was regarded as foreign in its style like houses in Scotland.

A modern house has been erected on its site.

It was for many years the residence of Nathan Hall, and his descendants still retain the estate.

On the west side of Main street the next ancient site of a house was on the estate of the late Sternes De Witt. This estate was the plantation of Nathaniel Chamberlain and once the home of the Hamlin family, who removed to Maine. Then it passed into the possession of Mr. James Gleason. The old house was a small square house located just in front of the present mansion. The only attraction of the situation was a fine landed estate beautifully located, with ancient trees.

Near the center of Main street, on the corner of the Charlton road, was the old "red tavern."

It is said to have been in its day a good and sufficient house, with a large chimney in its center giving fire-places to the apartments, fit in all respects for a house of entertainment, with stables of large accommodations for the time. The old house consisted of a large south-east square room, a staircase and a room of a smaller size fronting east on the village street. This large square room, with a small entry and staircase, with a large kitchen annexed, formed the south front on the Charlton road. The house was afterward enlarged with other apartments.

The large south-east room was the "entertaining-room" so called, for in the north-west corner was the bar, where were displayed the mugs for flip, the keg of beer, gray earthen crocks with sugar and various wines, with Jamaica rum to tempt the traveler or loungee to much dissipation. It is said landed estates were lost and won at this bar for a "mug of flip and a song," and many widows and orphans suffered severely for its existence. The first post-office was in this tavern. The

landed estate of the old tavern included the site of the present hotel.

This old red tavern was erected in 1760 by Dr. Alexander Campbell. In 1773 Ezra Bowman became the proprietor and made many improvements; he remained until 1782.

The next old mansion was on the site of the present house of Dr. Cushman. It was anciently the residence of Mr. John Walker, an English gentleman. It was a notable house with its "gamber ruff" (gambrel roof) and its deep lawn upon the street, and its landed estate in back lands, adjacent to the residence, and at the present time it is noticeable for elegance. Its ancient northern boundary included the Town Hall; it was bounded southerly by Quaboag lane, two rods wide, being a road to Charlton and Sturbridge. Mr. Walker married Mary, daughter of Duncan Campbell, Esq. The house was richly furnished with antique furniture, the walls were adorned with family portraits from England. This valuable estate passed into the Russell family, and was afterward owned by Jonathan Sibley, and then followed by Thomas Nichols as owner of the estate.

The mansion-house of Abijah Davis, Esq., was the last residence in Oxford which was built in English style with rich wainscotting. It is beautifully located on South Main street, once a part of the Hogburn estate. The landed estate was very valuable and is so considered at the present time. The house was erected 1795. Col. Rice, while in Oxford, occupied for his quarters the residence of the late Abijah Davis, Esq. It is said "he lived in great style and that Madame Rice required many servants and much waiting upon herself, and that she was dressed in rich silk gowns and her best wig every day."

During the administration of John Adams a detachment of the United States army, consisting of several regiments of infantry, was stationed in Oxford under the command of Col. Nathaniel Rice of Sturbridge from October, 1798, to June, 1800.

On the east side of Main street there was an ancient house on or near the site of the residence of the late William Sigourney. On the corner of Main street and the Sutton road was the trading-house or store of Capt. Andrew Sigourney, Sen. Afterward, on the same site, was erected a new store for his son, Capt. William Sigourney, and in modern times was a post-office, but one hundred years ago there was no post-office in Oxford. On the left-hand entrance to the Sutton road near the store was the quaint old mansion of Andrew Sigourney, Sen. Opposite the store, on the right hand of Main street and on Sutton road, was an old house on the site of the present brick house, once the residence of Andrew Sigourney, Sen. This part of Main street has ever been known as Sigourney corner.

On the east side of Main street, on the site of the present Protestant Episcopal church, there was a house pleasantly situated and roomy; it presented many attractions with its pleasant garden. The last house on the east side of the main street was that of Dr. Alexander Campbell, a gambrel roof, fine old mansion, occupying a site in the rear or on the east side of the mansion of the heirs of the late Israel Sibley. A cottage has been erected on the site of Dr. Campbell's house. The estate originally had extensive grounds in front, reaching to the street, with large elms as shade trees. These grounds are now included with the residence of the Sibley heirs.

The last house on the main street, west side, was the residence of Richard Moore, Esq. This residence was at the south end of what was called the "village street." This ancient house, belonging to the Moore family, was in its day a substantial mansion, built in the style of an English hall, its gables being on the north and south, fronting on the street, but extending westerly, giving a south front, and like every house in those times served as a sundial, for at mid-day the sun shone square upon the south front, and for many years in modern times a leaden sundial was seen attached to one of its south window-sills.

The broad street door opening into one of its apartments was rich and much ornamented in its architecture, as were the houses of the gentry; in its different apartments were large broad-breasted chimneys, occupying space sufficient for a good-sized apartment, with large open fire-places, and then there was in these pleasant rooms rich wainscotting. The house commanded a southern landscape of its own landed estate with a narrow lawn and lovely garden.* This landed estate was a part of the Samuel Hagburn plantation, and was bounded northerly by Quaboag lane. The house was large and elegant. It was the home of Richard Moore, Sen., in his declining years, and also of his son Richard, and also of Marvin, son of Richard.

The giant oak which anciently overshadowed the Moore residence still stands on the lawn as a sentinel on duty and a landmark to direct the traveler. It was a tree of great size and age two hundred years ago, and from one decade of years to another has shaded many groups of children in their childish sports. The old oak could tell many stories of those who have played beneath its shade, and grown old and passed away.†

“I swear by leaf, and wind, and rain,
And hear me with thine ears,
That I circle in the grain
Five hundred rings of years.

“And I have shadowed many a group
Of beauties that were born
In tea-cup times of hood and hoop,
Or while the patch was worn.” — *Tennyson*.

* In New England tall English clocks were uncommon; few were imported, but soon came into general use. In some English church-yards there were sundials of stone and a sundial over the door of a south front on old English churches.

† The late Honorable Ira Moore Barton of Worcester, Mass., often visited the Moore place as the home of his ancestors. The Moore family were originally of Scotch extraction, tracing back their ancestry to the time of William the Conqueror.

Timothy Harris removed to Oxford in 1733, from Watertown, having purchased the old Huguenot mill at the south end of the village street in Oxford, on the road to the French Fort, owned in the French settlement by Gabriel Bernon. This mill lot was once the plantation of Jonathan Tillotson, a planter in the English settlement.

Mr. Harris and his descendants retained this estate for one hundred and fifty years. There was an ancient house on this estate which was regarded with interest into the present century.

A small house with a half acre of land on Main street nearly opposite the Town Hall was the home of Abner Miller, the sexton of the village. There is a tradition that a gentleman resided here as a recluse, boarding at the Red Tavern, and was always engaged in writing. He had received many services from Abner Miller, and on leaving town he placed his house and land in the care of Mr. Miller until his return; he never appeared and Miller held the estate.

On the Red Tavern estate north on the site of the Town Hall was a small cottage which was erected by the heirs of Dr. Alexander Campbell, who died at his home east of Israel Sibley's house January, 1785, for his widow, who survived him until March, 1816, she having relinquished her dower to favor the heirs in the rich old gambrel-roofed mansion situated easterly of the present estate of the late Israel Sibley estate.

CHAPTER XIX.

ROADS AND MILESTONES.

Milestones.

The old milestone on Lincoln street, Worcester, is of red sandstone, with the following inscription :

42

Miles from
Boston 50 to
Springfield,
1771.

By a Provincial enactment made in Governor Hutchinson's time, this milestone was one of many placed in the year 1771 along on the "New Connecticut road," which way was afterward called the "post road" from Boston to New York and Albany. This road left Boston for Marlborough thence to Quinsigamond (Worcester) and then to Brookfield and so on to Springfield.

In the history of the town of Northborough, once a part of Marlborough, it is stated "The oldest vestige of pioneer life still in existence is doubtless the great road to Worcester, as it is called."

Originally this road in 1672 was only a pathway or trail through the forests, when Marlborough was a frontier settlement with its garrison house. After leaving Marlborough there was no habitation on the Boston road to Springfield until the garrison house was reached at Quabaug (now Brookfield) with the exception in Quinsigamond (Worcester) of a little Indian town of huts on Pakachoag Hill, the highlands of which reach the town of Auburn. On or near the site of this Indian town is now located "Holy Cross College."

This Indian town is described by Gookin :

"This village lyeth about three miles south of the new roadway that leadeth from Boston to Connecticut; it consists of about twenty families. This town is situated upon a fertile hill and is denominated from a delicate spring of water that is there."

Settlement of Worcester. "A tract of land eight miles square was purchased of the Indians for twelve pounds lawful money. The deed bears date July 13, 1674."

Dec. 2, 1675, Increase Mather writes: "This day all the houses in Quonsukamuck (Worcester) were burned by the Indians."

"At what is West Brookfield, near to the south-west end of Wickabaug Pond, on a knoll below the junction of the waters of the pond with Quabaug river, stood Mark's garrison."

Quabaug (Brookfield) became the established English bridle path between the Bay and the Connecticut. "The single horseman or a cavalcade of riders and pack horses was a common sight to the Indians." The Old Connecticut road had in a manner ceased to be used as the most traveled path to Connecticut and was already displaced by the New Connecticut road.

The Old Connecticut road was the inland trail of Massachusetts of which we have the most ancient account. From Cambridge it proceeded to the south-east part of Marlborough, then passed to Hassamamisett (Grafton, a part of the township of Sutton) and thence to Oxford near the French fort, Woodstock and so on to Springfield.

It is stated that in the autumn of 1630 the chief of the Indians of Wabquasset, now Woodstock, visited the English governor at the Bay to establish a trading house, and this Indian trading expedition brought this forest path to the knowledge of the English, who made it their way to travel to the Connecticut Valley.

John Oldham followed this old Connecticut path in 1633, edging in Indian towns all the way. A well-defined trail from Mount Hope and the Narraganset country, known as the Providence path, intersected the Old Connecticut path in or near Woodstock. Another trail, known as the Nipmuck path, came from Norwich to the same point of junction. From here a branch track proceeded to the north-west into Sturbridge, where it separated, one track going westerly past the lead mines, and on to Springfield. Miss Ellen D. Larned, the author of the *History of Windham County*, writes of this "Connecticut path:" "This rude track became the main thoroughfare between the two colonies, Massachusetts and Connecticut. Hundreds of families toiled over it to reach homes in the wilderness. The fathers of Hartford and New Haven, ministers and governors, captains and commissioners, government officials and land speculators, crossed and recrossed this forest path."

There were milestones placed all the way along this "Old Connecticut road" from Boston to Springfield.

On the southerly front of the site of the house of Col. Woodbury in Sutton stands the queen of all milestones; it is of red sandstone, five feet in height, two feet wide and eight inches in thickness, with this inscription:

48
ML To
Boston
1771
B W

Col. Bartholomew Woodbury of Sutton was the proprietor of a country inn which was with a fine landed estate situated on this "Old Connecticut road." Col. Woodbury offered the commissioners, who were directing the sites of the milestones, if they would make the last mile a little less than its limit,

placing it near to his house, that it might attract travellers, he would be at the expense of erecting the milestone, and that it should excel all others en route from Boston to Springfield on this same Old Connecticut road.

At every country inn there was a horse block for the convenience of travellers on horseback — a gentleman in the saddle, may be, and a lady on a pillion behind him. Ladies of high position had a separate horse with a side-saddle, and were escorted by a gentleman or a servant, and to avoid the gaze of travellers wore masks of black velvet, as was the fashion of the time.

Long since the brown house, with its huge cobble stone chimney and oven outside the house, has passed away and only its stately milestone with its companion, the horse block, covered in the summer time with greenery and flowers, remain to mark the site of the "Wayside Inn." There is one notable milestone in Oxford on this Old Connecticut road where the Sutton road enters the village street. It stands on Sigourney corner and was erected by Josiah Wolcott, a resident of Oxford, with this inscription :

53½
Miles to
Boston
J & W
1771

Milestones were anciently placed along the roads in eastern countries.

It is said by travellers at the present time in Palestine they may be seen here and there in that country.

Milestones were once common in England, viz., the roads leading from London to the large towns.

" 'Tis such an easy walk, so smooth and straight,
The second milestone fronts the garden gate."

—"Retirement," Cowper.

The Bay Path.

In 1673 this highway was established for the use of the country leading from Watertown as the nearest and best way to Marlborough and thence to Quabaug (Brookfield). This new path left the "Old Connecticut path" at "Happy Hollow" (now in Wayland) and passed through Marlborough, Worcester, Oxford in its northern section, Charlton on to Brookfield where it parted, one branch following the old trail or Old Connecticut road to Springfield, and the other leading on through Ware and Belchertown to Hadley.

The late Hon. Salem Towne, of Charlton, stated that remains of the "Old Bay road" were still to be seen lying in the western valley lands of Charlton; vestiges of this "Bay road" are still remaining in Oxford on the Old North Charlton road.

The "Old Bay path" is beautifully described by Dr. Holland in his romance of that name.

"It was a path marked by trees a portion of the distance, and by slight clearings of brush and thicket for the remainder. No stream was bridged, no hill graded, and no marsh drained. The path led through woods which bore the mark of centuries, over barren hills that had been licked by the Indian's hounds of fire, and along the banks of streams that the seine had never dragged."

NOTE.—In July, 1675, Ephraim Curtis was engaged to conduct "Uncas his six men" from Boston home. He says, "I conducted [them] safely while I com in sight of Webquesesne new planting fields, first to Natuck, from thence to Marelborrow, thence to Esnemisco, thence to Mumchogg [Oxford], thence to Chabanagon komug, thence to Mayenecket, thence over the river to Seneksig, while wee came nere to Wabaquasesn when they were willing that wee should leve them."—*Mass. Arch.*, lxxvii, 214.

The old Connecticut road or Woodstock path, now the road to Webster, was long since trod by the Connecticut pioneers, Huguenots, and many others. The Shumway house was on this Old Connecticut road.

"It is wonderful what a powerful interest was attached to the Bay path, the rough thread of soil, chopped by the blades of a hundred streams, was the one way left open, through which the sweet tide of sympathy might flow. Every rod had been prayed over by friends on the journey and friends at home. If every traveller had raised his Ebenezer as the morning dawned upon his trusting sleep, the monuments would have risen and stood like milestones."

The late Mr. Samuel Mayo, whose ancestors were in the English settlement of Oxford, stated that the old Connecticut road or Boston road passed near to the French fort in Oxford and could be traced for a considerable distance, it being on the Indian great trail to Woodstock, Ct., passing by or very near the residence of late John Hurd. This old Connecticut road passed near to the mills known for many years as owned by Ebenezer Rich, and then near the residence of Samuel Davis.

"In 1656 the road or bridle-path from Boston to Hadley was to Marlborough, then to Brookfield, the nearest settlement west, and then on to Hadley meadows, guided by blazed or marked trees through the wilderness, to Brookfield in the road of Connecticut.

"The Old Bay path or road crossed the Quaboag at Brookfield, following somewhat the course of this (river), and "Chicuppee to Indian Orchard, thence to Agawam (Springfield)."*

*In 1674 Major Gookin states in naming Hassanamesit [Grafton]: "It is near unto the old road way to Connecticut." The most direct route from Grafton to Woodstock, Ct., is through Oxford.

On a plan dated April 1, 1713, in the Massachusetts Archives, of a grant of land to Jethro Coffin, located in Northbridge, there is laid down easterly and westerly, a line designated as the "French road" (to Oxford).—*Plans and Grants*, i, 240.

Marlboro Records, May 21, 1688. There is mention made in view of a line of division between the western and eastern parts of the town. "To be made by a line at the cart-way at Stirrup-Brook, where Conecti-

From the Sutton Records is the following reference to the Oxford road through Sutton: "The road from Oxford to Marlborough, beginning at the farms,* so returning upon the point of compasse to the meeting-house hill, thence to the north side of Elisha Johnson's house to Cold-spring brook, six rods wide from the heads of the proprietors' lots — laid out March, 1716, by Nathaniel Brewer, Jonathan Draper, Eleazur Daniels."

Elisha Johnson's cabin was situated very near the place now occupied by Samuel Prescott.

In 1713 old roads in the English settlement of Oxford: "A way laid out by the select men beginning att a white oake tree

coat way now goeth over" (now within the limits of Northborough, a part of Marlborough).

In 1717 this division line was one of the boundary lines of the town of Westboro.

This way was called in the old records "the great trail," as plainly indicating that it was originally the Indian path — (which passed the French fort in Oxford to Woodstock).

March 30, 1683. There is a record of a petition for a bridge across the "Medfield river."

The court grant the petition. "Whereas, the way to Kenecticut now used, being very hazardous to travellers, by reason of one deep river that is passed fower or five times over, which may be avoided as is conceived by a better and nearer way, it is refered to Major Pynchon to order the said to be laid out and well marked."—*Mass. Col. Rec.*, v, 391.

"Quaboag lane" in Oxford, once an Indian trail to Brookfield, which forded the river near the stone arch bridge entered the Eight-rod way from the west, bounding the north side of the estate of late Abijah Davis, formerly a part of the plantation of Samuel Hagburn.

In 1711 there is a record of land of Major Fitch included in Windham County, Ct., in the northern part of the county where the "Connecticut path" is designated as entering the town of Thompson, near the middle of its northern boundary-line and near to where the "Frenttown river," as there named, enters the town. This Connecticut path it would appear must have been on the westerly side of Chanbunagungamaug pond and this would indicate that its course was through Oxford.

* "Manchaug Farms" (West Sutton).

on Jonson's plain near Woodstock path running northwardly marked on the west sid to neland's feald on the great plain by the old mill place, from thence marked on the East sid by staks and trees tel it coms to the brooke on the Northwardly sid of peter Shumway's frame of his house, from thence on the West sid of the swamp to and by the ends of the house lots of John Town and Daniel Eloit Juner sd way being Eight rods wide laid out february the sixt 1713-4" — Ibid.; 1 *Village Rec.* This "way" included the present Main street.

May 24, 1716, at a town meeting legally warned Richard Moore, chosen moderator voted in y^e affirmative y^t there should be a east bridg built ouer y^e brook in y^e Eight Rod highway y^e brook commonly called y^e mill brook.

May 24, 1716, voted y^t there shall be a bridg made passabal for horses ouer y^e brook by Jonathan Tillotsons on the four rod way to the fort.

May 24, 1716, voted also y^t there shall be a bridg built ouer y^e brook in y^e highway near Ollouer Collers on the Sutton road.

The Record of Mr. campbels petison to y^e proprietors of oxford village :

oxford, march 16th, 1723.

Gentlemen :

Whereas I haue for the benefit of Trauellers and Inhabitants Turned the eight rod highway opposite to my house and the two rod highway that Leads to the great meadow ; the eight rod highway is Shortened about ten or elenen rods and the other about so maney as allso it hath saved the making of a bridge of some considerable charges and therefore I humbly Request that you would be pleased to accept of the Turning of the aboue Said ways at your next meeting.

JOHN CAMPBELL.

At a proprietors meeting March 19th, 1723, in oxford uillge the qestion being put whether Mr. campbell's Request Should be Granted which was voted in the afirmatiue.

March 11, 1759. "To accept of the county road 4 rods wide from the stone bridge by the Rev. Mr. Campbell's land then through a corner of Mr. Campbell's land and also through Mr. Duncan Campbell's land that he bought lately of Mr. Joseph Rocket straight into the county road west of the barn on said land allowing said Duncan Campbell liberty to shut up four rods of the eight rod road against Dr. Holden's and Mr. Mellins."

Town meeting May 20, 1765, voted to accept of a Bridle road from Mr. William Browns to Mr. John Town's house instead of an open one; upon consideration that Isaac Town will make and maintain two suitable gates, one at each end of said Road.*

French river, so called by the English, runs through the town. The river runs about three-quarters of a mile west of the great road that leads over Oxford plain, and falls into the Quinebang in the town of Thompson, in Connecticut. Rev. Dr. Holmes writes: In passing the bridge which is at a considerable distance below the village of Oxford (on the Webster road), seeing a boy near the bridge I asked him, "What is the

* In 1808, to facilitate travel and for the more rapid communication by mail, the Providence and Douglas turnpike was made through what at that time was almost a dense forest. Another turnpike, which was a continuation of this Providence road, extended from Douglas to Oxford and for many years it was the most direct traveled route from Providence to Oxford and the towns in the vicinity. It passed through a large tract of land in the Douglas woods, including the Streeter farm, so called. This "Gore turnpike" through the woods was built in 1826. The territory lying west of Douglas previously to this date was known as "Oxford South Gore," now Webster, and a road crossing the turnpike in the south part, of the town as the "Gore road!" There were toll-gates on the turnpike road; each person on horseback or with a chaise was required to pay twelve and a half cents at these gates. At about the close of the last century the Boston and New York turnpike passed through this section of country. There was an immense amount of travel over this road during the War of 1812 from all of the eastern towns.

name of this river?" "French* river," he replied. "Why," I asked, "is it called French river?" "I believe," said he, "there was some French people once here," — pointing up the stream.

The Eight-rod way, so named in the English settlement of the town, commenced south at the junction of the present Thompson and Webster roads at the farm long known as the Jonas Leonard estate, passing northerly over Johnson's Plain, the Great Plain and Towne's Plain, including the Daniel Eliott mill estate on the north.

Upon the Eight-rod way were located mostly the plantations of the English in their settlement of Oxford. On the Great Plain south was the plantation of Samuel Hagburn on the west side; it reached northerly to Quaboag lane; on the easterly side from the Huguenot mill estate on its northern boundary to the Episcopal church, including the site of a house north of this church. Thomas Gleason, a gentleman who possessed wealth, was an original proprietor of a plantation on the south-east corner of Main street and Sutton road, now known as Andrew Sigourney corner. This plantation bounded on the south the Samuel Hagburn estate. The Gleason estate extended on the Sutton road to the brook. Oliver Collier's plantation was on the north-east corner of Main street and the Sutton road; on the Sutton road it extended to the brook and northerly on Main street to the plantation of Joseph Rockwood — which included the Josiah Wolcott estate and joined the estate of Rev. John Campbell. Nathaniel Chamberlain's plantation extended from the South Common to the estate of Benjamin Chamberlain, which included the site of Memorial Hall, Old Red Tavern and extended south to Quaboag lane.

* This river was called French river in the early English settlement. It is named as a boundary in Rev. John Campbell's "Will." The Indian name of the French river was the Maanexit. It might ever have been retained by the English as a memento of the Nipmuck Indians.

Towne's Plain — John Towne, one of the original proprietors of Oxford, resided on a part of his plantation which adjoined the North Common, at the present time, 1890, known as the estate of Joseph Stephens. John Towne conveyed this estate to his son Jonathan, who gave the estate to his son John, who was a Captain in the War of the Revolution. Ephraim Towne, son of John Towne, Sen., owned the estate west of the North Common, and with his brother Jonathan, known at present as the estate of late Joseph Brown. Jonathan Towne conveyed to Duncan Campbell in 1748, who erected the present house. Israel Towne was the proprietor of the estate opposite Towne's pond, known once as the Dr. Daniel Fiske estate, later as the estate of Ira Merriam.

In 1749 a road from Jacob Towne's into the old Charlton road north of Towne's pond.

In 1736 the Court of Sessions ordered a cart bridge to be built over the river in the North gore "on the road to Oxford."

The road easterly of the North Common to Sutton was made prior to 1750.

In 1788 a road was made to Sutton past the Lovett farm.

In 1803 a road from present Howarth north to Charlton road was accepted.

July, 1817, from Nichols' mill east and south by the pond to Charlton road; a cart road with bars and gate had been established prior to this date.

1791 a road to Charlton from Gen. Leonard's west, two rods wide, at present time discontinued.

March, 1731, a road from the Eight-rod way on (Towne's Plain) north side of Towne's pond, past the little cedar swamp and crossing the river at Joseph Brown's place, discontinued in 1819.

May, 1793, from North Common west to the bridge intersecting the old road to Charlton, north of Towne's pond, continued to the present time.

A road to Charlton was laid out and completed in 1785 from Lieut. John Nichols', on the Sturbridge road, near the present school-house in the Buffum district, easterly over the river at the present stone bridge, entering the Main street near the tavern at the center.

An old record states, "began four rods south of the house of Ezra Bowman inn-holder on westerly to a popple in Qua-boag or town road, thence west to the river and Coburn's land, thence on near John Nichols' house."

"Coming home from Worcester on Tuesday night my horse fell with me and hurt me so that I cannot be at Worcester this court. You will take care of the road with Maj^r Upham if he is needed. You can inform the court that the Town of Oxford maintains seven Bridges over the same river, [French] and this not of any service to the Town, it is thought that it will cost the Town Two hundred pounds if it is accepted. There is one Bridge within less than a hundred rods, there is one other Bridge that is to be built over the same river to come to Town from Elijah Leonard's and that part of the Town it is thought a great burden if it is accepted as the bench is very thin it may be left to put it to August. You can inform the court that the Town are very unanimous in opposing it.

"from yours to serve

"Oxford, June 15th 1797.

SILVANUS TOWN.

"Maj^r JOHN D. DUNBAR."

CHAPTER XX.

TAVERNS AND POST-OFFICES.

Daniel Eliott was the first inn-holder in Oxford, 1714, at the extreme north end of the village, near the crossing of the Eliott mill brook and Worcester road and the Hawes estate, which includes some of the Eliott place.

In 1715 the second tavern was that of Richard Moore, who was licensed on the Samuel Hagburn estate, which he had purchased, subsequently owned by Dr. Alexander Campbell as a residence, late Israel Sibley estate. The house was located a little distance easterly of Main street.

For forty-five years it was the hotel of the village. In 1734 Elijah, son of Richard Moore, succeeded his father and continued until 1760.

Moses Marcy was licensed in 1736 as a tavern-keeper in Oxford, at the most westerly part of the town, now Southbridge.

“Worcester S S Anno Rⁱ R^s Georgij Secundi nunc Magnæ Britaniæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ Octavo.

Att a Court of Generall Sessions of the peace begun and held at Worcester within and for the County of Worcester on The Second Tuesday of August being the thirteenth day of Said month Anno Dom 1734” —

“Tavern Keepers and Retailors Lycenced y^e year Ensuing & y^t gave bond.”

OXFORD

ELIJAH MOORE INHOLDER

1735

“A list of Tavern Keepers and Retailors Lycenced by this Court & y^e names of the Suretys.”

OXFORD

Mr. Elijah Moore ; Capt. Moore principall, Suretys Capt. Flagg & Joe: Crosby.

Mr. Moses Marcy principall — Suretys Capt. Flagg & Jno. Stacy New Medfield.

1636

“A list of Inholders and Retailors lycenced by this Court with y^e Names of their Suretys each principall Recognized in fifty pound and Each Surety in Twenty five pounds.

“The following persons are Inholders unless Retailor is added to there names.”

OXFORD

Mr. Elijah Moore, Capt. Moore principall Suretys Danl Newhall Joe Crosby.

Capt. Moses Marcy Capt. Flagg principall Suretys Jno Harwood Joseph Dyer.

To keep a tavern “a convenient sign was to be set out at the most conspicuous” place to give notice to strangers. There was a tall staff in front of the South tavern which swung aloft in the wind the creaking sign board. In days away back in the history of the town this hotel was a noted resort, when public meetings, dances, balls and other assemblies of a political, social and business character were usually held in such public houses, and being then famed for athletic games, for the excellency of its flip and punch. It was the gathering place of convivial spirits in Oxford and the country around in its vicinity. As for the bar-room itself it was usually filled with village loungers. Samuel Campbell it is said was the proprietor and landlord of this hotel some years. In the olden time before daily papers and mails were established, the neighbors used to gather at the village tavern to learn the news from travelers, and find out about the markets by teamsters from Boston.

Col. Sylvanus Learned, on his return home from the Revolutionary War, after a long service, received \$1,500 in Continental

money, which one day in the tavern he sold for a mug of flip. Col. Learned considered his payment as worthless and made this disposal as to its value.

It is related that upon a time a "professional" from a distance having heard of Samuel Davis,* known in all the region as a wrestler, came to town to try a match with him.

"News of the affair quickly spread through the village, and a large company assembled at the old tavern on the plain to see the sport. Mr. Davis, who was not personally known to his opponent, kept a little in the back ground, and when the match was "called," his brother Elijah, who was a stalwart man, stepped forward, and grappling with the champion, after somewhat a lengthened contest, was thrown. Sannel, who had watched closely his antagonist for the purpose of learning his game, now walked into the ring, saying: "I am the man you came to Oxford to wrestle with," and very soon demonstrated his superiority."†

"In 1777 Agreeable to an act of court entitled, 'An act to prevent monopoly and oppression,' "Inn-holders for a meal of victuals of their best kind not to exceed 1s. 6d. and of common kind 8d, flip made of the best New England rum pr. mug 8d. and made from West India rum not to exceed 10d."

"For lodging a single person over night, 3½d. For keeping a horse 24 hours 1s. 3d."‡

* Mr. Davis, of Oxford, it is said, was noted as a person of great muscular strength. In person he was tall and broad-breasted, possessed of a fine personal appearance, and was ever fond of all athletic games — in which he excelled. His residence was on the landed estate now owned by Charles Lovett.

‡ History of Samuel Davis of Oxford and his Descendants.

‡ Mr	Dunbar.	Dr.
To Breakfast, 4		6
Dinner, 5.		7
Supper, 1.		1

Major Dunham of Col. Nathan Rice's* Regiment, then quartered in Oxford, delivered an address in January, 1800, to the soldiers, Free Masons and citizens of Oxford, on receiving the announcement of the death of General Washington, who died at his residence at Mount Vernon, Dec. 14, 1799.

The people assembled with crape on their arms, followed by a company of militia with muffled drums. This military and Masonic funeral procession was formed on Oxford plain, including Col. Rice's Regiment, and proceeded as far as the old North

To Lodging.....	1	4
Grog.....		
Wine.....	3	
Punch		
Servants.....		
Horses	9	
Seat in Stage to ———		
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£1	7 4
	<hr/>	<hr/>

Received Payment, 1794, March 29,

EPHRAIM MOWER.

(Capt. Ephraim Mower's tavern was at the corner of Mechanic street, near the spot where Clark's Block now stands, in Worcester.)

*In Oxford, October, 1798, a detachment of the United States Army, consisting of four regiments of Infantry under the command of Col. Nathan Rice, was stationed in Oxford on the high land west of the village street, afterward known as Camp hill. A number of the officers of this army had their headquarters at the two hotels. It is said at the old tavern on the north common that the "money coffer" used by them is still to be seen in the south-east room. Soldiers for disobedience were fastened to the staff which supported the south tavern sign, and received a severe punishment at this whipping-post.

The high land west of the village street, occupied by Col. Rice's Regiment, long retained the name of Camp hill as having been the place of the soldiers' encampment. Opposite this height of land, on the south side of the road leaving Oxford, there are the remains of a ditch made by the soldiers as a punishment for their misdemeanors.

Common. A coffin was borne on a bier and surmounted by a funeral urn.*

"LT. EVERETT, 5 Mass. Reg. :

"General Washington presents his compliments to Lt. Everett, and requests the favor of his company at dinner tomorrow, 3 o'clock, Tuesday.

"Answer if you please."

This note of invitation is now in the possession of Leonard E. Thayer, a lineal descendant of Col. Everett.

It is said that the soldiers in the army stationed in Oxford in the years 1798, 1799 and 1800 introduced much dissipation into the town.

At the tavern on the village street the barroom was so crowded evenings with soldiers calling for their mug of flip, that the bar-keeper was obliged in taking the red heated logger head from the fire, to brandish it before him to permit himself to enter the bar.

The sale of wine and brandy was immense, and that a large income from it was derived by the proprietor is not to be doubted. At the north tavern there was no bar at this time, and it was no place sought as a resort for the soldiers. It appears there was no bar in this hotel until after the year 1820.

There was an ancient store attached to this hotel on the north side, where Madeira wine was sold, with brandy and Jamaica rum. If any guests wished for the wine, etc., they were furnished from the store or cellar.

There was much boiling, roasting and baking going on in the tavern before the "muster."

The militia trainings, too, made lively days at the village

* The following item is found in the Worcester *Spy*, dated June 18, 1800:

"On Tuesday the 10th inst, Gen. Alexander Hamilton and his suite arrived at Oxford to settle the business relative to the discharge of the troops stationed there; and on Friday last he passed through this town on his way to Boston."

tavern, and then the old-fashioned muster (or military review) which came in September, the mustering of all the companies of soldiers in a regiment or brigade for a general training. At sunrise the drums were beating. The general reviewed the soldiers and the military review ended in a sham fight. Each company endeavored to be first on parade to go through with its manœuvres in presence of an admiring crowd of spectators, the fifes playing "Yankee Doodle" and "On the road to Boston," tunes which had animated the hearts of the soldiers of the Revolution.

The uniforms were blue coats with red facings and bright buttons, white pantaloons, caps with tall white plumes tipped with red.

The annual muster (or regimental training) was a great occasion for these military reviews. The companies, infantry and light artillery, riflemen, grenadiers and cavalry or troopers and artillery, with their cannons, assembled together and became the center of attraction. Military officers retired from service welcomed the review by their presence. Men and boys followed them on the public roads. Horse jockeys, gingerbread carts, peddlers of every description, with showmen with wax figures, monkeys and bears, enlivened the day, and all became as a grand carnival. These scenes of gayety sometimes were for two days continued. In Oxford the ground chosen for this military review was selected on the estate of late Andrew Sigourney near the corner of Main street and Sutton road in a large field adjoining his brick mansion house, bounded northerly by the Sutton road. In Sutton the large fields of the late James Freeland's farm were selected.

It is said military trainings were then common in all the country towns. Much rivalry was manifested by the towns to see which could produce the best-drilled, uniformed, armed and equipped companies. The regimental musters or reviews were scenes of great public festivity and enjoyment.

One can picture a village tavern at nightfall. There had arrived travelers on horseback with portmanteaus made of leather, or as substitutes long sacks woven of coarse red and green yarn, with leather tops and bottoms, called saddlebags, into which all their luggage however minute or bulky had been packed.

Ladies as well as gentlemen traveled in this fashion, with side saddles, and children were transported through the country in the same manner, sitting on pillions (little cushions stuffed with feathers) attached to the saddle, with one hand holding to the crupper of the saddle and one clinging to the person in front of them by means of a scarf attached to the waist of the rider, or sometimes when the pillion is occupied by a lady the children are placed in front of the gentleman. Most ladies traveled on horseback, and ladies made long journeys in this way, riding alone or with a friend or servant who was himself on horseback and usually well armed, for the roads were not always safe.

In front of the tavern there stood great carts filled with spinning-wheels for country trade, wagons filled with common household furniture, and all things necessary for a new settlement, peddler's carts of every description, and stock drovers, for that old house once swarmed with guests, but its day is done, and its old "green, spindle-backed arm chairs" have become things of the past. The old tavern well on the opposite side of the Charlton road still remains.*

Formerly there were more public-houses in the country villages than at the present time. Travelers then had their

* A few years since the daughter of Samuel Campbell (the innkeeper) revisited Oxford, having been absent over forty years. She said when upon the street she drank water from this old well; that it was all that would recall Oxford to her memory as existing in her childhood, so great had been the change upon the village street, and this well had supplied the village school.

town private carriages of some description, and sought the hospitality of the village tavern. There would be seen at its open door at noon or at evening a blue or red painted coach belonging to some family of wealth, low hung and broad wheeled, with its colored coachman, or a stout, large, square-top chaise containing some stylish gentleman, and maybe accompanied by a lady journeying to some distant part of the country. The chaise in these days was called a "hahnsum kerridg."

The last square-top chaise that was seen in Oxford belonged to Charles Sigourney, Esq., of Hartford, Ct., who visited the place with Mrs. Sigourney many years since. The harness was silver mounted and attracted, it was said by the villagers, more attention than the distinguished guests.

Have you heard of the wonderful one hoss shay?

We are told they were made of "the strongest oak that could not be split nor bent nor broke."

"For the wheels were just as strong as the thills,
And the floor was just as strong as the sills,
And the panels just as strong as the floor,
And the whipple tree neither less nor more,
And the back cross bar as strong as the fore,
And the spring and axle and hub encore."

DR. OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

Before the Revolution there were vehicles used in Boston at an early date resembling "English road carts," which made so much racket by rattling and pounding through the streets they were called "homespun thunder carriages."*

* In Oxford in olden time there were very few of these vehicles. On Sunday, or some special occasion, Edward Davis, Esq., appeared in a "one hoss shay" and also his townsmen, Josiah Wolcott, Esq., and James Butler, all attracting much observation. There was a prejudice against them as they represented certain caste distinction of long ago. It is said that a worthy man in Worcester took an elderly friend of his to church in his chaise. He had just arrived at the church door when a prominent citizen of the upper class of that period thus accosted him,

Prior to the Revolution is styled ancient time, and very few if any, private coaches were used in this country. All travel was confined to horseback riding, and the equipments were styled the furniture of the horse. When Gen. Washington received his family coach from London it was spoken of as an item of interest throughout the country. Coaches were not common at this early date.

It was not uncommon for travelers in these day to take their own provisions with them, and to request the hostess of an inn to furnish them in the waiting-room with cooking utensils to prepare their luxuries for the table. The tea and coffee, with pickled or spiced meats, old fashioned, nice bread, would soon be served and with rich pies, cakes and preserves, gave to all an appearance of comfort. The landlord was compensated for this trouble in the settlement of the bill or for any extras furnished to his guests.

The horses of travelers were stabled, the private coachman and the driver of a freight team ordered and superintended all for the comfort of their tired animals, many times furnishing their own grain. At this time most inland freight was carried by horses, and then there was excitement at the village inns when the stage coach carrying the mails and passengers would

with a vehemence of protest that made his shirt ruffles quiver: "Fine times we are coming to, fine times, Mr. E——, when mechanics ride to meeting in chaises."

But in the present time mechanics and artisans enjoy all there is of the luxuries of life, and through their skill and energy we all share them and to them Worcester owes her unrivalled success in population and wealth.

Very soon these gentlemen with their "pleasure carriages," as they were termed, were followed by General Learned and Joseph Hudson. There are those of Mr. Hudson's descendants that can at the present time recall in their early childhood seeing Madam Hudson in her "square-top chase" riding down Long hill [Federal hill] with her milk white horse noted for his fat and sleek condition the country around.

roll by at regular intervals, then the only vehicle of public conveyance, and stage loads stopping to dine. But the railroads of the present time have diverted all this travel and business into new channels. The stage coaches have left the high ways. Sometimes in the depth of winter there would be much excitement at the village inn by the arrival of a sleighing party for the evening dance and sometimes by travelers in sleighs journeying to visit their friends in the new settlements of Vermont and other parts of northern New England.

This old South Tavern of Oxford for more than one hundred years was the center of all communication with the outside world and the life of the neighborhood.

Here the balls and the junketings of the olden time were held in an apartment being lighted with candles which would have ordinarily furnished only a dim light if not for the ample chimney with its cheerful wood fire.

Here were assembled the young ladies with dresses of extremely short waists, and hair dressed a la Grecque, with their low stately courtesy.

And the young gentlemen in silk stockings with shoe and knee buckles, their queues laced with ribbons, and with rolling coat collars and high shirt collars half covering the face. These balls were of frequent occurrence. There was the election ball in May. The Thanksgiving ball, the Christmas ball, and one on St. John's day, when the tables were in rustic bowers, then the Masonic lodge figured largely, and on the settlement of a new clergyman an ordination ball would be announced.

The gentlemen will please choose their partners. There was bowing and courtesying and the dancing commenced, minuets, reels and jigs went on.

“ But from the parlor of the inn
A pleasant murmur smote the ear,
Like water rushing through a weir :
Oft interrupted by the din
Of laughter and of loud applause,
And in each intervening pause,
The music of a violin.

“ Before the blazing fire of wood
Erect the wrapt musician stood ;
And ever and anon he bent
His head upon his instrument,
And seemed to listen, till he caught
Confessions of its secret thought,
The joy, the triumph, the lament,
The exultation and the pain ;
Then by the magic of his art,
He soothed the throbbings of his heart,
And lulled it into peace again.”

— *Longfellow.*

It would appear that a tavern in Oxford occupied the site or was the south part of the present residence of the late Jasper Brown, Esq., at the junction of one of the ancient roads to Charlton, with the Boston road through Marlborough and Worcester to Connecticut, which being *en route* one mile nearer Worcester, interrupted much of the patronage of quiet travelers from Boston to Connecticut.

“ As ancient is this hostelry
As any in the land may be,
Built in the old Colonial day,
When men lived in a grander way,
With ampler hospitality :

“ A kind of old Hobgoblin Hall,
Now somewhat fallen to decay,
With weather stains upon the wall,
And stairways worn, and crazy doors,
And creaking and uneven floors,
And chimneys huge, and tiled and tall.

“Round this old-fashioned, quaint abode,
Deep silence reigned, save when a gust,
Went rushing down the country road,
And skeletons of leaves and dust,
A moment quickened by its breath,
Shuddered and danced their dance of death,
And through the ancient oaks o’er head
Mysterious voices moaned and fled.” — *Longfellow.*

THE TIME AND MANNER OF TRAVELING AND SENDING COMMUNICATIONS FROM BOSTON TO SUTTON IN 1746 AS CONTRASTED WITH THE SAME IN 1890.

From Records of Sigourney Family, Anthony Sigourney of Boston, was married to Mary Waters of Salem, April 11, 1740. Mrs. Sigourney was an invalid from consumption. Her physician named change to the country hoping for her recovery. Mrs. Sigourney left Boston for Sutton where resided her brother, Richard Waters. She soon became too ill to venture a return to Boston. She survived until winter, 1746. Previously to her decease a message was despatched to Boston to acquaint Mr. Sigourney with the circumstances. No answer was received. The roads were impassable from the deep heavy snows. The funeral services were postponed for two weeks or more, until it was decided there could be no longer any delay from the absence of Mr. Sigourney. During the services he arrived. Having been unable to proceed from saddle-horses furnished him, he had walked most of the distance from Boston to Sutton, by the aid of snow-shoes or rackets. Mrs. Sigourney was buried in the burying-ground belonging to the Waters, Goff and Putnam families, in Sutton, no head-stone, only stone marks.

James Davie Butler on leaving Oxford and becoming a resident of Rutland, Vt., in the year 1787.

His first journeys to and fro were on horseback with a bag of silver on the pommel of the saddle, but he soon accomplished his journeys by driving a pair of horses in this new section of

country as it was then termed. He was a merchant of the town for fifty years.

"HONORED SIR — After Due respect to you and your family this opportunity presents itself though (unexpectedly) to inform you that we are all well & thron the protection of a mersefull God we have been so for a year past.

"I have nothing metearial to write at present we have not heard aney inteliageable acount from you since we left oxford & I wish you to write a letter & leve at Cambels for M^r. Cudworth to fetch to me.

"That we may know wheather you are all alive or not. We remember our love to our honored mother & all the family & our friends in general.

So we Remain your affectionate &c.

"JACOB GLYSSON.*

"GREENBUSH, December 21, 1805.

"4 miles north of the village of Troy.

"N. B.— We live within 200 yards of the church where we can have Dutch and English preaching a very steadey set of people to go to meeting and the quer of it is we can have our children Baptized for two shillings per head. But I chuse to keep that money to pay the school master for they go stedy and learn well. They all Remember their Love to cousins.

TRAVELING WEST IN 1817.

Anthony Butler, son of James Butler of Oxford, Mass., in a series of wayside letters to his brother James of Rutland, Vt.,

* Jacob Gleason, son of Dr. James Gleason, of Oxford South Gore, born July, 1768, died at Stockton, N. Y., October, 1812, married Mahatable, daughter of Joseph Hudson. Their address, "On the Grants in New York State. "Mrs. Gleason, born 1770, died at Stockton, 1871. On leaving Greenbush, N. Y., he removed with his family to the "Holland Purchase," a part of the Chatauqua county, south-western part of New York.

describes his travels *en route* from his landed estate a few miles distant from Rutland to Cincinnati.

The outfit consisted of two large wagons, one single wagon and five horses. Mr. Butler with his family leaves his home in Vermont Sept. 30, 1817, and arrives at Cincinnati, November 14, after traveling fifty-six days. Three of his letters were mailed at Montgomery, Orange Co., N. Y., Oct. 10, Loudoun, Franklin Co., Pa., Oct. 23, and Pittsburgh, Nov. 12. In his letter from Loudoun Mr. Butler states: "The reason for proceeding so far south is to cross the Alleghany Mountains on a turnpike." He adds, "Our horses are in good style."

In crossing Laurel Ridge, three miles up and four miles down, he found no house, and camped on the summit. In his own words "built a fire against a log, daughters dismayed, night dark and rainy, both dogs on the watch till morning." "Descending the Laurel Ridge, the roads from the heavy rain were almost impassable, the loose rock worn by wagon wheels and horses' feet 10 or 12 and perhaps 15 feet. One horse path three feet lower than the other—at times the horses going frantic with rage. We descended without accident and reached a tavern before night.

"In the vicinity of Pittsburgh, the horses requiring rest, we changed our mode of traveling at Pittsburgh to proceed on to Cincinnati. I purchased a boat for \$60, with a deck, fireplace, and other conveniences large enough for to transport ourselves, wagons and horses, and was so fortunate as to secure a good pilot (a man who had been a ship carpenter and a seaman on board a man of war), and we arrived safely at Cincinnati 500 miles from Pittsburgh."

Anthony Butler was a Mason, and thus writes: "In the neighborhood of Pittsburgh I became acquainted with John Grove, the landlord at whose public house we were entertained, I showed him the certificate which Captain Lord had handed me from the Royal Arch Chapter. He went into the city and

on his return told me there were \$300 in Pittsburgh at my acceptance, and quarters for me and my family in some of their best houses, if I would accept the favor, as my traveling expenses were considered very great. I accepted with thanks the kindness of the gentlemen (Masons) of Pittsburgh, but assured them I had provided for an expensive journey and for winter quarters, and would in the spring receive remittances from Vermont to purchase a landed estate in the State of Ohio.

POST-HOUSES AND POST-RIDERS.

“Hark! ’tis the twanging horn!”

“He comes, the herald of a noisy world,
With spatter’d boots, strapp’d waist, and frozen locks,
News from all nations lumbering at his back,
True to his charge, the close-pack’d load behind,
Yet careless what he brings, his one concern
Is to conduct it to the destined inn;
And having dropp’d the expected bag pass on.” — *Cowper*.

REMINISCENCES OF THE LATE ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL.

Oxford became a post-town in 1801. Samuel Campbell was the first “post-master” of Oxford. The post-house was at the hotel on the corner of the Charlton road and the village street (the present site of the brick store). Major Archibald Campbell was the second post-master, at his residence on the site of the present Episcopal church, Main street. William Sigourney was Maj. Campbell’s deputy of the office. One small left-hand drawer in an ancient English desk devoted to the purpose, contained all the letters, papers and mail matter of the Oxford post-house. Maj. Campbell was succeeded by William Sigourney. The post-house was then removed to the old tannery on the Sutton road near the bridge, occupying the currying room. The post-office was then removed to a new store on Sigourney corner, and Capt. William Sigourney was the post-master for many years.

“In olden time the post was carried by a messenger provided with a spare horse, a horn and good portmantles.”

“In 1704, the only post on all this continent was that which went east from New York so far as Boston, and west to Philadelphia.”

“The mails were conveyed from one town to another by the postman who traveled over the hills and through the valleys on horseback, and made known his approach once a week to each post-village by the winding of a huge horn, which was always carried ready for use.” The weekly post-rider, when he came by, was sure to tarry at the village inn a sufficient time not only to distribute whatever papers and letters (and few and far between they were) which he might have to leave there, but also to report such rumors as he might have collected by the way; “for post haste” was with him by no means a descriptive term. In government dispatches, the landlord at the village tavern had the first and surest news in days when armed horsemen did the work now performed by railroad and telegraph. Eager with impatience everybody rushed for the news to the village tavern, and there with a bowl of punch or a mug of flip listened to the last report left behind by some galloping rider, waiting for a fresh steed to take him for a new relay.

Mr. Campbell states, Major Daniel Mansfield, it is said, was the first regular mail carrier from Worcester through Millbury, Sutton, Oxford, and Dudley on to Ashford, Ct., about the years 1810-12.

Previously to this time letters were sent from Worcester in packets to the towns in the vicinity by reliable parties, who were requested to forward them to the inn of the town, and there they were distributed or left to persons to whom they were addressed *en route*.

So slow was the news in reaching Oxford of what transpired in the outside world, that in 1813, when Washington was burnt,

some ten days elapsed before the news was received. William Eaton, a sheriff, arrived at the hotel and gave the intelligence. Mr. Campbell, then a child, listened to the announcement.

In 1815 the glad tidings of peace between Great Britain and the United States were received throughout the country with acclamations of joy. Heralds on horseback with government despatches were welcomed by loud peals of bells whenever they entered towns or villages. The citizens of Oxford were witnesses to the scene of the government despatch sent from Washington to Boston passing through Dudley and on the old Dudley road to Oxford. The horse who bore the rider and despatches was covered with foam and blood, and as he reached the several towns *en route* for a relay bringing the news he sounded his horn and cried with a loud voice "Peace — Peace — Peace!"

Tidings of this treaty reached the United States little more than a month after the battle of New Orleans.*

Abner Cooper was one of the early post-riders between Worcester and Oxford.

"When Cooper the post-carrier weekly arrived in Oxford on horseback with saddle bags containing the weekly papers & (letters) from Worcester, on reaching Towne's pond, a little passed the residence of Dr. Daniel Fiske nearly opposite an oak tree near the potash mound he would sound his horn that people of the north vilage might arrive at the inn and receive the news."

Mr. Cooper's card in the Worcester *Spy* :

"Abner Cooper informs his friends that April next his quarter ends."

An elderly lady being inquired of respecting posting letters in the olden time, replied "We only sent communications to

* From the Worcester *Spy*, Wednesday, February 15, 1815:

"When the news of peace reached this town Monday last, it was received by all with the utmost transports of joy."

our friends, or letters of business by reliable persons who were travelling to that section of country where they resided, and of course waited a long time for letters in return.” *

In these days stage coaches were used, but a greater speed was reached by those who traveled “post,” as it was called; that is, by relays of horses that were frequently changed.

The President’s message was conveyed in this manner, express riders affording great interest to the inhabitants of the several towns through which it passed.

Among the last of these village excitements in Oxford. The bearer of the “President’s message” had failed of his relay at his last stopping place (Dudley), and proceeding on the old Dndley road before reaching Oxford, his horse, already over driven, was becoming exhausted. When a mile from the village hotel, near the residence of the late Peter Shumway, he observed a farmer† leading with a bridle a very able nice horse crossing the road, intently observing the movements of the express *sans cérémonie*. The rider came alongside, and leaped upon the farmer’s horse and was with his spurs soon out of sight with his fresh relay. As soon as the farmer recovered from his consternation he pursued and found his own horse safe at the hotel with a sufficient remuneration.

It is said the arrival and departure of the Boston mail coach in Oxford was the event of the day more than one half century ago. The driver always wound his horn on the Boston road just after passing the bridge east of the street.

The coach was known to be approaching about sunset by the bugle horn in the distance. As heralds of the approaching coach a group of children would be seen about sunset on the village street or a deep lawn, all at once exclaiming, “There comes the Boston coach! Don’t you see it on the Sutton road?” as the four horses and the great lumbering vehicle are outlined against

* Late Mrs. Francis Sibley of Oxford, aged 93 years in 1884.

† Late Jonas Learned.

the green hedge that borders the old Boston post-road on either side of the highway.

The coach soon ascends "Sigourney hill," as the rising of the ground after crossing the little bridge was called in those days. And the panting horses with distended nostrils rush forward at full speed, the driver sounds his horn for to give notice of his expected arrival at the post-office and the village inn to have all in readiness, and cracks his whip, tightens his grasp on the reins, and with loud clattering of hoofs and rumbling of wheels, the heavily-laden coach with its passengers passes Sigourney corner, burying the brick mansion house beneath a dusty cloud. The country people gathered at the tavern to see the cumbersome vehicle as it came swinging around at the entrance of the Sutton road with the horses galloping in coach horse fashion. After a short stop for passengers, mail, or may be for a little refreshment "from mine host," the horn tooted loudly, and away the heavy old-fashioned yellow stage coach jolted and swung along the level street, with the driver so friendly to all persons he passed.

Though the arrival of the coach from Boston was an occurrence three times during the week, returning on the alternate days, the excitement attending its arrival never lost its charm for old or young.

Many years have now passed away since the mail coaches were to be seen in the village streets. They were drawn by four horses. Sometimes a change was made *en route* of coaches and coachmen, as well as of horses.

The coachmen were usually men of very obliging dispositions. They would go out of their way to bear a message to some shop or dressmaker for to please their lady patrons or leave a newspaper. They did much of the business that is now done by the express companies.

One lady relates that when she was traveling in the mountains of Vermont the coachman would gather her wild flowers,

and brought her some petted raccoons or "Vermont kittens," as he termed them, for her amusement at the public house when waiting for a fresh relay.

The Norwich and Worcester railroad is unlaid. The citizens of this quaint village may be seen at early evening waiting at the post-office for the arrival of the Boston mail coach to receive their weekly newspapers and letters. Daily papers were not to be found in inland country towns.

Very few persons in Oxford received a newspaper in those days by the post-man. The Boston *News-Letter* was the paper most read in the country before the War of the Revolution, for modern time is said to have commenced with the Revolution. In this paper, "All valuable Real Estate and Slaves were advertised for sale, with the deaths of noted personages, and Servants, Runaways, or Goods Stole or Lost may have the same inserted at a reasonable Rate; from Twelve Pence to Five Shillings, and not to exceed: Who may agree with Nicholas Boone for the same at his shop, next door to Major Davis's; Apothecary, in Boston, near the Old Meeting house."

"All persons in Town and Country may have said *News-Letter* Weekly upon reasonable terms, agreeing with John Campbell Post Master, (Boston,) for the same." In Revolutionary time and afterward the Massachusetts *Spy* was the newspaper most appreciated throughout the country.

An advertisement in the Boston *News-Letter*, in August, 1742: "A negro woman to be sold by the printer of this paper; the very best negro woman in town,—who has had the small-pox, and the measles,—is as healthy as a horse,—as brisk as a bird, and will work like a beaver."

"At last the floundering carrier bore
The village paper to our door."

"Welcome to us its week old news."

"Its corner for the rustic Muse,
Its monthly gauge of snow and rain,

Its record, mingling in a breath
 The wedding knell and dirge of death,
 Jest, anecdote and love-lorn tale,
 The latest culprit sent to jail:
 Its hue and cry of stolen and lost,
 Its vendue sales and goods at cost,
 And traffic calling loud for gain."—*Whittier.*

CHAPTER XXI.

CHURCHES.

The first town meeting, July 22, 1713. By warrant from John Chandler, Esquire, one of her Majesty's justices of the peace for the county of Suffolk, for the choice of town officers.

It was then voted that three persons should be chosen for selectmen for the present year.

Chose John Town,	} Selectmen.
Benoni Twitchel,	
Joseph Chamberlain,	
John Town,	For Town Clerk,
Thomas Huskins,	" Constable,
Oliver Collier,	" Highway Surveyor,
Abiel Lamb,	" Tything-Man.*

All of whom were sworn before John Chandler, justice of peace.

*The office of Tything-men was conferred only on those persons who were of most respectable character, and such as possessed great dignity of manner; their badge of office was a long black staff. They were expected to be constant attendants at church, and to see that all persons who were in attendance should be seated before the church service commenced. All traveling and labor were prohibited by law; and that he would also, by virtue of his office "have an eye" upon all absentees from church.

Tything-men were chosen in Oxford for the benefit of the people into the present century.

In the record of town officers there were tything-men, deer-reeves, "clerk of the market." It is difficult to conceive of the necessity of a clerk of the market in a place where none purchased and few sold any commodities, and yet these various offices were filled for a great many years after the incorporation of the town.

Another officer who was chosen annually for many years, but though a State officer, is now discontinued, was a "warden." The only explanation of this office "that coming from England the English wished to maintain the same customs here as at home."

Town Meeting, November 19, 1713, Voted: "That John Towne, Samuel Hageburn and Benjamin Chamberlain, should be a committee to lay out a Minister's lot and burying-place."

Town Meeting, July 29, 1714, Voted: "That each lot man shall pay his equal proportion of ten shillings a Sabbath, for a quarter of a year, to Mr. John James, for his preaching with us."

July 29, 1714, Voted: "to build a meeting house thirty feet square, and to set the house on the west side of the highway, near Twitchell's field.

At a Great and Gen. Court of Assembly for y^e province of y^e Massachusetts bay in New England begun and held at boston on y^e 28 day of may 1718.

On the petition of John Towne select man of the Town of Oxford in behalf of y^e said town In the hous of Representatives June the 18th 1718 Red and ordered that y^e select men or assessors, of y^e Town of Oxford be Inpowered to Levy a tax upon y^e lands of y^e non Resident proprietors In the said Town after the Rates of twenty Shillings p annum on Each Thousand acres during the whole term of five years next after this present Session That so the Inhabitants may be Enabled to build a meeting house and settle a minister

among Them and the money so arising shall be applied accordingly and no otherwise.

In Council Read and concurred Consented to

SAM. U. SHUTE

a True Copy as of Record

Examined p

J. WILLARD

Secry.

Page 18 of Record.

From the Oxford Records, March 2, 1719. Voted that if the Rev. John McKinstry dos continue preaching the Gospil and settle with us yt he shall be an Equal Proprietor with the rest of the inhabitants of Oxford village.

May 27, 1719. Voted to give to Mr. McKinstry sixty pounds sallery and fifty pounds in building and fencing and breaking up ground and labor and 100 acres of land.

Mr. McKinstry, however, did not comply with the invitations, tradition states, to the great disappointment of the people.

Rev. John McKinstry, a native of Scotland, joined a company of Scotch emigrants from the north of Ireland and arrived in Boston in the summer of 1718.

Mr. McKinstry is said to have been a gentleman of a superior education, and of great natural endowments, with refined manners and of a genial temperament of character. He became the clergyman of the church in Sutton and subsequently of East Windsor, Ct.

He had graduated at Edinburgh University and received a diploma.

A TRANSLATION.

“Be it known to all whom it may concern, that we the Professors of the University of Edinboro’ of King James, testify that this youth John McKinstry, of Ireland, after having com-

pleted the study of philosophy and human literature with the integrity and modesty of manners which is becoming an ingenious youth, has graduated with us, and is entitled to all the privileges which the course of discipline and the custom of this Academy, is accustomed to confer. And now with the consent of the Faculty and teachers of this college he is declared a Master in the liberal Arts, and entitled to all the privileges which are wont to be conceded to the Masters of the Good Arts, of which fact, that there may be greater faith, we the distinguished governors, Teachers and Patrons of the University of Edinburgh have placed our signatures this 4th Calends of March, 1712."

Datum EDINBURGI.

JOH. GOODALL, L. S. P.

ROBERTUS HENDERSON,

B. & Acad. ab. Archivi.

GULIEL HAMILTON, N. S. P.

GULIELMUS LAW, P. P.

GULIELMUS SCOT, P. P.

ROBERTUS STOUAOL, P. P.

COL. DRUMOND, P. P.

JA. GREGORY, MATH. P.

May 1720, att a town meeting. "They voted that Mr. John Campbell, should be treated with in order to settlement." "Then voted Mr. Israel Town, who resided on the Dr. Fisk farm, opposite Towne's pond, should entertain the minister."

Rev. John Campbell, the first clergyman of the church in Oxford, was from Scotland, having graduated at Edinburgh University. At a Town meeting in May, 1720, Mr. John Campbell's arrival in Oxford is first mentioned. At the above date Ebenezer Learned is authorized by a vote of the town to make an engagement with Rev. John Campbell, for to remain with them as their clergyman for one or two months.

July 15, 1720, a committee of five, of which John Town was chairman, was chosen and instructed to make definite proposals to Mr. Campbell in reference to his settlement. The committee presented the following report :

In the name of the inhabitants of the town :

1st. We called the Rev. John Campbell to be our minister.

2d. We promised to the said Mr. Campbell £60 salary.

3d. That the Rev. Mr. Campbell himself, his heirs, and assigns have freely given them the lot already laid out for the first minister of Oxford, with the rights thereunto belonging, and one hundred acres joining the above, if it can be had ; if not when it can be conveniently had.

4th. That we will give the said Mr. Campbell one hundred pounds settlement in work, as reasonable as others have work for the money in Oxford ; twenty-five pounds of it to be paid quarterly as shall be directed by Mr. Campbell, provided he shall be willing to live and die with us in the work of the ministry.

REV. MR. CAMPBELL'S ANSWER TO THE SELECTMEN OF
OXFORD.

Gentlemen, I have had your call and proposals before me and upon mature deliberation I accept of your call and proposals to me as propounded and hereby promise to be willing to continue with you in the work of the ministry as the Lord shall enable me, provided you continue a ministerial people.

OXFORD, *August 12th*, 1720.

JOHN CAMPBELL.

In September, 1720, Lieut. John Town, Abiel Lamb, Samnel Barton and Joseph Wiley, gentlemen, united in their influence to establish a Church of Christ in Oxford, making an appointment to meet on Thursday, October 27, at four of the o'clock post meridian, at the house of Israel Town.

In 1720 the town authorities of Oxford applied to the association of ministers for their advice respecting Rev. John Campbell as a clergyman.

The association replied :

WOODSTOCK, *September 7, 1720.*

“ We the subscribers, having had acquaintance with the Rev. Mr. Campbell now of Oxford, do approve of him as a minister endowed with ministerial accomplishments. We hope and believe that, by the blessing of Heaven, he will serve to the glory of God and the spiritual edification of souls, in the place where Divine Providence shall fix him in the gospel ministry.

(Signed.)

JOSIAH DWIGHT.

JOSEPH BAXTER.

JOHN SWIFT.

ROBERT BRECK.

JOHN PRENTICE.

JOSEPH DORR.

“ To the select men of Oxford.

The church* was organized Jan. 20, 1720, O. S., with the following members :

John Town and wife,
Benj. Chamberlain and wife,
Isaac Learned and wife,
John Comins and wife,
Absolem Skinner,
Ebenezer Learned and wife,
Philip Amidown and wife,
Abiel Lamb and wife,

Israel Town and wife,
Benony Twitchell and wife,
Joseph Wiley and wife,
Samuel Barton and wife,
David Town and wife,
Nat. Chamberlain and wife,
Thomas Gleason, Jr., and wife,
Collins Moore and wife.

* This church adopted no creed at its formation. In the early history of our country articles of belief were promulgated by the higher ecclesiastical bodies, and the Cambridge platform served most of the Congregational churches until near the close of the last century, when, on account of a diversity of opinions, articles of faith in the form of a creed were then introduced to be assented to by those becoming members of the church.

The ordination services of Rev. John Campbell were March 1, 1721, and were as follows :

Introductory prayer, by Rev. Joseph Dorr, of Mendon.

Sermon, by Rev. John Prentice, Lancaster, Ephs. vi, 18-19.

Prayer before the Charge, by Rev. Josiah Dwight, of Woodstock.

Charge, by Rev. Joseph Baxter, of Medfield.

Prayer after Charge, by Rev. Joseph Breck, Malborough.

Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. John Swift of Framingham.

Benediction, by Rev. John Campbell.

The first church in Oxford was located on the north-west corner of the south common, the old Charlton road separating it from the burying-ground. It fronted on the south toward the common. It was thirty feet square; had double or folding doors in front; the pulpit was on the north side of the house opposite the doors which opened into the aisle of the church; the gallery extended on the east and west sides. The seats in the area of the church were of rude construction, with backs, those upon the east side for ladies, and those upon the west side for gentlemen; this was a Puritan fashion of New England.

January, 1722-3, "Voted in ye affirmative that Capt. Richard Moore may build and have set up a pew on ye west side of ye pulpit of about six foot square for the benefit of himself and his family." * * *

Feby 11 1722-3, At a town meeting legally warned voted to grant a pew to be made for Mr. Campbell and dispose of other places for pews First voted in the affirmative yt Mr. Campbell may build and set up a pew of y' East side of y pulpit from y pulpit to y middle or senter of ye post under y gallery beam extending to y' corner of y' deacons seat to be done at y charge of y town.

March 29, 1724, At the town meeting it was voted that Engⁿ Ebenezer Learned should have a Room in the East corner of the meeting-house joyning to Mr. Campbell's pew for a pew for him and his family in the meeting house and he is to finish it in the year.

March 4 1734, Voted yt Capt Ebenezer Learned shall have ye pew on the Easterly part of y meeting house behind ye woman's seats for Toon (ten) pound paying his equal proportions towards finishing said meeting house sd pew adjoyning to the duble doors.

March 4 1734, Voted that Mr. Samuel Davis shall have ye pew on the Westerly sid of ye meeting house adjoyning to the duble doors he paying toon pound and his equal proportion towards finishing sd meeting house.

May 16, 1726, At a legal town meeting, Capt. Ebenezer Learned was chosen to go to ye General Court, at a petition Requesting that the lands of ye non-resident proprietors, may be taxed, to inable us to support ye Gospel ministry amongs us.

Oxford, September 4th 1732, "Then Received in full for my sallery from the beginning of my Settlement at Oxford, in y' work of ye Gospels, there to the first of May, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven in conformity, to a vote passed by the said Town of Oxford," March 6, 1726-7, per me. John Campbell.

The duty of the sexton in olden time was not only to take charge of the church, keep it swept, have the key in his possession, but to take care of the cushion for the desk.

August 29, 1728, Voted "to take so much of the Interest money belonging to y' town to procure a cushion for the pulpit. Capt. Larned, to be intrusted with the commission."

March 4, 1734. Voted yt Capt. Richard Moore, shall have Liberty to enlarge his pew at his own charge and bearing y cost of turning y pulpit stair-case if Mr. Campbell be willing, and make a door for y deacons seat.

March 4, 1734, Voted Lieut. Isaac Learned, shall have y pew at the North East corner of the meeting-house, joyning to Mr. Campbells pew, paying four pound and bearing his proportion towards finishing said meeting-house.

August 25, 1743, the town voted to build a new meeting-house, which was erected 1747.

July 13, 1748, Voted that the Town shall Build Two Pews one on Each Side the Broad Alley, one behind the men's seats and the other behind the women's seats to accommodate the Gentlemen that have had their Land Taxed towards Building of our New meeting-house, when any of them shall come to our meeting.

Voted that there shall be two pews more built to take up the rest of the room behind the seats to the alleys at each end of the seats to be disposed of by the town. In front of the pulpit were four long narrow pews, two for the deacons, the others for aged persons. The gallery extended round three sides of the church, leaving the high pulpit on the north side; seats back of the galleries in the corners of the church were devoted to slaves or colored servants.

August 22, 1748, Voted Richard Moore, Jun, Collector to gather the tax laid on the non-resident Proprietors lands in Oxford, towards building our new meeting-house by an act of the General Court.

May 17, 1750. Voted one hundred and ten ounces of silver and other money equivalent, to it for the Rev. Mr. Campbell's salary for this present year.

Sept. 14, 1752, Voted to choose a committee to Dignify and prize the Pews. Mr. David Baldwin, Mr. Duncan Campbell, Mr. Benjamin Davis, Committee Men to Dignify and Prize the pews.

The person who paid the highest tax had the first choice, and so in succession. In many places other than money considerations had influence in "dignifying" the pews.

Sept. 14, 1752 (N. S.), Voted to accept the report of the committee that was chosen to Dignify and prize the Pews.

Nov. 17, 1752, Voted that the pew next to the Pulpit on the East side shall be the minister's pew. Then those that were the highest in the Rates for their Real Estate towards building our meeting-house in Oxford proceeded to draw their pews, and Col. Ebenezer Learned being highest in said Rates, chose No. 3 price £52 16s.

It is believed that the term "dignify," as here used, was to give the preference in the selection of pews to those persons most distinguished in public affairs, and for their liberality in furnishing the means for the erection of the church and the support of public worship.

The "pew spots," as they were called, that is, places where pews might be, were thus disposed of as the society had dignified them. In the Town Warrant, Oct. 4, 1748 — To see how the town will dispose of the Pew Spots in the said meeting-house. In these old-fashioned churches the people were not allowed to make their selection of seats. A committee was chosen to assign seats to the worshippers "according to estate and age annually." This arrangement of seats was termed "seating the meeting-house."

March 20, 1764, Voted and chose Edward Davis, Esquire, (Capt.) Ebenezer Learned and Mr. Josiah Wolcott, committee to treat with the Rev^d. Joseph Bowman concerning his settling with us and to lay the votes and grants of the church and Town before him in view for his consideration and to give us his answer in due time, and the said committee are empowered to make some further proposals to the said Mr. Bowman concerning his settlement and salary and report to the town the next town meeting.

24 September 1764, Voted in the Affirmative to Add Sixty Six Pounds thirteen Shillings and four Pence to a former Grant made to Rev. Mr. Joseph Bowman on the 20th Day of March

1764, of One Hundred and Thirty-three Pounds Six Shillings and Eight pence making in the whole Two Hundred Pounds to be Paid, the one-half within One year after his settling with us, in case he accepts of our Choice of him to be our Minister and settle with us.

March 20, 1764, voted & chose Edward Davis, Col. Ebenezer Learned, Josiah Wolcott, a committee.

Warrant October 1, 1764. To grant Money to defray the cost and charge of the ordinations or installment of the Rev'd Mr. Joseph Bowman to the Pastoral Office among us October 15, 1764.*

Rev. Joseph Bowman remained the clergyman of this church until August, 1782. In 1791, April 17, Rev. Elias Dudley succeeded the Rev. Joseph Bowman. Rev. Mr. Dudley retired from being the clergyman March 6, 1799. Dr. Emmons of Franklin preached the sermon at the ordination of Rev. Mr. Dudley. His residence while a clergyman in Oxford was the mansion of the late Dr. David Holman.

In the present century there may have been connected with this church no clergyman more distinguished than Rev. Horatio Bardwell, D. D., who was established over the church in 1836 and so continued for many years. He died in Oxford May 5, 1866. His memory is spoken of "as a precious legacy to his church." He received his ordination as a clergyman at Newburyport June 21, 1815, and on the following October 23 he sailed for India in the ship *Dryad*, and on his arrival in India he became a resident of Bombay, and remained as an American missionary in India until 1821, when he returned to this country. While in India, Dr. and Mrs. Bardwell received many kind

* October 15, 1764. Edward Davis, Esq., and Deacon Thomas Davis undertook to provide Entertainment for the Council that are to install the Rev. Mr. Joseph Bowman to the pastoral office among us without making it a public charge to the town.

attentions from the English residents and from the officials of government.

At one period during his home in India he was most honorably invited to take the place of a rector in the English Episcopal church, which for a limited time he filled with much acceptance to his English friends. Mrs. Bardwell was a lady of a superior education, as could be discerned in her conversation, and in her extensive correspondence. Her description of her Eastern life, as associated with English residents as well as the poor natives of the country, was in her recital as a picture presented to the view. And like Mrs. Sherwood of England her description was to remain in a life long memory.

One can easily follow Mrs. Bardwell in her Indian home, plainly dressed in white muslin, as ladies in India are obliged to dress from the climate, on her veranda, surrounded by a group of native children, teaching them their daily Bible lessons. On the return of Dr. and Mrs. Bardwell to America they departed from India with regret and with many kind services rendered them from the English governor.*

Two merchant vessels left India for Boston at the time of Dr. and Mrs. Bardwell's passage being engaged. One ship was lost at sea, and was so reported, and left much uncertainty as regarded the safety of Dr. and Mrs. Bardwell. On their arrival in port they hastened to their home in Andover. An escort

* Dr. Bardwell was married in 1815 to Rachel, daughter of Simon Forbush, of Andover.

Dr. Bardwell in his manners was courteous and affable, and was styled a gentleman in English society while abroad, as well as one who was distinguished in his judgment and views of the affairs of state government, and with all these endowments he was more distinguished for his most devout Christian life, and as a clergyman he was possessed of large and liberal views toward all evangelical Christians.

The Book of Common Prayer used by Dr. Bardwell in India is still cherished as a relic by Miss Ellen Paine, once a communicant in his church at Oxford, now Mrs. Gilchrist of McGregor.

was at once offered to accompany them to their friends, who proceeded in advance, and announced the safe arrival of the ship and then the safety of Dr. and Mrs. Bardwell and child, and their immediate arrival that morning to the parents of Mrs. Bardwell.

20 May 1765, Voted that Lieut. John Nichols and Mr. Edward Raymond, shall each of them have the Liberty for two persons to sit in the Pew on the West side of the Broad Alley in our Meeting-House that was granted to the non Resident Gentlemen that had their unimproved lands Taxed towards Building our Meeting-House Each of them paying three Pounds old tenor pr year as long as they enjoy said privilege and to give place to any of Said Gentlemen if they should come to our meeting.

That Mr. Josiah Wolcott shall have liberty to use and improve the pew on the East side of the broad alley in our meeting-house filling the said pew.

May 19 1767, Then that behind the womans Seats next to the Broad Alley was set up and Lieut. John Nichols bid twelve pounds eight shillings lawful money which was the highest and it was struck off to him accordingly and he paid two dollars down.

To see if the town will grant liberty to Rev. Mr. Hill and Mr. Amos Shumway and Mr. James Butler and Doct. Daniel Fisk, to take up the two hind seats in the mens and womens body seats and build them four pews for their use and their heirs forever or act thereon as the town shall think proper.

By order of the select men.

SAMUEL HARRIS

OXFORD May 21 1781.

Town Clerk.

July 19, 1781, At a Town Meeting, received the Report of the committee chosen for the sale of the pew ground in the mens and womens body seats, and voted to accept said Report which is as follows:

No. 1, on the womans side of the broad alley, sold to Mr. Anthony Sigourny, for $20\frac{1}{2}$ hard dollars.

No. 2, on the men's side of the broad alley, sold to Mr. James Butler, for 20 hard dollars.

No. 3, on the womans side, on the east side, sold Mr. John Dana, for 17 hard dollars.

No. 4, on the west side of the men's seats, sold to Mr. Jesse Jones for $16\frac{1}{2}$ hard dollars.

Voted that the money coming by the sale of the four pews as before mentioned be applied for the support of the soldiers families and the poor of the town.

In olden time in the churches of New England the sermon was made the principal feature of the service. The Scriptures were not read in the churches until the early part of the last century, and not always were prayers offered in the churches.

As early as 1699, however, Rev. Mr. Coleman of Boston read the Bible in his church, and he even repeated the Lord's prayer, after an introduction of one of his own. "But many were strongly prejudiced against his innovations."

Reading of the Scriptures in the service of New England churches on the Sabbath, is comparatively modern. It was considered in ancient time as partaking too much of the formality of the English church — in many churches not introduced until the middle of the last century.

The Ratio Disciplinae says that in 1726, that "the praetice of reading the sacred volume was observed in many churches without giving offence." The church in Medford, in 1759, "voted to read the Bible in the congregation." How early reading of the Scriptures in the church in Oxford was adopted, there is no record.*

* With things that have had their day during these long sermons, in some churches, there was an hour-glass standing on the desk to guide the clergyman, and which would claim the attention of his hearers for one

It does not appear from any record in Oxford when the introduction of instrumental music became a part of the church service, or the change in the mode of singing caused any disquietude in the church, even when the pitch-pipe was sounded.

Before the close of the last century the New England version of Psalms and Hymns was the only sacred poetry that was allowed admittance into most of the churches. These were read, line by line, by one of the deacons, when another set the tune, in which the whole congregation were expected to unite.

In England there was annexed to the Book of Common Prayer the version of Sternhold and Hopkins. The first metrical version of the Psalms in English appeared in 1549.

“Thomas Sternhold a court poet, translated 51 Psalms.”

John Hopkins a clergyman, 58.

The other contributors were, principally, William Whytingham, Dean of Durham, and Thomas Norton, a barrister.

This version, enlarged, was annexed to the Book of Common Prayer, and was in general use until 1696.*

hour. In front of some pulpits was a socket for the hour-glass. An hour-glass was also in the library of the minister, to guide him in preparing his sermons. One of the duties of the sexton was to keep and turn the glass.

* The New England version, or better known as the Bay Psalm Book, was made in 1640, and was the work of Revs. Thomas Weld, John Eliot and Richard Mather, and continued in use for more than 100 years, and was succeeded by the collection of hymns by Dr. Watts, nearly at the close of the last century.

Tate and Brady's collection followed Sternhold and Hopkins' version, and was generally used in the Episcopal church in America and other churches in this country.

The church in Oxford made use of this collection.

There are still copies to be found which were used in church service in Oxford.

"Some of the clergymen attempted a reform in singing — and the notes, fa, sol, la, were by some considered blasphemous." "The new way of singing will make the young people disorderly, and if they go to singing school they will be having frolics."

In the Oxford church those who could sing sat in the "singers' seats." The leader, Mr. Ludden, gave out the tune and the pitch, the singers sounded their parts, bass, tenor, alto and treble, fa-la-sol-fa "singing a fuguing tune, one part following another, till all seem to be lost in a labyrinth of melody, but coming out right at last."

In 1780, many persons objected to new tunes being sung in the churches and were offended at the innovation and absented themselves from church service. At what time a change was made from singing by the congregation to a choir in Oxford does not appear, but previously some one had been chosen to line the hymn when it was sung.*

Before the Revolution the hymns were "lined," the clerk of the church standing in front of the pulpit reading a line and the congregation singing it, and then reading another, and so on through the hymn.

* At a meeting in the north parish of Sutton, Feb. 4, 1768, "It was proposed that, if it would not be grievous to any of the Brethren, a Hymn out of Dr. Watts' should be sung at the communion, and if it would be grievous to any they were desired to speak."

"After three or four hymns being read that were pertinent for that purpose no objections appeared, but several spoke agreeable." — From an old town record in the north parish of Sutton.

In 1743 Rev. John Campbell, of Oxford, wrote, "Using Hymns, so as almost to have superseded the Psalms of David and other spiritual Songs. This is a manifest Violation and reproach of the Wisdom and Law of God. . . . I am far from thinking that the good Gentleman [Dr. Watts] whose hymns are mostly used by our giddy Zealots ever intended that composition of his should ever supersede the Psalms of David."— *Campbell's Treatise*.

And then on Sunday, standing in the singers' seats, with a bass-viol to keep them making music that thrilled and delighted the congregation. There was great opposition to viols and violins in the churches. As the years passed not only the viols and violins, but flutes, bugles, horns, clarinets, bassoons and trombones were used as a part of sacred music.*

FUNERAL SERVICE.

In 1730, a Boston newspaper, in speaking of a funeral, says, "Before carrying out the corpse, a funeral prayer was made by one of the pastors of the old church, which, though a custom in the country towns, is a singular instance in this place, but it is wished may prove a leading example to the general practice of so decent and Christian example.

During the first half of the last century there was often great parade made at funerals, particularly by those of the rich. Gloves, gold rings, hat-bands and mourning scarfs were frequently presented to those gentlemen in attendance. Near friends acted as bearers, carrying the body on a bier on the shoulders, there being relays as occasion required in the procession (in some places males and females did not walk together, but those of the sex of the deceased walked nearest to the remains). Officers with staffs and mourning badges accompanied the procession.

This custom has until very recently been continued in some of the country towns in this county. The town of Sutton

* To the time of Luther the psalms of the Bible were mostly used by Christians in devotional service. Among the earliest was, "Lord, thou hast been our dwelling place in all generations," written by Moses.

Clement of Alexandria was an ancient writer of hymns. In the eleventh century, Bernard de Morals, monk of Cluni, made great additions to sacred poetry. A translation from his works is a hymn, than which no more beautiful has been written, "Jerusalem the Golden."

Then followed the sweet hymns of Thomas à Kempis, Luther and Clement Marot.

may be named as one of the last of those towns retaining this tribute of respect.

Oxford Town Records, April 4, 1796. In Town meeting voted that the selectmen provide a wheeled carriage to convey the dead to burial. Previous to this date all funeral processions, whether on foot or on horseback, the dead were conveyed on a bier with relays if the distance required.

Mrs. Eunice (Turner) Eastman's funeral was one of the last in Oxford where the mourners were on horseback, two horses abreast. The funeral service was at the old church on the north common, and a daughter of James Butler was buried in the same manner. The gentleman to whom she was engaged to be married preceded the parents on horseback unaccompanied. Rings were presented to the near friends of the deceased in memory of the departed.

A lady described the funeral of Mrs. Eunice (Turner) Eastman, as the procession wound its way among the tall elms over the north common to the church. It was a cold, gloomy day in December; heavy clouds hung low down in the sky; the air filled with snow. Though the lady were a child sitting at her nursery window, in a deep wide gable of an ancient house, she received her first impressions of death from viewing the sable procession on that mournful day and the measured tread of the horses' hoofs, for there were no carriages following the coffin on the bier, borne by bearers. All the mourners were on horseback two in file. The church-yard near the south common then a common stone wall enclosed its ground — fifty years ago it was choked with briars and fat weeds.

One has to look very carefully to discover those old graves. Their dust should be respected. Sometimes the only inscriptions are the initial letters and the year rudely carved. Then there was the poor corner where were the graves of the friendless.

In many old cemeteries before the year 1700, the head-stones seldom had any name or date. These stones were the common

brownstone. In instances a chisel had cut the initial letters of the name of the one entombed.

In the seventeenth century hour-glasses were used as a device on tomb-stones, with this inscription: "As this glass runneth, so man's life passeth."

Upon some ancient head-stones in the burying-ground would be rudely cut the old man Time, with an hour-glass clutched in one hand and a scythe in the other. Angels blowing trumpets with open books, or a skull and cross-bones, would be seen on other head-stones.*

An old record Dec. 1, 1808, It being Thanksgiving Mr. Andrew Sigourney presented the Congregational Chh & Society by the hand of Rev^d Mr. Moulton with a large elegant Gilt Bible & Psalm Book to be kept for the use of the desk in the north meeting house in Oxford; on the receiving of which the Chh & Society voted their thanks to Mr. Sigourney the Donor.†

* October 24, 1771, It was granted 3 pounds to buy a new Burying cloth.— Town Records.

Oxford Town Records, May, 14, 1798, At a Town-meeting "Mr. Andrew Sigourney, came into the meeting and presented the town with a velvet funeral pall, upon receiving his present the town voted him thanks."

† In families of distinguished birth in these days escutcheons were placed upon the coffin, and hatchments were hung in the mansion house of the deceased.

"Escutcheons with rings and kid gloves were given to near friends, and in some instances suits of mourning, and relatives and servants were put in mourning. Tenants and dependents received gloves as well as intimate friends with their invitation to the funeral ceremony. Gloves were also given to pall-bearers, and sometimes orphans of a surviving parent, deceased, following first after the corpse, were accompanied by a waiting maid and a negro servant. Both were put in mourning as usual."

In an ancient charge of funeral expenses, 11 dozen gloves "for funeral" £20-6-11.

Letchford, writing in 1641, says, "At burials nothing is read, nor any funeral sermon made, but all the neighborhood, or a good company of

In these days and into the present century it was regarded as a breach of etiquette, a downright inhospitality, not to offer wine to the guests, particularly when the minister called.

Even at a funeral the bearers must "take a drink" before they removed their cofined neighbor from his own earthly home.

Marriages in olden time in Oxford were announced by the publication of marriage by banns, or a notice of the intended marriage was posted on the church door or in some other public place.

In about 1750, a statute of the twenty-sixth year of George II enacted that "the banns should be regularly published three successive Sundays in the church of the parish where for the time residing.

Archbishop Secker, the primate between 1758 and 1768, originated the arrangement of special licenses.

During Cromwell's protectorate, the "Little Parliament of 1653, declared that marriage was to be merely a civil contract; forbade the use of the 'Book of Common Prayer,' and interdicted the clergy from performing any of the offices of the church under severe penalties."

The parties professed in the presence of a justice of the peace their mutual desire to be married.

them, came together by tolling of the bell, and carry the dead solemnly to his grave, and then stand by him while he is buried. The ministers are most commonly present.

"On the return from the grave a liberal entertainment was served at which wines and intoxicating liquors, pipes and tobacco were liberally provided." The cause of temperance has made wonderful progress during the last half century. "Fifty years ago," says a clergyman (Rev. Dr. Patton of New Haven, Ct.), "funerals were set at three o'clock in the afternoon, and the procession did not move until four; the intervening time was spent in drinking. A great many persons went to funerals then. They went early, and did not leave until the funeral started."

In 1713, Judge Sewall has this record in his diary: "The four churches (in Boston) treated their ministers."

Usually the proclamation was made in the market place by the bellman.

This act continued until 1658, when persons were allowed to adopt the accustomed rites of religion if they preferred them.

The earliest canonical enactment on the subject of marriage banns in the English church, is said to have been made by the Synod of Westminster or London in 1200, which ordered that no marriage should be contracted without banns thrice published in the church, unless by the special authority of the bishop.

Formerly the betrothal ring was worn as at the present time, on the left hand on the finger next to the least.

It is said that women wore the wedding ring upon the left hand, because that hand is a sign of inferiority or subjection.

During the time of the commonwealth the Puritans endeavored to abolish the use of the wedding ring, for the reason it was of pagan invention.

It is now required that a wedding ring should be used at a marriage in the English church. The rubric directs that "the man shall give unto the woman a ring. * * * And the priest taking the ring shall deliver it to the man, to put it upon the fourth finger of the woman's left hand.

During the reigns of George I and George II, the wedding ring, although placed upon the usual finger at the time of marriage, was sometimes worn on the thumb, in which position it is represented in the portrait of Madam Elizabeth Freake, still a relic retained by her descendants in the Sigourney family of Oxford.*

* A wedding ring worn upon the thumb dates back to the reign of Charles II.

Anciently a ring was used in betrothals rather than at weddings. The man placed a ring on the finger, which is at the present day pre-

At early English weddings money was thrown over the heads of the bride and bridegroom and distributed at the church door. The Wardrobe Accounts of Edward II state this fashion of the time: "In the tenth year of his reign money to the value £2 10s. was thrown over the heads of Oliver de Bordeaux and the Lady Maude Trussel, during the solemnization of their nuptials, at the door of the chapel within the park of Woodstock, by the King's order." No wedding could be complete without the marriage benedictions of a priest, hence the bridegroom was called a Benedict.

The giving of gloves at weddings is a very ancient fashion. Ben Jonson, in his play of the "Silent Woman," makes Lady Haughty say, "We see no ensignes of a wedding here, no character of a bride ale; where be our skarves and our gloves?" Arnold, in his "Chronicle," in 1521, refers to an inquiry to be made at the visitation of ordinaries to churches, namely: "Whether the curat refuse to do the solempnysaeyon of lawful matrymonye before he have gyfte of money, hoses or gloves." Pepys in his "Diary" under date 5th July, 1663, says he was at a wedding and had two pairs of gloves like the rest of the visitors. It is still the custom to give white gloves to the guests at marriages.

"Bride favors were formerly worn by gentlemen in their hats, or on their breasts or arms, for several weeks. They consisted of a large knot of ribbons of various colors. White ribbons were favorites for these adornments. Misson says, 'When the eldest son of M. de Overkerque marry'd the Duke of Ormond's sister, they dispers'd a whole inundation of those little favors.

served for the benedictions of marriage; a man who wished to pledge his faith as the future husband of a woman.

In England the ancient marriage ritual recognized the practice of offering money. Thus in the Salisbury Missal. "The man be enjoined to say: 'Wyth this rynge y the wedde, and thys gold and selvir the geve and with all my worldly catel I thee endowe.'"

"Nothing else was here to be meet with, from the hat of the King down to the lowest servant among the citizens and plain gentlemen, which is what they call the gentry. They sometimes give these favors."

"In 1629 Bay was used for garlands and that 'rosemary is almost of as great use as bays as well for civill as physical purposes for civil as all doe know at weddings to bestow among friends.'" See *Garden of Flowers*, Parkinson.

"In 1634, we are told that 'bay is fit for halls and stately roomes, where if there be a wedding kept, or such like feast, he will be sure to take a place more eminent than the rest.'"

"He is a great companion with the rosemary, which was thought in olden time to strengthen the memory and was worn at weddings and funerals."

The "strewing of herbs, rushes, and flowers from the house of the bride to the church was an ancient fashion in England. At bride ales the houses and chambers were wont to be strawed (with roses) these odoriferous and sweet herbes."

The fashion of strewing flowers before a bride is still retained in some parts of England. The children of the village scatter wild flowers before the bride as she leaves the church after the ceremony.

The wedding party walked or rode in pairs at rustic weddings. Four little bridesmaids carried baskets of buttercups and wild roses to grace the weddings in days by-gone.

Bouquets or nosegays and posies, as they were formerly called, were common appendages to a wedding in olden time.

Primroses and violets are mentioned as flowers used in bridal nosegays. Some old customs are still continued; the departing bride and bridegroom are sometimes saluted with old shoes and slippers, as omens for good luck, and rice is thrown over the bride.

The fashion of introducing orange blossoms into wedding bouquets and wreaths, though an European fashion, is derived from eastern countries, being the emblem of a prosperous marriage.

CHAPTER XXII.

SCHOOLS AND LIBRARIES.

Before the incorporation of Worcester county in 1731, the colonial laws required the towns to have free schools for the education of all the children. The public school system of the colony was fully established. It was enacted that the "General Court of Sessions of the Peace," in each county, should have jurisdiction in regard to schools so far as to hear complaints from the towns which neglected to provide the means of education for all the children according to the requirements of the law. The court exerted its authority in every case, and the towns thus negligent were required to supply school-houses and furnish teachers for their children on pain of fine and costs. In these school-days of only two months during the year many of the scholars were obliged to pass through deep woods by following difficult foot-trails in the summer, or in winter this course was over a hard-beaten path in the snow. The schools were in very desolate places in the midst of an unbroken forest.

SCHOOLS IN OXFORD.

There is a record of a vote upon the town books in 1733, by which the selectmen were instructed to "procure a school-master." In 1736, the town voted to build a school-house 14x20 ft. with a chimney at each end.

1740 May y^e 28, Then hired by the Select men of this town Mr. Richard Rogers, to teach school the fifth day of June, from thence to teach at such places as the Select men shall order, the said school-master is to be paid out of the Town's Treasury sixty pounds in "Bils" of Public Credit of the old tenor or the equivalent.

Mr. Rogers being hired to keep the school at £60 per year \$200, and he kept the school for twenty-two years in succession.

OXFORD, *May the 8, 1747.*

Then Reconciled with the Select men of Oxford and Received Sixty pounds in full for keeping a school in said Oxford from the Beginning of the world to this day I say Received for me.

RICHARD ROGERS.*

*"May 17, 1750, Voted that the school be kept in four places in the town two at the North End and two at the South End a quarter of a year at a place."

1766, Voted that there be liberty granted to set up a school-house in the south part of the town and liberty granted to set up a school-house in the north part of the town.

It is said Mr. Rogers was a gentleman of superior education, "the best teacher of his time," being an excellent scholar in Latin and excelled every one in his time in penmanship. Tradition states he had no superior in his profession. Oxford was quite at the head of education. He gave instruction to the sons of Rev. John Campbell in Latin either at the school he taught (as was allowed by paying additional school fee to the "Master") or as a private tutor.

The Latin book which belonged to his pupils (Mr. Campbell's sons) is in good preservation, as also specimens of Mr. Rogers' elegant penmanship.

If Latin were taught in a school it was called a grammar school.

Mr. Rogers in 1732 was a schoolmaster in Worcester and taught a school for several years. In 1740 he came to Oxford and was engaged as a teacher until his enlistment in the French War, 1760. In deeds he was styled "scrivener." He died in 1761.

He married Martha, a daughter of Jeremiah Buckman, of Sutton; his widow married in April, 1761, Jonathan Towne, of Oxford, and in a third marriage, December, 1775, Isaac Dodge, of Sutton. Mr. David Dodge, a great grandson of Isaac Dodge, stated that when he accompanied his aunt, Miss Prudence Dodge (who died in Sutton in 1862, at a very advanced age), to Oxford, or passed through the town, that when they were opposite the old common in front of the church-yard, Miss Prudence would call his attention by telling him "here was the house

In 1740 it was voted that twenty families on Prospect Hill might build a school-house and draw their proportion of money for a school.

That those living between "Prospect" and "ye brook that runs between Mr. Campbell's and Joseph Rockets might do the same (and also those south of the said brook)."

In 1760 it appears by record that there were two school-houses at the south part of the town. There was one on the plain fronting north on the South Common. In 1767 there was a second school-house built upon the plain east of the house of Jonathan Fuller on the Six-rod road to Sutton. He had bought the north-west side of Sigourney corner including the old house that was afterward the home of Andrew Sigourney until he built the brick house in 1817 on the south-west corner of the Six-rod road with Main street.

In 1767 a school-house was built on the north part of the town in the lane eastward of the Eight-rod way from Jonas Pratt's, near Towne's pond. Pratt had made a settlement on the west side of the Eight-rod way on Towne's plain. This school-house was removed to the Wolcott estate and not used for a school.†

In 1775 Joseph Hudson, Jeremiah Shumway and others on the hill known as Long or Federal Hill, north-east part of the town, were set off to have a school by themselves.

In 1782 Ebenezer Davis and others in the east part of the town were set off in like manner.

of your grandmother Rogers Dodge." Mr. David Dodge said it was very near the Wolcott mansion house, he thought, some part of the house.

In 1751 a house was built for Mr. Rogers, sixteen by eighteen feet, "inside convenient room for a chimney," at a cost of £13 6s 8d, which he occupied until his decease. This house joined the Wolcott house on the north-east corner.

† When the school-house east of Jonas Pratt's estate was removed another school-house was erected not far from its site, known as James Butler's (North Centre, No. 6 ward).

In 1775 these divisions which were called "squadrons" were called "wards."

In 1803 or in 1804 a school-house was built on the plain on the Charlton road next the Red Tavern and near Mrs. L. Corbin's residence. The one east of Fuller's house on Sutton road was no longer used for a school.

A school record of Oxford from 1780-1787. James Butler stated "he learned grammar from one Shumway, while the other children (his brothers and sisters) were the scholars of a Dr. Walker, who, for fear of betraying his own ignorance, would never let them parse."

The first "Dame School" in Oxford of which there is any tradition was taught by Miss Betty Jermer (Elizabeth Shumway).

Miss Betty's home was about one mile easterly of the old north common; here there was no open road, only a bridle-path passed the house, with gate-ways or bar places for an occasional traveler on horseback to pass through; whenever the sound of a horse's hoof was heard Miss Betty and her pupils presented themselves at the door and passed their salutations. There was a heavy stone chimney to the house and a deep cavern-like fireplace, which in winter presented a cheerful fireside with its heavy log fire. The floor was scoured to whiteness and covered with the finest sand. Her instruction in arithmetic was oral, Miss Betty making the figures on the sanded floor with her rod (for teachers were thus armed in those days), and her pupils with their square pieces of birch-bark and bits of charcoal copying the sums she had given them.

The children having walked a long distance were made very comfortable at the long recess, as their dinners were many times frozen, and sometimes their food required cooking. Miss Betty was devoted in her care for them in preparing their frugal repast. Apples were roasted and nuts were cracked in profusion, and then with their old-fashioned games they had an enjoyable time.

The ancestors of the Hudson, Dana and Pratt families were included in the school.

There is no record of ladies being employed by the town as teachers or school dames in the schools. In the latter part of the last century and at the commencement of the present century, there were ladies who taught the summer schools.

Mrs. Susan Thurston, the widow of Rev. Mr. Thurston of Medway, and in a second marriage to Ebenezer Waters, Esq., of Sutton, was a teacher and taught in the little school-house on the Sutton road, the Oxford plain, so called, very early in the present century, which was the second school-house erected upon Oxford plain, the site of which was on the left hand side of the Sutton road as you leave Main street about opposite to the blacksmith's shop.

Miss Davis, of Roxbury, taught a school in the first Samuel Davis mansion, in the east part of the town. Miss Hudson, of Oxford, taught school in the school-house nearly opposite to Towne's pond, near the old north common. Miss Hudson afterward was married to Mr. John Mayo, of Oxford. She lived to a great age of over ninety years. Miss Mary Turner also taught the school at this same place at a very early date for many summers, and died in Oxford, at a very advanced age, and was the last of these ancient ladies.

Knitting, plain sewing and needle work were taught by all ladies who were employed to teach, and was in those days, before sewing machines were in practice, a part of a female pupil's education. For every pupil, in finishing her school days, wrought a sampler of small size on yellow canvas. Others wrought on a large square of white or yellow canvas, containing the alphabet in Roman and writing letters, with figures, sometimes surrounded on three sides with a wreath of flowers, while underneath were trees and old ruins and churches; and sometimes a basket of flowers, or even birds and beasts, were

wrought in many-colored silk, and then the name of the artist was added, with some sentiment of a prose or poetical effusion, as "Industrious Ingenuity may find Noble employment for the female mind."

An antique sampler from England. The embroidery with which it was embellished comprised a portion of a flower-garden, representing tulips and other flowers, with a landscape view ornamented from natural history. Grace Varley, her work, 1796 with Elizabeth Henderson.

A specimen of good manners from the "Young Ladies and Gentleman's spelling book" a century ago: "When you come into a room, or go out of it, or when you meet people on the street, you must make the handsomest bow you can."

"If you ask for any thing you must say, pray, sir, give me such a thing; or, pray, madam, give me such a thing."

"When you are spoken to, you must say, yes, sir; or no, sir; yes, madam or no, madam."

"Your most obedient, Miss Sally, and how do you do to-day?"

"I thank you, Miss Polly, I am very well, and I hope I have the pleasure of seeing you well."

Boys and girls were taught in the "women school" or dame's school, and used the New England Primer or any substitute from which the alphabet and primary reading and spelling could be learned and taught, the catechism. School books were so few that a whole family of children, not of a poor family, would be seen going to school with only one speller. At eleven years of age the pupils of these schools were taught arithmetic, and at twelve years of age they should be taught to make pens.

The catechism was taught in all public schools outside of Boston until the close of the last century, and in some of the dame schools at a still later date.

1767 March 2, to see if the town will pass a vote that each school squadron (Ward) shall be obliged, each person or per-

sons belonging to each squadron to pay toward building their respective schools in the Province Rate.

The school-houses were soon increased as the town was divided into "squares," or "squadrans," or school districts, as they were afterward designated.

The school districts were not designated by the numbers, as at the present time, but were named from some landed proprietor in their vicinity or otherwise, as the North Gore, or South Gore, Prospect, etc.

The first school books to come into use in the colonies from England were the spellers. These were successively, Fenning's, Moore's, Dilworth's and Perry's; were in the schools previous to the Revolution. The two last named retained their place in New England schools until after the commencement of the present century. Dilworth's speller was entitled "A New Guide to the English Tongue," and contained not only a grammar and reading lessons, but several forms of prayer.

A copy published at Hartford, Ct., in 1786, is of the 23d edition. Most of the editions were published in England. The book was obviously intended for the teacher only.

Thomas Dilworth "Schoolmaster of Wapping," England.

The spelling book of William Perry was entitled "The Only Sure Guide to the English Tongue."

The clergymen who were located over New England in these various rural parishes, were in the habit of hearing the recitations of many of the young people in the higher branches of study in an education.

All the youth were guided to a great degree in their reading by the suggestions of the clergymen to good English authors, and then the social intercourse with the clergyman's family was of great advantage, as the society of clergymen's families was of a most eligible character in all its surroundings.

AN EXAMPLE OF HOME INFLUENCE.

The mother of Washington was in the daily habit of reading to her sons from some serious standard book. One of her great favorites was Sir Matthew Hale's "Contemplations, Moral and Divine," and her copy of this book is still preserved among the treasures of Mount Vernon.

Miss Mary Turner, as was the fashion of the time, finished her education under the instruction of a clergyman, becoming the inmate of Rev. Dr. Crane's family of Northbridge, Mass.

Hon. Judge Barton, a native of Oxford, was in his youth directed in his education before entering Brown University by the famous Master Hall of Sutton, Mass., who was extensively known as "learned in the ancient languages." Master Hall was the son of the distinguished Rev. Dr. Hall of Sutton.

Many young men who had little to do in winter went to the village school until they were from eighteen to twenty years of age. So that the winter schools to a certain extent were composed of young men. The school would continue three and sometimes four months. In those days the "committee man" selected the teachers, and the teacher "boarded round" in families where he had scholars. To be sure there was much rusticity in the manners of the children and youth, more than in the present. The boys then took off their hats to all travelers they met upon the streets and roadside, however inelegantly it might be performed, and passed all persons with a noticeable respect.

In parish schools the spelling classes then went "above," the position of the "head of the class" being held but one week, when the head scholar was placed at the foot of the class with the hope of rising again.

As an incentive to good orthography, extra evening "Spelling Schools" were the fashion all through the country towns to pass away the long winter evenings.

Though Washington was extremely dignified, he was kind and polite to all. A very old colored woman, who remembered him as a visitor at her master's house, said he was very kind to the servants, and always remembering their names. "Other gentlemen would pass by without a word, but de President — he'd a been President then — he used always to say, 'How's you dis mornin, Katy?' same as if I'd been a lady. But you don't see such gentlemen now a days. They don't teach young folks manners like they used!"

MANNERS OUT OF SCHOOL.

My aunt taught me, her little niece, to move gently, to speak softly and prettily, to say "yes, ma'am" and "no, ma'am," to keep my clothes clean, and knit and sew at regular hours, to go to church on Sundays and make all the responses, and come home and be thoroughly drilled in the catechism.— *Harriet Beecher Stowe.*

The boarding schools for young ladies were very few and of a very high character. Miss L. M. Thayer, of Braintree, Mass., a sister of Col. Thayer, commandant at West Point, and her sisters, were teachers of great celebrity in the early part of the present century, and among other places the young ladies of Oxford were favored with their instruction. Not only were their English studies carefully directed, but in deportment and in drawing, painting and in the most beautiful embroidery, that can scarcely be equaled in the present time, and in all choice needlework.

Ladies did a great deal of embroidery, working most wonderful landscapes and seascapes. The style was of that delightful kind which combined figures with landscapes.

There is still to be found in antique embroidery Arcadia, the ideal country of virtue and happiness. (We need not try to identify with the country formerly so called in the peninsulas of Greece.)

At a time when people had nothing to do but to stroll about or sit in the rural meadows, as a shepherdess leaning on her crook watching her flock of sheep and a shepherd boy piping sweet music with a simple reedy flute and singing of their love for one another.

Many designs from ancient history or heathen mythology were most beautifully executed.

The Misses Saunders and Beach taught a boarding school at Dorchester, Mass. "The young ladies however used pewter spoons which were thought good enough for boarding school girls in that day."

One young lady of the ancient Hutchinson family of Boston on her arrival at the school took out of her "long pocket" a silver spoon and began eating her breakfast. "As long as there are silver spoons in the world," she said in an undertone, "I shall eat with one, and when there ceases to be, I will put up with some inferior metal."

Many years after, when one of her school friends had become an elderly lady, she said of this young lady, "She was really the most generous girl in school," and this Anne Jane Robbins in her brilliant youthfulness was married to Judge Lyman of Northampton.—An extract from "Recollections of my Mother," by Susan Inches Lesley.

For many years the portrait of this young lady's grandmother, Mrs. Elizabeth (Freake) Hutchinson, graced the walls of the Wolcott mansion, and her mother's uncle, Mr. Edward Hutchinson, made Oxford his home, giving his fortune to his niece, who married Governor Robbins. The remains of Mr. Hutchinson were placed in the Wolcott family vault.

"The old-fashioned blank-book—its paper yellow with age—at the 'Ladies Academy,' Dorchester, July 20, 1803." One-half of the book is taken up with sections, as they are called, describing the "Use of Globes." And the fine, large, clear handwriting, the exact definitions of globes, spheres, properties

of spheres, climates, circles, declinations and ascensions, together with the perfect spelling, make me believe that the child of thirteen received excellent instruction at the "Ladies Academy." — "Recollections of my Mother," by Susan Inches Lesley.

The school books in these primitive days were few. The reading of the Bible, especially the Psalter, and the study of the catechism, with Dilworth's spelling book. Then there was the sum book, of magic interest in the study of arithmetic. Grammar when mastered Latin was studied. Many assert that the learning of the catechism trained the memory. The effort to understand gave vigor to the mind, precision to habits of thinking and clearness of expression. As an educating expedient, it has been followed by nothing superior in all the excellent compendiums of mental or moral science used in school.

In later times clergymen of the town visited the schools and heard the recitations from the catechism. Dr. Emmons of Franklin, the noted divine of the last century, it appears, was the last to discontinue this practice in the schools of New England, continuing the same into the early part of the present century.

It is said in the present century Dr. Emmons was not in favor of establishing Sunday-schools in the churches, preferring the practice of catechising the children at the village school. It is said the first Sunday-school in Franklin, Mass., "was established almost under the protest of Dr. Emmons" — as he believed many who were taught the catechism in the village schools would not be included in a Sunday-school for instruction.

One of his pupils, still living (1885), states that when Dr. Emmons entered the school-room all the pupils arose from their seats and bowed to him, or made their manners (as then styled), he waving his hand and bowing to them. As soon as he was seated the pupils resumed their seats; the different classes were called out to stand before him while he should question them from the catechism. They all bowed to him at the commence-

ment of the lesson, and again at the close of their examination. After offering prayers in the school the scholars arose while he took his leave of them in the room. These visits to the scholars were made on Saturday every month.

Mrs. Alexander De Witt, one of his pupils, states his manner of catechising the children in the village schools. After they had repeated the words of the catechism, Dr. Emmons would inquire: "Well, Polly (my little maid), let me hear if you understand what you said respecting the commandments of God." Again he would to another pupil say, "Repeat to me the eighth commandment. Now, my little man, do you understand the meaning of this commandment, to respect your neighbor's property?"

"Does this commandment allow you to take apples from his orchard, or in any way to take his property without his consent?"

One can easily picture Dr. Emmons as he entered the school-room to catechise the children, and with what awe and respect he was received by the pupils, with his tri-cornered cocked hat held in his hand extended, dressed in a plain black suit with a very long coat and knee-breeches, and black stockings. Knee and shoe buckles set off his dignified person. It is said he wore his hair long in early life and at a later date his hair fell between his shoulders in a ribbon-bound quene, which fashion of dressing the hair followed the powdered wig. Dr. Emmons never changed his style of dress, though he lived into this century.

In the ancient north parish of Sutton and what is now known as the "Old Millbury Common," February 28, 1779, a vote was passed to the effect that all youth under the authority of parents and masters of the congregation (in that parish), should be catechised four times a year by the pastor (Rev. Mr. Chaplin).

MADAME CAMPAN.

Madame Campan, a Catholic lady of France, was a French writer upon education in the last century.

She resided at the court of Louis XVI. Her writings were honored by the French Academy. She was at the head of the French bureau of education.

A translation from the French: "In parish schools there should be most assiduous care in the moral education of the young."

"Religion, so powerful over all hearts, and morals, which ought to rule all our thoughts, our affections and our conduct, is the indispensable basis of this particular system of instruction. It is very essential to stifle at an early period the germs of vice in the young.— *Extract from the Memoirs of Madame Campan, French edition.*

Madame Campan states that "all should receive the rudiments of an education, reading, writing and a knowledge of figures, with a strict moral instruction to all classes of society.

"And then a separate course of education should be pursued with the different positions in society — those intended for a professional life should direct their pursuits in learning to that end, and others to mercantile life or as soldiers or artisans" or to cultivate landed estates.

"In the brilliant pensionnet of St. Germain, in the beautiful establishment d'Éconen, these reflections were often presented to my mind. I was still more impressed when I lived in the quiet retreat of a little village, how incomplete was the system of education. A moral instruction and religion will teach a child to respect the authority of his parents and teacher, to respect the laws of his country and to respect the property of his neighbor. The youth should continue to learn the history of the Old and New Testament; that all the words of the Gospel be graven in their hearts as much as in their

memory, and follow the instructions of the catechism of their church."

To the young: One cannot repeat too often this ancient and useful maxim: "Idleness is the mother of all vices, falsehood, robbery and other crimes." A respect for the property of others is a tie of all society; all would be confusion and lost in the world without this respect of that which does not belong to ourselves.

Madame Campan gives an illustration: Cartouche, the famous robber of the seventeenth century. He was educated in a college of Paris but he had profited by his studies only to increase his deceptions and vices. He finished his career by becoming an assassin, and by being condemned to be broken alive *sur la place de Grève à Paris*.

Cartouche had occupied the attention of all France by the pains the police had to secure the arrest of his person.

When he ascended the scaffold, his hands pinioned behind his back, he had a calm air. Several of the attendants of the executioner surrounded him; he requested to speak to the vast multitude of people; his request was granted. One of the attendants cried with a loud voice, "Cartouche wishes to speak to the assembly." In an instant a most profound silence reigned in the place. The criminal advanced to the extreme edge of the scaffold and made the following confession:

"I die penitent," said he to the assembly. "I wish to render my death useful to the fathers of families and to the instructors of youth. Parents, tutors and instructors, fulfill your duties in a watchfulness over the morals of the youth. At the age of seven years my parents placed me at a college.

"There was at the gate at the entrance of the college where I was educated a dealer of fruits and sweet-meats. My first robbery was a plum. I took one in going out to walk. In returning I took a second. Unhappy and fatal day. My inexperience hindered me from seeing the first step taken to the

scaffold. I continued my petty larcenies for several months without being discovered. My second robbery was that of a roasted pullet exposed for sale at a cook shop near the college. I soon had courage to rob silver. I took six livres from my preceptor, then a louis. I evaded his suspicion. My vacation arrived; I went to the country seat of my father, and I robbed him of twenty-five louis of gold. He would have had me placed in the house of correction of Saint Lazare. I evaded him, I wandered in the country, I slept in a forest, and I became connected with robbers, and in my robberies with this band of brigands, and thus I became an assassin, hoping to shun justice."

Madame Campan enjoins humanity to be taught. It is a necessity to take the life of animals. But all should be regarded in mercy. But to make animals suffer, or to take lives to be amused with their sufferings is an atrocious wickedness, and even without taking their lives it is very blameable to make animals suffer by barbarous games. "Fly from them; they are the school of the greatest cruelty."

In Oxford, many years ago, the study of natural history was introduced into the village school near the old north common in Oxford. Now it is introduced into schools in Europe.

Monsieur de Saily gave notes of "Teaching Kindness in School." From the mirror that he presented to our view we saw the reflection of his own character, as that of one possessing extreme refinement of mind blended with humanity as one of its crowning Christian elements.

We would hope that our whole system of school education might be modelled from Prof. de Saily's outline of instructions, as impressions made on the mind during the first fourteen years of life are said to mould the character.

ILLUSTRATION.

"*The Redbreast.*"—One quiet summer's day a redbreast was seen to be hovering near the porch of an ancient New

England school-room, while the teacher and her pupils were engaged in their daily routine of lessons. The attention of the children became riveted to the movements of this strange little visitor. The teacher for a brief interval indulged their childish pleasure, and showed her own sympathy by requesting them to unite with her in giving the redbreast their protection, for in this kind act they would have an illustration of the kindness she had taught them when giving to them lessons from "Natural History." The redbreast became the protégé of the school. She made her nest near to the old porch, where it could be easily reached by the children, and yet she was unharmed. The confidence which this little bird appeared to place in her new friends was shown by her coming daily to the porch for food, and then bringing her young family with her to partake of their share. A lovely picture is thus presented: a group of children listening to words of humanity, with the redbreast and her young birds sharing the lesson.

The children, from the time they became interested in this pet bird, were more gentle and affectionate to each other. Humanity taught them other right principles. They became more kind in their care of domestic animals, abandoning the practice of robbing birds' nests and destroying small birds. They were made sad by the suffering of animals, and suffered themselves by any act of cruelty done them.

The results of this branch of humane education were of a most pleasing character. These young children went forth from the "village school-room" to excite their parents and others to compassion for the poor brute, and with them to love humanity.*

M. DE W. F.

*The teacher of this school (the late Mrs. Sternes DeWitt) gave instruction for some years to the same pupils, and the same redbreast returned from year to year for protection.

EARLY LESSONS IN HUMANITY.

When I was a little girl and lived with my father and mother and sister in our home in the country, we had every thing lovely around us; there was our pleasant flower garden with its rich border flowers that my mother so much loved; at the bottom of the garden, an arbor covered with honeysuckle and trellises with grapevines. Whenever this lovely picture of the home of my childhood returns to my memory, the sweet lessons of Christian faith and humanity taught by my mother, remain, never to be forgotten. They were so blended, the one with the other, that humanity seemed a basis of all excellence. We were not taught that humanity was the only religion, or all of the Christian faith, but we were taught that humanity was a part of the Christian life, and that an act of cruelty, whether to a poor child on the street, or to any brute, was displeasing to God, for every creature shared in His kind care.

An English divine has said that every brute should be made more happy by having a Christian master. At this pleasant country home I was allowed to go to the village academy to recite my Latin lessons. One day, as the school-boys were going to a green field to finish a large map of the world, that the teachers permitted them to sketch on the ground, a part of the turf being left to form the land picture, and the part removed to represent the water, I heard one boy say to another, "Let's have a squirrel hunt," and then produced from one of his pockets a squirrel. It looked so forlorn and hapless that I at once would have taken it to my heart. I hesitated to speak to them of their cruel sport, and I remained standing in silence. All the lessons of my mother came to my mind; I could speak to no one my childish thoughts, my dislike to go alone to a public play-ground for boys only, for I never had brothers of my own. But the school recess would soon be ended, and the squirrel must be saved, even if it met the scorn and rude laugh

of the whole school. Away I hastened over the rough stone stiles, regardless of my nicely plaited white dress and the smooth curls of my hair; reaching the play-ground with a disordered dress and flushed face, I stood before the large group of boys and begged the life of the squirrel. My request was granted by all the boys in one voice, "Give her the squirrel." One boy came forward and presented to me the poor little half-starved creature. I was fearful at first to take it, but soon managed to fold it in my dress for safety, and then where to place my prisoner became a question of great interest to my mind, as a child. I passed on with rapid steps from field to meadow, until I came to some shade trees and water, and then I gave my captive its liberty, returning to the school-room just in time to save me from tardiness. I was made happy, in the one thought that my care for one of God's creatures would receive the approbation of my mother. M. DE W. F.

CHURCH LIBRARY.

A church library was the first public library established in Oxford. Rev. Mr. Campbell writes, in 1743: "The Honorable Judge Dudley devised this liberal thing and sedulously promotes it among gentlemen. 'The Donors' Names are in a Catalogue of the Books in 'Perpetuam Doni memoriam.' I very willingly embrace this opportunity to present my humble thanks to our generous Benefactors who have made a collection of Books for the use of the incumbent minister of this Parish."

JOHN CAMPBELL.

These books included specimens of costly book-making, ponderous volumes. Treatises on the Christian faith, books of sermons and commentaries. A Scripture Commentary, London Edition of 1624, was "the gift of the Rev'd Mr. Benjamin Wadsworth, for the use of the Church or Parish Library of Oxford in the County of Suffolk, 1719." Mr. Wadsworth was the minister of the First Church in Boston, once the President

of Harvard University. A volume entitled "Hexaphla" or commentary on Romans. "Roxbury, 3^d July 1736. For the use of the Parish Library in Oxford, New England, the Rev. Mr. Cambel being the minister. Given by Paul Dudley. A sermon written by William Morice, Esq., given by Paul Dudley. An Exposition of the Psalms, a large folio in Latin, given by Rev. Dr. Colman of Boston. A volume of Sermons by Samuel Hieron, Given by Samuel Taylor of Boston.

"Social Library," of Oxford, dates back to the time of the Revolutionary War. Its founders were General Jonathan Davis, Dr. Stephen Barton and Josiah Wolecott, Esq., with other influential persons in the town — a most valuable institution of the last century and during the commencement of the present century in Oxford.*

The Catalogue was as follows: British Album, Brown's Elements, Barclay's Apology, Chesterfield Abridged, Clark's Travels, 3 vols., Campbell's Narrative, Dean's Husbandry, Dialogue of Devils, Domestic Encyclopædia, 5 vols., Domestic Cookery, Encyclopædia, 18 vols., Franklin's Works, Female Biography, Goldsmith's Works, 6 vols., Grandpré's Voyage, Holmes' Sketches, 2 vols., The Hive, Herriot's Travels, Heathen Gods, Indian Wars, Loeke on the Understanding, 2 vols., Life of Washington, 5 vols., Paradise Lost, Memoir of Cumberland, Modern Enrope, Prideaux' History of the Bible, 4 vols., Parent's Friend, Pope's Works, 4 vols., Parke's Travels, Porteus' Evidences of Christian Religion, Relly's Works, 2 vols., Rights of Women, Rambler, 4 vols., Rollin's Ancient History, 8 vols., Robertson's America, 2 vols., Seneca's Morals, Self

* In 1839. Judge Barton, then of Worcester, presented to the library four large supplementary volumes of the British Encyclopædia with a volume of plates. In his accompanying note, addressed to Mr. Peter Butler, he says: "In tendering it to your Association I shall only make a small but grateful return for the pleasure and benefit derived in the days of my boyhood from their useful library."

Knowledge, Shakespeare, 6 vols., Spectator, 8 vols., The Task, Thompson's Seasons, Telemachus, 2 vols., Thinks I to Myself, Vicar of Wakefield, Views of Religion, Whitney's History of Worcester County, Mr. Williams' Letters, Winchester's Letters.

The names of the proprietors were as follows: James Butler, Peter Butler, Lemuel Crane, Jonathan Davis, Rufus Davis, Abijah Davis, Nehemiah Davis, Stephen Davis, Jonathan Davis, Jr., William T. Fisk, Asa Harris, Samuel Harris, Jonas Hartwell, Bradford Hudson, Jeremiah Kingsbury, Samuel Kingsbury, Stephen Kingsbury, Sylvanus Learned, Abisha Learned, William Lamson, John Mayo, Richard Moore, Thomas Meriam, Jotham Meriam, John Pratt, John Putnam, Amos Rich, Joseph Stone, William Sigourney, Samuel Ward.

The share of Asa Harris was purchased by Sternes De Witt.

SOCIETY LIBRARY.

In 1792, the church voted an appropriation of £30 from the Hagburn fund toward a new library.

Rev. Mr. Dudley, the minister with Captain Elisha Davis, John Dana, Esq., and Captain Ebenezer Humphrey, were deputed to purchase books.

The following gentlemen not connected with the church became members: John Ballard, Jonas Eddy, Lemuel Crane, Anthony Sigourney, Simeon Kingsbury, Ebenezer Shumway, Jr., Jesse Stone, of Ward, Allen Hancock, Amos Shumway, Jr., Joseph Hurd, Daniel Kingsbury, Ambrose Stone, Jr., Sylvanus Town.

In 1796, Sigourney sold his share in the library to Elias Pratt.

A prudential committee of five gentlemen was chosen annually to manage the institution, and for the first twenty years,

Ebenezer Learned, Elisha Davis, Samuel Harris, Lemuel Crane, John Ballard, Ebenezer Humphrey, Joseph Hurd, Joshua Turner, John Dana, constituted this committee.

In 1825, the church voted to replenish the library, and the name was changed from "Society Library" to "Second Social Library." Among the valuable additions to the library were Scott's Bible, 6 vols., Rollin's History, several vols., Silliman's Travels, 3 vols., Massillon's Sermons, Kimpton's History of the Bible.

The titles of works first produced were: Gibbon's Abridgment, 2 vols., Robertson's America, 2 vols., Guthrie's Grammar, Morse's Grammar, Dodd's Thoughts, Fordyce's Sermons, Paley's Philosophy, Citizen of the World, 2 vols., Blackstone's Commentaries, 4 vols., Webster's Essay, Paradise Lost, Night Thoughts, Beattie's Evidences, Beattie's Moral Science, Stackhouse's History of the Bible, 6 vols., The Task, Edwards on the Will, Jennyn's View, Mason's Self Knowledge, Watts' Death and Heaven, Ramsay's History, Doddridge's Rise and Progress, Child's Friend, 2 vols., Minot's Insurrections, Keats' Pelew Islands, Vicar of Wakefield, Edwards on Sin, Edwards on Redemption, Gardiner's Life, Blair's Sermons, 2 vols., Boston's Distinguished Characters, Edwards on the Affections, Edwards against Chauncey, The Spectator, 8 vols., Doddridge's Sermons, Christian Theology, Pilgrim's Progress, Martin's Grammar, Newton on the Prophecies, 2 vols., Seneca's Morals, Hopkins on Holiness, Edwards on Virtue, American Preacher, 3 vols., Butler's Analogy, Price's Dissertations, Hervey's Meditations, Bigelow's Tour, 2 vols., Milot's Elements, 5 vols., Locke's Essay, 2 vols., Ferguson's Astronomy.

Some of the entries on the records of fines are quite suggestive of the olden time, as when Mr. Lemuel Crane "greased Blackstone;" Peter Shumway "dropped tallow on the American Preacher;" Silas Eddy "dropped tallow on and burnt

Stackhouse ;" John Dana, "a drop of the candle on book ;" Amos Shumway "blurred (snuff) Josephus." Fines for tallow drops were common.

FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.

Judge Barton's will, dated 1 June, 1867, contained the following: "One thousand dollars to the inhabitants of the town of Oxford, my native place, toward establishing a Free Public Library in that town, as an inadequate return for the kindness and patronage of their fathers in my early professional life."

This gift was formally accepted by the town in April, 1868.

In November, 1869, on the report of a committee appointed in the preceding April to consider the subject, it was voted to organize a town library under the provisions of the State laws. In 1870 the library was established.

CHAPTER XXIII.

MANUFACTURES AND OLD FASHIONS.

Until 1530 all spinning was done by the distaff and spindle, but in that year a man in Germany invented the spinning-wheel. Queen Elizabeth directed that laws should be passed in England to encourage manufacturing.

In the early settlement of New England every farmer kept a flock of sheep for the wool, and when the wool shearing, came round after it was washed and carded, then it was spun and woven into cloth.

The farmer's wife or house-maid took the wool and dyed it in the dye-pot standing in the corner of the fire-place, and when not in use this dye-pot was covered and answered for the purpose of a seat for children or servants.

There was the carding of wool by hand into rolls, spinning then on a large wheel, walking to and fro through the long and weary days, turning the wheel with one hand, and holding the thread with the other. Then the yarn was reeled into skeins, dyed and washed, and put upon the warping-bars, and into the loom.

Then each thread of the warp must be drawn through the "harness" and through the "reed;" then the shuttle was thrown backward and forward, and the thread beaten in by the "lathe."

The flax had been spread upon the green sward to decay during the rains of autumn. It had been bound in bundles ready for the breaking in a winter's day.

It was pulled, dried and swingled by the farm laborer, but the farmer's wife or house-maid combed, spun, wove and bleached until the white linen was ready for family use, and when of extra fineness the linen sheets were packed away in lavender in huge chests for the marriage gift to some young maiden of the household.

When the wardrobe and household linen of a maiden were completed the lover requested the domine to come and marry them.

The mothers and daughters of the farmer or their maids toiled all the day wielding the hand-cards, throwing the shuttle or whirling the wheel, and then the carding, spinning, dyeing and weaving.

And there was the weaving of linen for the household, the making of linsey-woolsey for gowns, or of all wool cloth for men's garments.

Linsey-woolsey was a fabric made of wool and linen. Portions of the wool in yarn were dyed in colors and plaid, and striped cloths were thus manufactured for female dress, for every lady wore home-spun clothing.

The spinning-wheel was set to humming at an early hour of the day.

Children in olden time were trained in industrious habits; they could wind the quills and turn the reels, while the matrons and daughters or the maids accomplished their "day's work" at the loom or spinning-wheel.

The weaving-room with all its comforts was the apartment in the farm-house resorted to by the children of the family.

The quill-wheel, by which the shuttle-spools were bound with filling, was an attraction.

Any woman who could spin, weave and embroider was considered quite a treasure in those days away back in the first settlement of New England; then the old loom made such a busy sound in the farm-house and cottage for "the farmer's wife or her maids used to run races in 'spinnin' 'and a weavin,' 'for all were master hands at spinnin.'"

Then these industrious persons of a long afternoon (for they dined at an early hour) or of a long evening, for five o'clock teas were fashionable in these days, would spend a considerable piece of time together over their spinning-wheels "for folks spent a heap o' time spinning in these days."

It is not known when the first fulling-mills were set up in Oxford, nor in the country, but they date far back into the last century. For many years in passing through the country towns and villages, one would see standing there deserted mills.

The fulling-mill in its day became a necessity to the domestic manufactures, for it was impossible to full the cloth at the farm in as finished a style as desirable.

Then came the clothier's shop where the fullled cloth was dressed by teazles and shears (fixed on cylinders).

Then there was much attention given to the dying the fabrics, and among the favorite colors which were the fashion of the time a century since were deep blue, brown, snuff color or butternut, and a shade of wine color.

The clothiers felt an ambition in their business and gave a good appearance to the cloth that was sent to them for dress.

About the same time carding-machines, or mills run by water, were established in the country towns. Loads of fleeces went from the farm-houses to the mills and came back handsome rolls, but still the spinning and weaving were done at the farm by the farmer's wife or house-maid on the old-fashioned wheel and hand-loom.

Samuel Slater's object in establishing mills in Oxford (this interior part of the country) was to introduce his yarn for weaving into cloth. The means for effecting this improvement in manufacturing was to consign large quantities of yarn to the country traders, and they introduce the same to the weavers of the farm-house to be woven into cloth. It was considered a great acquisition in families to obtain this yarn for weaving.

Until about the years 1808 to 1810 the manufacture of yarn into cloth was then only done in families upon the hand-loom and in such quantities as domestic necessity required. The mode of weaving yarn into cloth by water power had not at this time been discovered. The farmer raised flax for summer use and bedding, and kept sheep for the product of wool for winter clothing.

This flax and wool were spun into yarn and woven into cloth at the various farm-houses. These weavers had by necessity become skilled in the use of the hand-wheel and the hand-loom. The old life fashion went out of Oxford with the hand-loom.

This business continued from 1812 to 1823. The manufacture of cotton into yarn was commenced in 1813. The power-loom introduced in 1814 did not supersede the hand-loom in this connection until about ten years later.

But the carding, spinning and weaving in families for domestic purposes was not displaced by the power-loom for many years after the factories had ceased to employ the hand-loom for weaving their yarn. The weaving of woollen yarn by the manufacturers of wool cloths by the hand-loom was continued

till about 1823, when it was abandoned by substituting the power-loom for weaving these fabrics. In 1814 was commenced in Oxford the making of broadcloths.

In 1812, Samuel Slater had established himself in what was then Oxford,* and Oxford mechanics were employed by him. New enterprises claimed to utilize this experience, and so Oxford mechanics became the leaders in the new direction of labor and kept it until the wooden wheels were superseded by the iron wheels now in use.

Samuel Slater had introduced spinning by power on machines he had made like those he had been familiar with in England. From this beginning, at about 1800, commenced the mill-wright's business. Oxford was "the town of mill wrights; almost every mechanic in the place was a mill-wright."

"Israel Sibley by his energy and capability and business enterprise was at the head of the mechanics of which Oxford was the great center. He was the central figure among these skilled workmen of the town, who did more than any other to win and retain his reputation."

Edward Howard, an Englishman, had commenced the manufacture of woolen goods in Oxford, now Webster, in the interest of Samuel Slater the cotton manufacturer.

"Young Sibley was employed in the fitting up of the establishment, the arrangement of the machinery. Howard did not like some of the mills in use in this country, especially the 'crank fulling-mills.' They used a better mill in England, and they made the best cloth there of any nation on the globe, so he tried to describe to young Sibley how it was made and how it worked. Of course the young mechanic did not understand much of the process of finishing woolen goods, but he could see how a machine could be made to effect the result, and at Howard's suggestion he undertook to build one. The result was after some alteration a success in erecting an entirely new

* Now Webster.

mill, and one that was destined to be the standard mill of his time.

"Had he patented his invention there would have been a fortune in it, as it was, he was contented to let the public have the benefit of the mill without incumbrance.

"The invention of the fulling stocks and fulling-mill began Sibley's successful career as a mill wright and his prominence as a master of mechanics in the country."

Israel Sibley acquired a competency and retired from business with an income from his estate. He purchased a fine landed estate, located on the village street, with a pleasant old mansion house, presenting many attractions, near the site of where once was the residence of Dr. Alexander Campbell. He married Miss Davis, the granddaughter of Elijah Davis, Esq., and he became one of the influential men of the town. He was a stockholder, and for a series of years a director, in the Oxford Bank. He held important town offices, and represented the town in the Legislature. "He was quiet and unpretending in his manners and style of life. He was a man of few words, but of great executive ability, and hardly realized the power he was in the community, and how much he contributed to the prosperity of the town and the advancement of its interests."

In the ancient farm-houses of Oxford there was a large square chamber which was distinguished as the "weaving-room," with its south and south-western windows, which lengthened the hours of the day, and thus favored industry, as the mistress or maid sprung the shuttle and heaved the beam.

This apartment presents itself as a picture of the past. The rooms in old-fashioned houses were of medium height when compared with the present fashion. They were styled "low-browed," the huge chimney giving a fire-place in a corner of this weaving-room. A wood fire added to its cheerfulness and comfort.

Then there were such piles of flannel and linen sheeting, with table-cloths and toweling and coverlets, woven in a variety of patterns of foreign damask, showing great artistic skill.

Then there were the various kinds of cloth and grades needful for family use, heavy woolen cloth for men's wear in the winter, and tow cloth for summer, woolen stuff, linsey woolsey and gingham for women and children.

There was also great attention given to weaving carpeting, the warp being spun wool of various colors, and the woof made of cast-off winter clothing as a matter of economy, or remnants purchased of the tailors or tailoresses, cut in narrow strips and colored black or butternut brown. These carpets were of great simplicity, but were in good taste. They were closely copied from Venetian carpeting, which was considered priceless for country wear, and then they were durable in their colors and were a combination of beauty and utility.

Coverlets very artistically woven are still preserved as relics, also bed and table linen, domestic chintz, embroidered or plain, for bed hangings, flannel and woolen fabrics.

For coverlets there were regular patterns for weaving. "Summer and winter" was a favorite.

Miss Rebecca Mayo, of Oxford, was a person of no ordinary character or ability. Her presence was commanding, with a noticeable depth of character, not only by her powers of mind, but by her taste for embroidery and every feminine accomplishment of her time.

Miss Rebecca was known to all the community—"such dainty linen as came from her hand, so firm in its texture and then so fine and white." "She had watched the flax in its blue blossoms when it first appeared, she had wound its fibre on the distaff and spun and woven every thread herself, she had spread the web to bleach, and when all was completed it was laid away in the great store-chest."

Bourdillon, the Huguenot named by Captain Humphrey, who remained in New Oxford after the re-settlement of the French, had abandoned the place. A tradition of the Mayo family states he was employed by the English in printing the domestic fabrics used as dress goods for the English families.

Mrs. L. H. Sigourney narrates that in her own warbrobe were included articles of dress of choice domestic fabrics woven at her country home at Norwich, Ct., which she had in her extreme youth worn with more satisfaction than she had since worn brocades, as court costume at presentations of royalty.

Mrs. Sigourney at her own elegant mansion in Hartford, Ct., introduced the spinning-wheel as a gratification to Mr. Sigourney and to her own refined taste. Mrs. Oldboro, the nurse of her children, in days long since, in leisure hours, engaged herself at the spinning-wheel.

Before the Revolution there was little ambition for success in manufacturing extending beyond home consumption in the colonies, as it was the policy of the British government to suppress manufacturing in all its branches beyond its own requirements in the colonies.

But one of the great advantages of the Revolution was claimed the commencement of an industrial as well as a political independence.

During the time of the war of the Revolution Madam Washington's influence in society as to style of dress was of severe plainness. It is said two of her dresses were of cotton, striped with silk, and entirely of domestic manufacture, for in her own home the spinning-wheels and looms were kept constantly going and her dresses were many times woven by her own waiting-maids.

Tradition states General Washington at his first inauguration wore a full suit of fine clothes, manufactured by his own household.

Before the war it appears, by an order sent to his agent in London, that General Washington was an admirer of nice articles of dress for a lady's wardrobe.

Washington was ever mindful of the happiness of those dependent upon him. He had no children of his own, but he was devotedly attached to the children of Mrs. Washington by her first marriage. At one time he sent to Mr. Cory, his agent in London, a long invoice of various matters needed for the large establishment at Mount Vernon. The list ends with "six little books and ten shillings of toys for Master Custis, six years old," and "a fashionably-dressed baby, worth ten shillings, and ten shillings of other toys," for Miss Patty, aged four. On the arrival of the ship which contained these goods there must have been much excitement of the household over the unpacking of the welcome gifts; the childish ecstasy of Miss Patty over her London doll must have been extreme, as well as the pleasure of Madame Washington over an addition to her wardrobe, viz.: the "salmon-colored velvet, with satin flowers," and the "cap, kerchief, tucker and ruffles of Brussels or point, proper to wear with the same." And then the rejoicing of the children, white and black, over the pound of barley sugar and the fifteen pounds of rock candy which were included in the same list. Rock candy was then esteemed a sovereign remedy for a cold, and was also often used to sweeten tea and coffee.

THE FASHIONS OF DRESS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The ladies wore caps, long stiff stays, and high-heeled shoes.

Their bonnets were of satin or silk, and usually black.

Gowns were extremely long waisted, with tight sleeves, another fashion was, very short sleeves, with an immense frill at the elbow, leaving the rest of the arm naked. A large flexible hoop, three or four feet in diameter, was for some time quilted in the hem of the gown. A long, round cushion, stuffed with

hair or cotton and covered with black crape, was laid across the head, over which the hair was combed back and fastened.

It was the fashion for ladies to wear necklaces when in dress. Some of these necklaces were composed of pearls, to which a gold locket would be attached — and others were simply gold beads, thirty-nine in number, about the size of a small pea.

In olden time, in full dress, ladies' shoes were made of satin and damask or of rich brocaded silk, the same as their dresses, with high wooden heels, afterward cork heels.

The shoes were generally fashioned with straps with large silver buckles, which was the fashion of those days for ladies as well as gentlemen. For a more common article of shoes various stuffs were in use, such as leather, woolen cloth, shalloon and russet.

Though the people raised their own flax and wool, and made their own cloth, gentlemen universally purchased a suit of English broadcloth, and ladies purchased a rich brocade or an India chintz for a gown on grand occasions.

Sheep-skins and buck-skins were dressed and made into breeches, as they were then styled, and were of nice quality, and worn by gentlemen.

Gentlemen, in those days, wore hats with broad brims, turned up into three corners, with loops at the side; long coats with large pocket folds and cuffs, and without collars. The buttons were commonly plated, but sometimes of silver, often as large as half a dollar. Shirts had bosom and wrist ruffles, and all wore gold or silver shirt buttons at the wrist, united by a link. The waistcoat was long with large pockets; and the neckcloth or scarf of fine white linen, muslin or figured stuff, brodered, and the ends falling loosely on the breast. The breeches were usually close, with silver buckles at the knees, with long gray stockings, which on holidays were exchanged for black or white silk.

Boots with broad white tops, or shoes with straps and large silver buckles, completed the costume of a gentleman. Clergymen when in dress wore black silk stockings.

All gentlemen who had reached the age of twenty-five or thirty-five years had two wigs; one for Sunday and one for ordinary every-day wear.

The Sunday wig was very expensive and elaborate. The hair was shaven closely, that the wig might be fitted to the head. The dress wig sometimes rose a foot above the head and came down on either side the head to the waist.

All elderly people who wore wigs usually removed them in the church during service, and supplied their place with a plain linen cap, or one knit of cotton or linen and of woolen in the winter; a small tassel on the top of the cap was the only ornament; clergymen when they made visits on their parishioners, removed the wig and hung it upon the pegs or heavy nails on the paneling of the walls; when leaving the cap was laid aside and the wig resumed its place.

Coat, vest, knee-breeches, of the long-waisted, single-breasted, large pocket-flapped kind were counted style in those days. They were made of snuff-brown silk of the quality of Mrs. Vicar Wakefield's wedding gown, that was bound to wear well.

Three-cornered cocked hats, plum-colored, crimson, green and purple velvet coats, embroidered waistcoats, buckles, powdered wigs and pig-tails, all were the going fashion previous to the Revolution. But these fashions were now waning.

Soon after the War of the Revolution the fashion of wearing wigs by gentlemen was discontinued, though some elderly gentlemen wore them till the commencement of the present century.

Gentlemen wore their hair in a queue, the front hair being brushed straight over the forehead.

Tailors and tailoresses went from house to house to make the clothing for men, with their shears and long pockets. The

coarse tow cloth was made into rough but durable clothing for workingmen.

Simplicity in dress, manners and equipage characterized these New England homes until quite a number of years after the Revolutionary War. As wealth increased broadcloth and silk began to take the place of home-spun.

Woolen and linen fabrics constituted the clothing. A silk dress then lasted a life-time and descended as an heir-loom from mother to daughter. Furs were quite common as there were so many wild animals. Bear skin muffs were the fashion. Strips of the bear skin were sewed alternately to silk or linen goods, as the skins were too heavy to be used as a whole. Black and white fox skins were in great demand and fine sets of European sable were common.

The visit of Lady Washington was noticed in the newspapers and one of her receptions described.

“Most of the ladies were arrayed in gorgeous brocade and taffeta luxuriously displayed on hoops with comely bodices laced around that ancient armour, the stay, disclosing most perilous waists, and with sleeves that clung to the arm as far as the elbow, when they took a graceful leave in ruffles, their hair all drawn back over cushions and falling in cataracts upon the shoulders, in shoes with formidable point to the toe and high tottering heels painfully cut in wood, with their tower built hats crowned with tall feathers.”

In a gentleman's style of dress the ruff gave place to the fashion of the falling collar, which began to increase in size as extravagantly as the ruff had done, until it was as big as a cape, made of the most expensive lace that could be woven. On the restoration of the Stuarts, Charles II and his court resumed the lace collar, but of more moderate dimensions. Gradually the collar became limper and limper until it disappeared, and a wisp of lawn, linen or lace took its place, and when tied loosely in a knot it was quite a graceful fashion, but

little by little the plain collar became the style with all its numerous changes of fashion.

During the time of the protector the Round Heads were as well known by their cropped hair and severe simplicity in dress as the Cavaliers had been by the extravagance of their attire. Their rich low collars were doomed to oblivion, and a plain piece of turned-down linen was adopted by the Puritans.

Samuel Slater* may be regarded as the founder of the town of Webster, as through the introduction of his manufacturing establishments of cotton and woolen fabrics, its population has been increased and its commercial celebrity has been established.

On young Slater's arrival in New York, he sought the patronage of Moses Brown of Providence, R. I., a gentleman extensively known in the country, and finally secured a partnership in business with Mr. Almy, the son-in-law of Mr. Brown.

He was styled the father (or founder) of the cotton manufacture of the United States. In October, 1791, some of the yarn first spun, and some of the cotton cloth first made from his yarn in America, was sent to the secretary of the United States to be preserved in the Treasury department.

In the year 1832 the town of Webster was formed from the towns of Dudley and Oxford with the territory of Oxford, known for many years as "Oxford South Gore," and another tract belonging to the Pegan Indians (a remnant tribe of the Nipmucks), which they had received from the town of Dudley for their relinquishment of certain rights to land located on

*Samuel Slater was a native of Belper, Derbyshire, England. He left for London September 1, 1789. On the 13th sailed for New York, and, after sixty-six days, arrived in that city. When ready to sail he despatched a letter by the post to his mother, informing her he had left England for the United States, thus avoiding the parting scene. His father died when he was but fourteen years of age. Samuel Slater was born June 28, 1768. He died in Oxford (now Webster) April 20, 1835.

Dudley hill, which was part of the land known formerly as 'Black, James & Co.'s Grant," surveyed to them in 1684.

This reservation was equal to about five miles square, made by the ancestors of these Indians in their deed procured by Hon. William Stoughton and Joseph Dudley, agents of the colony.*

Through the introduction of both cotton and woollen manufacture its chief prosperity and population has been introduced.

It is a subject of historical interest to ascertain by what means Mr. Slater became acquainted with the water-power at this place.

Mr. James Tiffany, of South Brimfield (now Wales), in Massachusetts, in often visiting Providence and Pawtucket, formed an acquaintance with Samuel Slater and his cotton manufacture at Pawtucket. Mr. Slater became interested in the young sons of Mr. Tiffany who were well educated for the time.

Mr. Tiffany recognizing Mr. Slater's superior business talents, requested him to take his sons and educate them for a mercantile position. On the father's recommendation alone Mr. Slater consented that one of the sons should be sent to him on trial. Soon after the eldest, Lyman, made his appearance at Pawtucket, and soon proved himself to be all the fond father had recommended, and became a favorite in Mr. Slater's family. Bela, a second son of Mr. Tiffany, soon followed his brother in Mr. Slater's care, and proved himself capable and satisfactory in the performance of the trust confided to him.

* "Six years after the close of the war, Eliot could claim but four towns in the State." One of these was Chaubunagungamaug (now Webster).—Drake, 179.

Rev. John Eliot, 1688, gives the name of the large pond as "Chabana-kongkomun." The nearest approach to a translation of the word is found in a collection of the Connecticut Historical Society (documents) by I. H. Trumbull, and was given as "The boundary fishing place," as the lake formed the boundary between the Nipmucks and Mulhekans, and was resorted to by both nations.

Mr. Slater to effect his plans, manufacturing establishments were to be erected in the country; he had made inquiry as to some suitable locations, when his friend Tiffany described to him the valuable water-power afforded by the outlet of the Chabanakongkomun pond.*

Mr. Tiffany, in his journeyings to and from Pawtucket and Providence, passed and repassed this outlet, which at that time was the principal way of travel, the more direct roads having since been opened for travel.

With the recommendation of this water-power by Mr. Tiffany, Mr. Slater despatched young Tiffany, then in his employ, in May, 1811, who, having examined the premises, writes Mr. Slater as follows:

FRANKLIN, *May 27, 1811.*

MR. SAMUEL SLATER:

DEAR SIR.—I was very much disappointed when I arrived at Mr. Rud's in Uxbridge, for I had no information of the cause why you were not there. True the letter came Friday night, but through mistake, being brought after I had retired, was put into the post-office, and when I returned on Sunday morning (having been up to the pond), it was taken out of the office, and fortunately I found it; but I thought it best to pursue the intended journey, by which I could in some measure satisfy myself, which is as follows:

Buildings—Large two-story house unfinished inside, built for two families; grist-mill with two run of stones, tolerably good; a very good saw-mill, and a trip-hammer shop in good repair, 11 with about 13 or 14 acres of land, one-half of which is swamp of very little value, and the rest not very good. With regard to water and fall, there is no doubt enough to

* Lake Chabanakongkomun is a beautiful lake which extends over an area of 1,200 acres of land. The shores and its heavily wooded islands add much to the beauty of scenery.

answer any purpose we should want, and so situated that a mill may be erected with as little expense as in any place I have seen; it is convenient to the road, and I believe quite secure from inundation.

The principal objection, in my opinion, is that it is the most benighted part of the globe, 4 miles from Oxford, 3 from Dudley, $6\frac{1}{2}$ from Thompson, where the corners of the three towns intersect each other.

Terms are as follows: Four thousand dollars are the lowest terms; one thousand dollars down, in two years one thousand more, and then one thousand yearly until balance is paid or if at the expiration of one year the residue is paid that is the three thousand dollars, a deduction of one hundred will be made, which I consider no object. I have the refusal at the above stipulation until the 20th of June, but he said it would oblige him if we could determine soon, as two men were expected to look at the place the 20th instant, who had seen it before and solicited him to join them and erect a mill but he said he preferred to sell right out, as a farm life would be most agreeable to himself and family, and says that if I will sell my farm he will look at it, and did it suit him, give a fair price, which will be some advantage to me, because it will almost pay him for the privilege. There is a farm adjoining the mill site of about 220 acres of land, a dwelling-house and barn, for sale, for about \$3,000, which, if it should be wanted, may be had, and which may be worth very near that money. If you feel desirous to have the place, you will please write me, for I told him he should hear from me within that time, one way or the other.

Your obedient servant,
BELA TIFFANY.

This valuable water-power afforded by the outlet of Chabana-kongkomun lake was purchased by Samuel Slater.

With Mr. Slater's approval of purchasing this water-power and some adjoining lands, the purchases were made in Mr. Tiffany's individual name; bought of three different parties — $9\frac{1}{2}$ acres in two parcels, of Elisha Pratt, for the consideration \$3,700.

One of these parcels of four acres contained a dwelling-house and barn, grist-mill and saw-mill, a trip-hammer shop, coal-house, and an old building formerly a grist-mill.

The date of this first is "January 6, 1812," and, as expressed in this deed, the land was located partly in each, Dudley and Oxford.

The second purchase was 203 acres, situated in the towns of Dudley and Oxford, bought of Asa and Samuel Robinson, with the buildings, for the consideration of \$3,500, by deed dated "January 28, 1812."

A third lot was bought of Josiah Kingsbury, of 56 acres, with a dwelling-house, and clothing-mill thereon, for the consideration of \$1,800, by deed dated "May 4, 1812."

The three purchases contained $268\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land, with the aforesaid buildings and mills, giving the entire control of the outlet and water-power connected with the large pond before named, were secured, for the total sum of \$9,000. Mr. Bela Tiffany sold to Samuel Slater five-sixths of all this estate at the precise cost to him, \$7,500, making a joint-interest to be held in common and undivided, he reserving one-sixth for himself. This deed is dated "11th of December, 1812," and witnessed by Samuel A. Hitchcock and Lorin Tiffany, who were at that time there acting in the capacity of clerks for Slater & Tiffany.

The cotton-factory, known as the "Green mill," was erected during the year 1812, and the manufacture of cotton into yarn was first begun here in 1813.

It appears that the dye and bleaching buildings were built at the same time, and placed under the care of Mr. John Tyson from England, who, it appears, held a joint interest in the business. Mr. Tyson continued connected with the dye-house

business from seven to eight years — his health became impaired, and after one or more voyages to Bermuda for relief, he died of consumption August 2, 1821.

In about 1814 Samuel Slater commenced the woolen manufacture. At this time was commenced the making of broadcloths under the charge of Edward Howard, who came from England.

Edward Howard it is said or believed was among the first — if not exclusively so — to introduce the manufacture of American broadcloth.

Mr. Slater's business here had been confined to the water-power connected with the Chabanakongkomun pond, at the East village, but this year, 1821, associated with Mr. Howard, he made a location upon the French river, now known as the South village.

Messrs. Slater & Tiffany, besides the management of the cotton manufacture and dying and bleaching business, a store was added, and thus further purchases of real estate continued. The great depression in the cotton manufacture which followed the close of the war between Great Britain and the United States, December, 1814, consequent upon the large importation of English manufactures, caused Mr. Tiffany to sell all his interest in this business to Mr. Slater. The date of deed "November 27, 1816."

Mr. Bela Tiffany, after retiring from his partnership with Mr. Slater, entered upon the commission sale of American cotton and wool manufactures in Boston and New York, and after retiring from business he became a resident of Southbridge, became interested in forming the Southbridge bank, and many public improvements. He died June 29, 1851, aged 65 years.

July 18, 1821, Edward Howard bought land of William Wakefield and Gibbs Dodge, executors of Solomon Wakefield. Another tract of William Wakefield. And a third tract from David Wakefield, and a fourth tract, a wood lot; bought of Daniel Mansfield a tract of land.

This embraced several mills and buildings, where the woolen works are now located.

The business was now conducted here in the name of Slater & Howard. Slater & Howard purchased tracts of additional land.

Slater & Howard purchased the village factory estate, Nov. 6, 1824. Dana A. Braman, William M. Benedict and Jason Waters. Together with the village factory, dwelling-houses and the water privilege belonging to the cotton, woolen and linen manufacturing company, reference being had to the deed of Samuel Waters, and others to above village factory company.

VILLAGE FACTORY SALE.

To this estate was added additional purchase, in which was included the Peter Pond wood lot of about twenty acres, on the west side of French river.

The style of this firm was Slater & Howard. January 2, 1829, Edward Howard sells to Samuel Slater of Oxford, George B. Slater and Horatio Nelson Slater, his one undivided half of the property of the woolen manufacturing company.

This includes all the water power supplied by the French river within the limits of Webster.

"It may be said that Bela Tiffany, John Tyson and Edward Howard were the chief managers in executing the plans of Mr. Slater, in founding the principal business of Webster, and that which furnishes its chief prosperity and growth as a town."

It appears that after the Revolutionary War Rev. Samuel Waters and other Baptist clergymen preached occasionally. In 1790 the east part of the town was the principal place of holding services. In 1798 a reorganization of this church took place in the east part of Dudley, which subsequently became the town of Webster, and Solomon Wakefield was ordained as their minister. Its principal members were Joseph Wakefield, William Wakefield, Paul Robinson, Silas Robinson.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE INTER-COLONIAL WARS.

I. *King William's War.*

There is found, dated April, 1690, a quaint old agreement among the "Bernon Papers." Gabriel Bernon,* the president of the Huguenot settlement of Oxford, enters upon an agreement with one Jean Barre, a fellow refugee, promising to furnish him with "one fire-lock muskett of three pounds valeu, one pistoll of twenty shillings price, one Carthuse Boxe of three shillings one hatchet of two shillings," and other necessaries, besides three pounds in money, "for his now intended voyage on Board the good shipp called the *Porkepine*, Capt. Ciprian Southack, commander, now bound to sea in a war fareing voyage." Captain Southack was a Boston skipper, who became noted at a later day for his success in breaking up piracy.

The "good ship *Porcupine*" belonged to the fleet that was then getting ready to sail from Boston harbor, under Sir William Phipps; and the "war fareing voyage" in question was the expedition for the capture of Port Royal, in Nova Scotia, which Massachusetts sent forth in the spring of the year 1690, preliminary to the enterprise then on foot for the conquest of Canada.

The expedition for the capture of Port Royal was thoroughly successful, and it awakened eager hopes in Boston for the more important undertaking of which this was but the first step — the attack about to be made upon Quebec.

None were more keenly interested in these movements than the newly-arrived Huguenots in Boston.

During King William's War in 1690, in the winter, most of

* Gabriel Bernon, the founder of Oxford, Mass.

the frontier settlements in Maine and New Hampshire were destroyed by the French and Indians, and in other parts of the country.

Sir William Phipps commanded a small fleet from Massachusetts Bay, and captured the old French settlement of Port Royal in Nova Scotia.

Rev. Grindal Rawson* went as a chaplain with the fleet, "receiving his appointment from the Governor, confirmed by both houses, July 31, 1690," to accompany the general and forces to carry on the worshipping of God in that expedition."

A translation of a letter written in French in 1691 :

"Our fleet," wrote Benjamin Faneuil, in great glee, on the 22d of May, to Thomas Bureau in London, "which we sent out from here to take Port Royal, has sent back a ketch, which has arrived this day, with news of the taking of the place. On capitulation they have seized six ketches or brigantines, loaded with wine, brandy and salt, together with the governor and seventy soldiers, and have demolished the fort. They have also taken twenty-four very fine pieces of cannon and thirty barrels of powder. We expect them hourly. Our fleet, which was composed of six vessels, one of which carried forty guns, will be re-enforced with a number of strong ships, and will be sent with twelve hundred men and some Indians to take Canada. I hope it will succeed." †

In 1696 Gabriel Bernon, son of the refugee, was engaged in trade between Boston, Portsmouth and Port Royal with Charles de La Tour, who resided at Port Royal.

De La Tour, in November or December of that year, "was arrested when about to proceed from Portsmouth to Acadia

* Rev. Grindal Rawson was the son of Edward Rawson (Secretary of State) and the ancestor of John Rawson, who became a resident of Oxford (now Webster) in 1774.

† Sir William Phipps commanded this fleet, and it is said returned to Boston, having "obtained considerable booty."

or Nova Scotia — just then under British rule — and his sloop was condemned as a lawful prize, under charge of having violated one of the provisions of the oppressive navigation laws, as well as a recent enactment of the colonial legislature of Massachusetts, that prohibited all commerce between that colony and Nova Scotia. This enactment, which had been inspired by the suspicion that the French — then at war with England — obtained supplies at Port Royal, bore very heavily on the Acadians, who depended so greatly for subsistence upon their dealing with New England.”

“You can well see,” wrote young Bernon to his father, then in England, “from the manner in which this people treat us, that it will be impossible for us to live any longer among them without strong recommendation to the governor, who is expected soon. They commit the greatest possible injustice toward the inhabitants of Acadia; for whilst they assume to take them under their protection, they pass laws that condemn them to perish with cold and hunger; and if they do any thing contrary to the interests of the English, they punish them as subjects of the king of England.”— *Bernon Papers*.*

II. *Queen Anne's War.*

The peace of Ryswick did not long continue. In 1702 England declared war against France and Spain, and the American colonies were engaged in the contest called in America Queen Anne's War. After continuing eleven years this was closed by a treaty made in 1713 at Utrecht, a town in Holland.

III. *The Spanish War.*

In October, 1739, after some quarter of a century had passed, England and Spain were engaged in war with each other.

During the contest England called upon her American colonies to furnish soldiers to aid an English fleet, and in captur-

* Huguenot Emigration, vol. 1, p. 140.

ing Spanish settlements in the West Indies. Four thousand men were furnished from the colonies.

The enterprise terminated disastrously to the English, and but a few hundred men ever returned to their homes.

There is no record of men furnished for this war.*

IV. *King George's War.*

The Spanish War of 1739 had merged into King George's War. The capture of Louisburg, situated on the island of Cape Breton, from the French, was the most important event of this war, as it commanded the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

In the summer of 1745 it was taken by an army from New England under command of Sir William Pepperell of Maine, aided by an English fleet that sailed from Boston.

King George's War ended in 1748 by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

The French held a strong line of posts from the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi. The French were strongly allied with the Indians, and announced their claims by nailing to the trees and sinking in the earth leaden plates bearing the arms of France.

This State contributed forces to the army which laid siege to Louisburg. Oxford and the neighboring towns shared in the excitement which prevailed in the colonies. April 7, 1745: "This day is a fast day to implore of God his mercy and smiles on our expedition to Cape Breton against Louisburg, the stronghold of the French on that island." July 18: A public thanksgiving was held "on ye occasion of ye taking of Cape

*Ebenezer Waters, son of Richard Waters, Esq., formerly of Salem, subsequently of Manchung farm, adjacent to Oxford, now in Sutton, was on this expedition under Admiral Vernon, and died at Cuba. At his decease a valuable gun belonging to him was returned to his friends, and is still retained as a relic with a descendant of the Waters family.

Breton." On the return of the army to Boston the soldiers were received with transports of joy.

French and Indian War.

Early in the spring of 1755 General Braddock landed in Virginia with two British regiments. He had been appointed commander-in-chief of all the forces in the provinces. Four expeditions were planned. These were to be sent against Fort Duquesne, Nova Scotia, Crown Point and Niagara.

The force which went against the French on the Ohio was led by Braddock himself, Colonel Washington acting as an aide-de-camp. The British general was ignorant of Indian warfare, yet too self-confident to heed the prudent counsels which Washington gave him. When within a few miles of Fort Duquesne, his army was surprised July 9 by a small party of French, with their Indian allies, and routed with terrible slaughter. Braddock was mortally wounded.

Capt. Ebenezer Learned, a son of Lieut.-Col. Ebenezer Learned of Oxford, in 1756, with his company of soldiers, marched to the seat of war, and as a part of Col. Ruggles' regiment was in camp Sept. 9 at Lake George.

At this time in Oxford there were two companies of militia, commanded, respectively, by Edward Davis and Samuel Davis, brothers, from both of which soldiers were furnished in a new company under Capt. Learned.

While preparations for the northern expedition were in progress Col. Chandler wrote to the authorities at Boston as follows:

"WORCESTER, *April 22*, 1756.

"The bearer, Capt. Ebenezer Learned, is to have command of a company of men in Col. Ruggles' regiment, and as guns and stores will be wanted for his company he will engage to bring them up if you please. * * * What Learned engages to do will be faithfully done." *

* Massachusetts Archives, LXXV, 536.

The following are the names of soldiers from Oxford :

Ebenezer Learned, captain ; Elisha Rich (Sutton), lieutenant ; Elijah Towne, sergeant. Privates : Joseph Baker, Solomon Smellige, Ebenezer Davis, John Barnes, Elijah Curtis, Hezekiah Eddy, Samuel Manning, Jonathan Eddy, Isaac Learned, Jr., Caleb Barton, Jr., Stephen Shumway, Samuel Baker, Josiah Kingsbury, Jr.

Philip Richardson's company, August, 1756, in Ruggles' regiment : Enoch Jones, sergeant ; Noah McIntire ; Philip McIntire ; Captain Dresser, Charlton District.

Tradition states that Rev. John Campbell was styled " Old Col. Campbell " at this time, and was much interested in Capt. Learned and his soldiers who left Oxford to join Col. Ruggles' regiment stationed at Lake George, and personally had ably seconded Capt. Learned by his knowledge of the science of military tactics.

Mr. Campbell was called " as great a swordsman as he was a gownsmen." He was also a proficient in fencing.

Fort William Henry taken August 3, 1757. Marquis de Montcalm laid siege and compelled its garrison to surrender.

The prisoners were promised safe escort to the English fort, held by Gen. Webb, but the savages fell on them as they began their march, and the French officers were unable to prevent them from being plundered, and some of them were massacred. The militia of Massachusetts hastened to their rescue.

August 10. Detachments from the two Oxford companies marched as far as Sheffield, one hundred and five miles, and were out sixteen days.

First detachment, date of roll, August 18 : Edward Davis, captain ; John Edwards, lieutenant ; Jeremiah Learned, ensign ; Jedediah Barton, sergeant ; Joseph Edwards, sergeant ; John Town, sergeant ; Phinehas Ward, corporal ; Moses Town, corporal ; Alexander Nichols, Jacob Comins, Ebenezer Eddy,

John Wiley, William Eddy, Joseph Phillips, Jr., Israel Phillips ("detached and sent to Stockbridge"), Daniel Fairfield, John Duncan, Hezekiah Merriam, Jr., Jonathan Phillips, Silas Town, Samuel Larned, Ebenezer Gale, Jr., Joseph Gleason, Sannel Eddy, Jr., Elisha Gleason, Moses Gleason, Jr., Joseph Goggins ("detached and sent to Stockbridge"), Josiah Wolcott, Aaron Parker, Edmund Town, Joseph Pratt, Jesse Pratt, Nathan Shumway, David Pratt, privates.

The second detachment: Samuel Davis, captain; John Larned, captain; Elisha Davis, sergeant; John Nichols, sergeant; Amos Shumway, sergeant; William Parker, sergeant; Jeremiah Shumway, corporal; John Davis, corporal; Thomas Town, Isaac Larned, Jonas Collier, John Shumway, William Nichols, John Bartor, Jonathan Fuller, Ichabod Town, Joseph Pratt, Jr., Stephen Jewett, Joseph Davis, Benjamin Hudson, John Marvin, Isaac Town, Adams Streeter, Arthur Humphrey, Peter Shumway, Joseph Kingsbury, Jeremiah Kingsbury, Roger Amidown, Abijah Harris, Zebulon Streeter, John Dana, Samuel Manning, John Watson, John Robbins, John Coburn, John Shumway, Jr., William Comins, William Learned, Joseph Wilson, John Moore, privates.

The company were mounted and marched under Capt. Davis to Springfield, and thence to Sheffield under Capt. Larned.

In October, 1757, Capt. John Larned with twenty-nine men, of whom twelve were of Oxford, called the "Minute Expedition," marched as far as Westfield, being out from October 20 to November 11 — three weeks and two days.

Roll: John Larned, captain; Jonathan (?) Nichols, lieutenant; Jacob Cummins, sergeant; Jeremiah Shumway, corporal; Joseph Davis, John Duncan, Ebenezer Fish, Nathan Moore, Ebenezer Eddy, William Lamb, John Nichols, Elijah Larned, Arthur Humphrey, privates.

A roll of Capt. Joshua Meriam, North Gore, September 26, 1758, gives: Joshua Meriam, captain; Uriah Stone, clerk;

Isaac Hartwell, Robert Meriam, Hezezhiah Eddy, Elijah Curtis, Ebenezer Lock, Paul Wheelock, — Wheelock, Jonas Hammond, Ebenezer Hammond, John Thompson, David Wheelock, corporal; Nehemiah Stone, corporal; Jesse Smith, Elijah Stoddard, Aaron Thompson, Uriah Ward, Simon Mory, Zenas Mory, Asa Jones, Malachi Partridge, Peter W——n, Joseph Parker, Job Weld.

These were in service 1757, marched to relieve the province forts, went to Sheffield, were out eight days and returned.

SHEFFIELD, *August 15, 1757.*

Capt. MERRIAM — Upon fresh advice from Gen. Webb your further Proceeding on your march appears innecessary, and the Exigency of the affairs of many of your Company urge their Return home. You are hereby ordered to march them to ye country Gore, all except Zenas Moréy, and Discharge them unless you Receive Counter orders afterwards, for which this shall be your sufficient Warrant.

GARD'R CHANDLER, *Major.*

Feb. 6, 1760. Capt. Jeremiah Learned's company includes the following: Jeremiah Learned, captain; Jonathan Holman of Sutton, lieutenant; William Lamb, Samuel Learned, Reuben Barton, corporals; David Pratt, Jr., Thomas Eddy, Edward Davis, Jr., Hezekiah Meriam, Jr., Samuel Manning, Jr., Ebenezer Lamb, privates. All of Oxford.

This company, most of the members of which were from Charlton and Sutton, was in 1760 at Ticonderoga.

Other Oxford men, known to have been in the service, were: Israel Whitney, in Cape Breton expedition, 1745; Jonas Gleason, Cape Breton expedition, January, 1752; William Campbell, in Louisburg expedition, 1758; Naphtali Streeter, 1759; Richard Rogers, 1760; Edmund Barton, Samuel Call (Jacob and Josiah Towne, sons of Jonathan Towne, were at

Fort Edward 1755; Jacob died at Fort Edward, and was buried in the woods by his brother Josiah. John Streeter died November, 1756, at Sheffield), Benjamin Davis (Lieut. Samuel Jennison, 1756, not from Oxford).

On a roll of Capt. McFarland's company, February 3, 1761: Abijah Gale, Micah Pratt, Abraham Pratt, Nathaniel Smith, Reuben, son of Oliver Shumway, William Lackey and Joseph Goggins. All of Oxford.

1758. A return of men enlisted in John Chandler's regiment for the invasion of Canada, under Gen. Amherst: John Boyle, Elijah Town, Abraham Pratt, William Lackey, sergeant; Joseph Goggins, Moses Town, Solomon Comings, Samuel Streeter, Abijah Gale, John Duncan, Nathan Moore, David Towne, John Ballard, Abel Levens, Peter Shumway, Jonathan Phillips, Elijah Larned, Richard Moore, 3d, Zebulon Streeter. All of Oxford.

In 1759 the following men of Oxford were enlisted in the expedition against Crown Point: Samuel Davis, Capt. John Learned, Capt. Elisha Davis, Sergt. John Nichols, Sergt. Amos Shumway, Sergt. Wm. Parker, Sergt. Jeremiah Shumway, Corp. John Davis, Corp. Ebenezer Learned, Elijah Town, John Wiley, Jr., Hezekiah Eddy, Jonathan Eddy, Stephen Shumway, Caleb Barton, Jr., Ebenezer Davis, Samuel Manning, Solomon Smiledge, Isaac Learned, Jr., John Barnes, Wm. Simpson, George Alverson, Caleb Barton, Peter Shumway, Elisha Blandin, Francis Blandin, Jonas Blandin, Ezekiel Collier, Solomon Cook, Ebenezer Robbins, Joseph Phillips, Josiah Kingsbury, Joseph Bacon, Elisha Ward, Arthur Daggett, Elijah Kingsbury.

On a roll of Capt. Newhall's company, Leicester, are Joseph Goggins, Joseph Kingsbury, Israel Phillips, Zebulon Streeter. All of Oxford.

Joseph Goggins was in Capt. White's company, and served through the campaign.

July, 1758, Canada surrendered. A large fleet aided the army of Gen. Amherst, who was sent to capture Louisburg. The fortress was won by the English. The whole island of Cape Breton was reduced, for Louisburg, the key of the Canadas, was taken.

In July, 1759, Niagara yielded, and a few weeks later Ticonderoga was surrendered and Crown Point abandoned.

September 13, Gen. Wolfe's victory at Quebec.

September 6, 1760, Gen. Amherst assembled a large force before Montreal, and two days later French dominion in Canada ended, and "all that magnificent structure which the genius of Champlain and the patient labors of the French Jesuits had devotedly raised, vanished."

In 1755 the expedition against Acadia, or Nova Scotia, captured the French forts in that province, and the entire country east of the Penobscot became subject to the British authority. But this success was disgraced by cruelty. Several thousands of these French colonists were accused of disloyalty to the English, and were driven on board ships by British soldiers. These unfortunate people were taken from their homes, and many were separated from their friends never to meet again.

These French prisoners were scattered throughout the colonies. Many families came to Worcester county, and some were consigned to Oxford and other towns.

On June 2, 1757, Duncan Campbell of Oxford represented to the General Court "that the selectmen of Newton bound out to him five children of some of the late inhabitants of Nova Scotia; that on his placing them at Worcester their parents followed them there, and as the result they all went away." Asking allowance, on which was voted him 42 shillings, 3½ pence.

In November Mr. Campbell presented another memorial setting forth that: "Last May session [he] preferred a petition to the honorable court that £17, 13s. 4d. might be allowed [him] for transporting from Cambridge to Oxford and keeping some

French neutrals, * * * from which [he] hath never received any profit or service, they refusing to work — that upon said petition said court was pleased to allow [him] no more than 42s. 3½d. — that the honorable board have sent your petitioner's servants to the town of Dedham, and so he is deprived of any service from them until this time, notwithstanding the great expense he was put to in maintaining them. * * *

He prays he may be allowed the remainder of his account, "or that he may have an order from the honorable court to take those that were bound to him from Dedham and compel them to work."

The chief item in his bill was for boarding the family at Capt. Thomas Sterne's, Worcester. Upon this petition, on March 20, 1758, in the House of Representatives, £5, 9s. and 4 pence were ordered paid, but the council non-concurred.

On August 26, 1757, a warrant was drawn to pay from the treasury of the colony £15, 6s. 6d. to the selectmen of Oxford for the support of "French from Nova Scotia sent there."

A family named LeBlanc came to Oxford. Supplies from March 10, 1758, to May 24, 1759, were furnished them by Dr. Alexander Campbell, for which he sent a bill of £21 to the Legislature. From May, 1759, to March, 1760, Edward Davis, Esq., provided for them at an expense of £18. This family, father, mother and nine children, later removed to Brimfield.

A petition had been sent to his excellency, the governor-general of the province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, and to the honorable gentlemen of the council, that in these French families parents and children should not be separated. "That houses be provided for each family, so they may keep together."

After the close of the war, in the first regiment, Worcester county militia, March, 1763, were officers from Oxford as follows: Edward Davis, major; First Oxford Co., Elisha Davis, captain; John Nichols, lieutenant; William Larned, ensign;

Second Oxford Co., Jeremiah Learned, captain ; Jedediah Barton, lieutenant ; John Towne, Jr., ensign. In 1771 : Edward Davis, major ; First Oxford Co., Elisha Davis, captain ; Ephraim Ballard, first lieutenant ; William Watson, second lieutenant ; Thomas Towne, ensign ; Second Oxford Co., Joseph Phillips, captain ; Samuel Eddy, lieutenant ; Isaac Putnam, ensign.

NOTE.—

PROVINCE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

SPENCER PHIPS, ESQ., *Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief, in*
[SEAL] *and over His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay, New*
England, etc.

To SAMUEL DAVIS, *Gentleman*, greeting :

By virtue of the Power and Authority, in and by His Majesty's Royal Commission, to Me granted, to be Lieutenant-Governor over His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay aforesaid, and Commander-in-Chief during the Absence of the Captain-General, I do (by these Presents), reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Loyalty Courage and good Conduct, constitute and appoint You, the said Samuel Davis, to be Second Lieutenant of the Foot Company in the Town of Oxford, under the command of Lieut.-Col. Ebenezer Learned, in the the first Regiment of Militia in the County of Worcester, whereof John Chandler, Esq., Colonell.

You are, therefore, carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty of a Second Lieutenant in leading, ordering and exercising said Company in Arms, both inferiour Officers and Soldiers, and to keep them in good Order and Discipline ; hereby commanding them to obey you as their Second Lieutenant, and yourself to observe and follow such Orders and Instructions as you shall from Time to Time receive from Me, or the Commander-in-Chief for the Time being, or other your Superiour Officers for His Majesty's Service, according to Military Rules and Discipline, pursuant to the Trust reposed in You.

Given under my Hand and Seal at Arms, at Boston, the Eighth Day of November, In the Twenty-Sixth Year of the Reign of His Majesty, King George the Second, *Annoq Domini*, 1752.

S. PHIPS.

By Order of the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor.

I. WILLARD, *Secretary*.

NOTE.—Brigadier-General Learned of Oxford, and Col. Jonathan Holman of Sutton, had both been veterans in the British service in Canada during the "French War." It is said that General Learned and Colonel Holman suffered much while in this service, particularly in the vicinity of Lake George and Ticonderoga.

Holman and Learned each retired from service in the French and Indian War with a commission of Major.

In the French and Indian War Capt. Ebenezer Learned was appointed by the Crown to weigh out the gold and silver bullion to make payments to the soldiers.

CHAPTER XXV.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

The Stamp Act was passed by the Parliament of England in 1765.

The Assembly and people of Massachusetts, being regarded by the authorities of England as most active in their disloyalty to their sovereign, two regiments were sent to Boston.

The troops arrived in the autumn of 1768, and landing, marched into town with offensive parade.

The following ancient account exhibits the sentiments of the people of Boston on their arrival:

"On Friday, Sept. 30th, 1768, the Ships of War, Armed Schooner, Transports, etc., came up the Harbour and Anchored round the Town; their cannon loaded, a spring on their Cables as for a regular Siege."

"At noon on Saturday, October the 1st the fourteenth and twenty-ninth Regiments a detachment from the 59th Regt. and train of Artillery with two pieces of Cannons landed on the Long Wharf; there Formed and Marched with Insolent Parade, drums beating, fifes playing, and Colours flying up King Street. Each soldier having received 16 rounds of Powder and Ball."

The fleet consisted of ships *Beaver*, *Senegal*, *Martin*, *Glasgow*, *Mermaid*, *Romney*, *Launceston* and *Bonetta*.

[The wharf at the right or north of Long wharf is Hancock's wharf; the north battery is shown at the extreme right.

The dedication in the lower right-hand corner is as follows:

To the Earl of Hillsborough,

His Majest^y. Ser. y of State for America.

This view of the only well Plan'd Expedition formed for supporting ye dignity of Britain and chastising ye insolence of America.

Humly Inscrib'd.

A view was taken of part of the town of Boston in New England and British ships of war landing their troops 1768.

Engraved, printed and sold by Paul Revere, Boston.*

In September, 1774, the report of various disturbances in Boston aroused the whole country. Powder stored in Cambridge by the patriots was removed to Boston by a detachment of troops under orders from Gov. Gage. The people immediately rushed out in great excitement loudly denouncing the act and demanding the restitution of the powder.

"In the clamor and confusion a report was somehow started that the British fleet and garrison had commenced hostilities, and swift-footed messengers caught this rumor, and hurried with it in various directions. It was afterward asserted that this story was sent out by patriot leaders for the express purpose of showing the British government the temper and spirit of the colonies. If this were so they gained their end. The rumor flew on three great traveled routes, gaining in flight."

"Southward, it came to Esquire Wolcott of Oxford, who forthwith posted his son John Wolcott, off to Boston, 'to learn the certainty,' but receiving further confirmations of the great news at Grafton, the young man turned back, and took it straightway to Curtis' tavern in Dudley. One Clark, a trader, caught it up and hurried it on to his father in Woodstock.

* One of these engravings (now very rare) is in the possession of George W. Sigourney, Esq., a descendant of Capt. Andrew Sigourney of Boston, afterward of Oxford.

Capt. Clark in hot haste bore it on to Captain Keyes of Pomfret, and he at 11 A. M., Saturday, Sept. 3, brought it to Col. Israel Putnam. Hitherto the news had gone from mouth to mouth like the highland war cry :

‘ Boston our Boston is in need !
Speed forth the signal : patriots, speed.’

“ But now Putnam gave it a more tangible form by scrawling off the following to Capt. Aaron Cleveland of Canterbury :

“ ‘ CAPTAIN CLEVELAND. — Mr. Keyes has this A. M. brought us the news that the Men of War and troops began to fire on the people of Boston last night at sunset, when a post was sent immediately off to inform the country. He informs that the artillery played all night, that the people are universally (rallied from Boston) as far as here in arms, and desires all the assistance possible. It (alarm) was occasioned by the country people’s being robbed of their powder from (Boston) as far as Framingham, and when found out the people went to take the soldiers and six of our people were killed on the spot, and several were wounded. Beg you will rally all the forces you can and be on the march immediately for the relief of Boston and the people that way. — I. P.’

“ ‘ Fast as hoof could fly ’ this was carried to Cleveland, countersigned by him, and sent by express ‘ along to Norwich and elsewhere.’ Reaching Norwich at 4 P. M., it was forwarded by Capt. John Durkee, at New London. It was indorsed by Richard Law, Nathaniel Shaw, and Samuel Parsons, and hurried on to New Haven and New York.

“ Gaining credence and fresh signatures at every stopping place it speeded southward ; and at nine o’clock Tuesday morning, just seventy hours from Pomfret, it was laid before the Continental Congress, just assembling in Philadelphia. Thus from Boston to Pennsylvania the whole country had been aroused. From the great centres the news had spread in every quarter.

The hour of conflict had come. Boston was attacked and all were summoned to her relief. Never was rallying cry more effective. Coming from Putnam and endorsed by prominent and responsible men, it was everywhere received and obeyed.

“‘To arms,’ was the quick response, and thousands hurried to the rescue. A thousand men took up arms in the three lower counties of Delaware, twenty-thousand were reported *en route* in Connecticut. The summons coming on Sunday it had the effect of putting that Puritan Colony ‘into alarm and motion on the Lord’s day.’ Col. Putnam’s missive was read publicly in most of the congregations, and furnished the text for many a stirring exhortation.

“In many of the more distant towns the messenger brought the tidings to the meeting-house in the midst of divine service, and worthy members of the church militant left the sanctuary for the battle-field. Even ministers were said, to have left their pulpits for the gun and drum, and set off for Boston.’ In Norwich, Putnam’s letter was ‘printed off, and circulated through the town in hand bills,’ and on Sunday morning over four hundred men, well armed and mostly mounted upon good horses, started for Boston under command of Major John Durkee.

“Two hundred ardent volunteers, well armed and mounted, left Windham at sunrise, and bodies of men were despatched from all the other towns of Windham County. Putnam having sent the despatch, set out himself with four comrades for the scene of action, and had proceeded as far northward as Douglas when he heard ‘that the alarm was false and Massachusetts forces returning.’ He immediately turned back and after a sixty-mile ride reached home at sunrise, and ‘sent the contradiction along to stop the forces marching or rallying’

“The Norwich troops were met seven miles from their town with the intelligence *via* Providence that the report was without foundation. The Windham men marched on to Massachu-

setts line before receiving counter tidings. This revelation that the great mass of the people were ready to take up arms whenever occasion called them greatly cheered the patriot leaders, and stimulated them to farther resistance.”*

The report of this uprising excited much interest at home and abroad “Words cannot express,” wrote Putnam and his committee in behalf of five hundred men under arms at Pomfret, “the gladness discovered by every one at the appearance of a door being opened to avenge the many abuses and insults which those foes to liberty have offered to our brethren in your town and province. But for counter intelligence we should have had forty thousand well equipped and ready to march this morning. Send a written express to the foreman of this committee when you have occasion for our martial assistance.” The rapid transmission of the news was considered very remarkable. On Nov. 12 it reached England and the report on its reception there comes back to New York on January 20.

OXFORD IN THE REVOLUTION.

The proceedings of Oxford during the Revolution are a representation of the acts in other towns in the State.

In almost every town there was a “Committee of Correspondence, Inspection and Safety,” whose office was to give information of the proceedings of the American Congress, the state government and that of other towns.

September 29, 1774, the people of Oxford resolved, “That we ever have been, and will be true and loyal subjects of our most gracious Sovereign George III, King of Great Britain, so long as we are permitted the free execution of our charter rights.”

At the same meeting, Voted, “Dr. Alexander Campbell and Capt. Ebenezer Learned to attend the Provincial Congress, at

* History of Windham County, by Miss Ellen Douglas Learned.

Concord, on the second Tuesday of October next, or at any other town in the province that shall be agreed upon."

The Continental Congress, which was then in session at Philadelphia, resulted in the publication of a "Bill of Rights," which was submitted to the people. One article of high practical importance was the "Non-Importation Compact." They agreed, and associated themselves and their constituents, under the sacred ties of virtue, honor and the love of liberty, not to import or use any British goods after the 1st day of December, 1774, particularly the article of tea. Committees were to be appointed in every place to see that this agreement was observed, and those who violated it were to be denounced as enemies to the rights of their country.*

Of the great men who composed this Congress, Lord Chatham remarked in the British Parliament as follows :

"That, though he had studied and admired the free states of antiquity — the master spirits of the world — yet, for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, no body of men could stand in preference to this Congress ; in the presence of their own peculiar difficulties did not forget the cause of suffering humanity, but made, with other resolutions, one by which they bound themselves, not to be in any way concerned in the Slave Trade."

* In November a meeting was called "to hear some Resolves of the Grand Congress," and also of the Provincial Congress, and act thereon. At this meeting Edward Davis was moderator. Adjourned to December 16. "Then met" and voted "that the Province Tax in the hands of the Constables be paid into the town treasury, and the town will protect said Constables," and chose Lieut. William Campbell, Daniel Phillips and Lieut. Samuel Eddy a committee of inspection to see that the association of the Continental Congress be duly observed. These articles of association were adopted in Continental Congress October 24, 1774. By them the members, for themselves and their constituents, "under the sacred ties of virtue, honor and love of country," agreed not to import or use English goods, not to import or purchase slaves,

January 12, 1775, Voted and chose Col. Ebenezer Learned to meet with the Provincial Congress at Cambridge on the first day February next, or sooner if needed.

March 6, 1775, At the town meeting, Voted, That there shall be ten stands of fire arms fixed with bayonets provided by the Select men at the cost of the town and kept for those men that are not able to find themselves arms.

“ Voted that we will in all reasonable ways and means whatso-

or tea brought from the East Indies, but to encourage the growing of wool and the raising of finer breeds of sheep, to favor frugality, economy and industry, and promote agriculture, the arts and manufactures among the people; to discourage dissipation, horse-racing, gaming, shows, etc., to wear no mourning for deceased friends excepting crape on the hat, or black ribbons and necklaces for ladies, and to furnish no gloves at funerals; to take no advantage of a scarcity of an article to raise the price thereof, and to withdraw fellowship and patronage from all who did not adhere to the scales of prices which might be adopted. They also recommended that in every State, county and town committees be appointed to see that these articles be observed.

On June 29, 1775, Provincial Congress sent to the towns for army supplies thirteen thousand coats, which had been promised, one each to the eight-months' soldiers. On August 30 the selectmen sent to public stores five shirts, five pairs of breeches and nine pairs of stockings. On October 16, thirty-seven coats. “As thro' want of flax we could not send our proportion of shirts, etc., but we have a prospect of getting our proportion of coats sometime in October, that was set upon Oxford.” “We have provided thirty-seven coats, containing one hundred and thirty-nine yards and one-half — making thirty-seven coats, 4s. per coat, £7. 8s. Total value, £47. 1s. 9½d. The average price of cloth was about 5s. per yard. James Brown, the tailor, cut these coats and made twenty. Supplies in the line of shoes, stockings, shirts, etc., could not be had on contract as at the present day. Requisitions were therefore made for them on the towns as for men. Some orders sent to Oxford were: January 20, 1777, fourteen blankets; June 17, 1778, shoes, stockings and shirts — twenty-eight each; June, 1779, shoes, stockings and shirts — twenty-eight each; May, 1780, shoes, stockings and shirts — twenty each and ten blankets; June, 1781, shoes, stockings and shirts — nineteen each.

ever strive to maintain our Charter Rights and privileges in all constitutional measures even to the risque of our lives and property."

May 24, 1775, At a town meeting, chose Edward Davis, Esquire to meet with the Provincial Congress at Watertown on May 31, for six months as their representative.

1775, The Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Oxford duly qualified to vote and act in Town affairs are hereby Required in His Majesty's Name to meet at our Meeting-house in Oxford on Mondy the 20th day of March current at one o'clock afternoon. (The last warrant issued in his Majesty's name.)

October 12, 1776, The style of notice is changed. "The freeholders, etc., are notified and warned, in the name of the Government of the people of this State, to meet," etc.

Oct. 12, 1776, is the date of the transition from the town's allegiance to the King of Great Britain to the new government of the State, appears.

Before the intelligence had reached the town of the Declaration of Independence at Philadelphia, July 4,

July 8, 1776, Voted: "To advise our representative in the General Court, That if the honorable Congress should, for the safety of the colonies, declare themselves independent of the Kingdom of Great Britain, to concur therewith; and the inhabitants of this town do solemnly engage with their lives and fortunes, to sustain this measure."

In 1777, "The town voted to add to the bounty offered by the American Congress and this State, the sum of £14 to each man who shall enlist in the town as a private soldier for three years, or during the war, before any draft be made."

At the same meeting, it was voted "to raise £1,000, to be assessed on the polls and real estate in the town, to complete the quota of soldiers now sent for to reinforce the Continental army."

In 1778 the town voted "concurrence with the articles of confederation proposed by the American Congress" and at the same meeting voted to pay £800 into the State Treasury.

August 25, 1779, the town chose Ebenezer Learned, Esq., and Ezra Bowman, delegates to the State convention at Cambridge, to act in forming a constitution of government for this State.]

20 Day of October, 1779, Voted to empower the Treasurer of the Town of Oxford to borrow a sum of money not exceeding Four Hundred Pounds for the supply of the soldiers families, and other necessary charges arising in the Town.

November 8, 1779, Voted that Samuel Harris, Town Treasurer be empowered to Borrow a further Sum of Money not exceeding Three Hundred Pounds on the same condition and Manner, and for the ends as is expressed in the vote of the 20th of October Last.

March 6, 1780, The Town voted and chose Capt. John Nichols, Capt. Elias Pratt a committee to Supply the Soldiers' Families, and that their expenses shall be made good when they receive their pay of the Town.

March 5, 1781, Chose a committee to provide for the poor, and the soldiers families, viz. Capt. John Nichols, Ephraim Russell, Lt. Levi Davis.

Supplementing the different installments of aid afforded to the families of soldiers in 1780. The town voted to provide 5960 pounds of beef for the army, August 27, 1781.

Voted and granted Ninety pounds hard money for to purchase the beef required of this time by a resolve of the General Court, passed June 22, 1781.

The Committee, Ezra Bowman, Reuben Lamb, John Dana, Amasa Kingsbury.

May 13, 1774, General Thomas Gage, the newly-appointed English Governor, arrived in Boston and occupied the town with four regiments of British soldiers.

April 19, 1775, Gov. Gage sent a detachment of British

soldiers to destroy the military stores at Concord; and on their way occurred the battle of Lexington, from which the opening of the Revolution may be dated.

During the early night of April 18, 1775, Paul Revere made his now famous ride. Before day-break, that memorable day-break of Wednesday, the 19th of April.

Wednesday, April 19, 1775, Somewhere about nine o'clock A. M. the Watertown committee started Israel Bissell to convey the news through the country. At noon he entered Worcester shouting, "To arms, to arms, the war is begun!" He had ridden thirty-six miles; his white horse bloody with spurring, and exhausted, fell as he reached the church door (the old south church on the common). Immediately another was procured, the Watertown despatch was indorsed and Israel Bissell was off again, due south for Brooklyn, Connecticut, thirty-eight miles more. This for some reason, he only reached at eleven the next morning. But General Putnam quickly heard the news, left his plow in the furrow, and he too was off. Norwich, twenty miles more, was reached at four o'clock P. M. New London (thirteen miles) at seven P. M.

Here he had also reached the Boston post-road, by Providence; but the British had stopped the exit from Boston, and he must carry his news to Saybrook (twenty miles more) in order to meet the New York rider. At four A. M. of Friday he was there. It is one hundred and thirty-seven miles to New York. A new rider now mounts (quite possible the veteran Hurd whose route it was). That same day at noon he was at Branford, seven miles from New Haven. At eight o'clock P. M., on Saturday, Jonathan Sturges signed this despatch at Fairfield; Sunday the twenty-third at noon, Isaac Low signed it at New York and at four P. M. forwarded it to Philadelphia.*

* This first Revolutionary despatch is now in the Historical rooms at Philadelphia.

The intelligence of the breaking out of hostilities was immediately followed by circulars from the Massachusetts committee of safety, calling out the militia.

April 20. One addressed to the towns urged them "to hasten and encourage by all means the enlistment of men to the army," to send them forward without delay. "Our all," it reads, "is at stake. Death and devastation are the certain consequences of delay. Every moment is infinitely precious. An hour lost may deluge your country and entail perpetual slavery upon the few of your posterity that may survive the carnage."

Before thirty days had passed after the battle of Lexington, Oxford and the towns in the immediate vicinity had raised a full regiment of ten companies, all volunteers, and they were on the march to the battle-field.

In 1775, soon following the battle of Lexington, Colonel Ebenezer Learned, with his regiment, reported for service at Cambridge, and with Colonels Prescott and Warren, was ordered to join General Thomas at Roxbury, where they arrived more than two months before Washington came to take command of the army.

May, 1775. The following enrollment and organization of the regiment of Col. Ebenezer Learned is from Force's Archives, Vol. 11, 4th series, p. 823 :

"Col. Learned's regiment: J. Danforth Keys, Lieut. Colonel; Jonathan Hollman, Major; — Barrister, Adjutant Captains: Peter Harwood, Adam Martin, John Grauger, Joel Greene, Samuel Billings, William Campbell, Arthur Daggett, Nathaniel Nealey, Samuel Curtis, Isaac Bolster. Lieutenants Asa Danforth, Abel Mason, Matthew Gray, David Prouty, Barnabas Lean, Reuben Davis, Jonathan Carrier, Salem Town, Samuel Learned, John Haselton. Ensigns: Benjamin Pollard, Benjamin Felton, Stephen Gorham, Thomas Fisk, John Howard, William Powdry."

"In Provincial Congress, Watertown, May 23d, 1775.

"Resolved that commissions be given to the officers of Col. Learned's regiment agreeable to the above list."

Soon after the arrival of Col. Learned's regiment at Roxbury occurred the famous battle of Bunker Hill, "all of which it saw a part of which it was," although it was not actually engaged in the fight on the hill. It formed a part of the right wing of the army, under the command of Gen. John Thomas, which was stretched round from Dorchester, through Roxbury, to Boston line, to prevent the enemy from breaking through and making a flank movement.

This regiment enlisted for eight months ; from May 1, 1775, till January 1, 1776. The regiment was in service in and around Boston. When their time expired the men were regularly discharged.

The battle of Bunker Hill took place June 17, 1775.

In the victory to the Americans the British were dispirited, who had boasted that a few regiments could conquer the whole country.*

Gen. Washington left Philadelphia June 21, 1775, to assume command of the American army at Cambridge. At New York he received news of the battle of Bunker Hill. At Brookfield, July 1, he was met by a company of horsemen from Worcester, commanded by Capt. James Chadwick, who escorted him into town.

Dec. 10, 1775, "On Sunday last the lady of his excellency General Washington, and the lady of General Gates, with their attendants, passed through this town (Worcester) on their way to Cambridge."

General Washington, as commander-in-chief arrived in Boston July 2, 1775, after the battle of Bunker Hill, and

* There is at the Town Hall in Oxford a cannon ball of twenty-four pounds weight, brought by Col. Ebenezer Learned as a relic from the battle-field of Bunker Hill.

reached Cambridge, the headquarters of the American army. He found there a large body of Provincials not accustomed to disciplined warfare, destitute of arms and ammunition. He at once commenced organizing the soldiers and subjecting them to military service. And the Provincial allies became the Continental Army.

Washington erected a line of batteries from Winter Hill near Mystic river, through Cambridge, Brookline and Roxbury as far as Dorchester Heights. He held the British forces besieged in Boston until March, when they set sail for Halifax and the war was transferred to other States.

Thomas and Jonathan Amory with Peter Johonnot who have at the earnest entreaties of the inhabitants through the Lieutenant-Governor, solicited a flag of truce for this purpose.

JOHN SCOLLEY,
TIMOTHY NEWALL,
THOMAS MARSHALL,
SAMUEL AUSTIN.

This paper was received at the lines at Roxbury by Col. Learned who carried it to headquarters; and in return, the next day, wrote to the messengers as follows:

ROXBURY, *March 9, 1776.*

GENTLEMEN: — Agreeably to a promise made to you at the lines yesterday, I waited upon his excellency General Washington, and presented to him the paper handed to me by you from the selectmen of Boston. The answer I received from him was to this effect: "That, as it was an unauthenticated paper, without an address, and not obligatory upon General Howe, he would take no notice of it." I am with esteem and respect, gentlemen,

Your most obedient servant,
EBENEZER LEARNED.

To Messers Amory and Johonnot.

The British commander was now reduced to the alternative of either dislodging Washington's forces or the evacuation of the place.

The British General, Lord Howe, then resolved to evacuate the towns without delay. He commenced very early in the morning of Sunday, March 17th, the embarkation of his army. About nine o'clock the garrison left Bunker Hill. Two men were sent forward to reconnoitre, found the fortress was left in charge of wooden sentinels, and immediately gave the joyous signal that it was evacuated.

A detachment soon took possession of it. General Putnam ordered another detachment to march forward and take possession of Boston, while the remainder of the troops returned to Cambridge.

Meanwhile General Ward arrived with about five hundred troops from Roxbury, under the immediate command of Colonel Ebenezer Learned of Oxford.*

Col. Learned, accompanied by a crowd of loyalist refugees, marched in through the deserted gates, having unbarred them with his own hands.

After the evacuation Learned, with his command, remained about two weeks on the highlands south of the town, where he could observe the movements of the British fleet. On March 20 Gen. Greene issued the following order: "Col. Learned is directed to man six whale boats every night while the enemy remain in the harbor, whose duty it is to row about and make discoveries of any movement of the enemy, that the garrison may be apprised thereof." On April 2 Learned and his regiment were relieved from duty at Dorchester Point, and were soon after ordered with the main body of the army to the defence of New York.

As soon as the British fleet had put to sea, the American army proceeded by divisions to New York, where it arrived April 14. The disastrous affair of Long Island, August 27.

* Army Record.

Washington withdrew his forces from the island April 28, at night. Soon afterward he removed his army to Harlem Heights in the northern part of New York island. Washington was obliged to evacuate New York on Sept. 15, then to Kingsbridge the army moved toward White Plains, and here took place the battle of White Plains. Washington then changed his position. Fort Washington on York island was taken and its garrison made prisoners. Washington then retreated to New Jersey. Then followed the battles of Princeton and Trenton. In July, 1777, Gen. Howe embarked his forces and proceeded against Philadelphia.

Sept. 10, the battle of Brandywine was fought and the Americans defeated.

Sept. 26, 1777, Lord Howe entered Philadelphia with his army. While the British were in the possession of Philadelphia Washington endeavored to cut off their supplies for the army.

Washington then distributed his soldiers into winter quarters at Valley Forge. In June, 1778, the British evacuated Philadelphia, the position being considered dangerous by the position France was about to take in the war.

At the siege of Yorktown, Sept. 28, to October 9, 1781, Lord Cornwallis surrendered.

After the battle of Bunker Hill Col. Learned received injuries at Roxbury which disabled him from service for a time.

In April, 1777, he was commissioned a Brigadier-General in the northern army.*

THE BATTLE OF BEMIS HEIGHTS, SEPT. 19, 1777.

General Gates made preparations for resistance. Brave officers and determined soldiers in high spirits were gathered around him, and the latter were hourly increasing in numbers. The counsels of General Schuyler and the known bravery of General Arnold were at his command and he felt confident of victory, aided by such men as Poor, Learned, Stark, Whipple,

* From Boston Records.

Paterson, Warner, Fellows, Baily, Glover, Wolcott, Bricketts and Tenbroeck with their full brigades.

General Arnold resolved to do what he could with those under his command, which consisted of General Learned's brigade and New York troops. Arnold led the van of his men and fell upon the foe. By voice and action he encouraged his troops, but the overwhelming numbers of the enemy for a time repulsed them. It was now three o'clock in the afternoon; for an hour the Americans had disputed the ground inch by inch, but the crushing force of superior numbers pressed them back to their lines. Both armies retained their position until October 7. The British general determined to make one more trial of strength with his adversary.

Neilson in describing this battle of September 19, says:

"Toward the close of the day Gen. Learned's brigade and another regiment were principally engaged on a rise of ground, west of the cottage (Freeman's), with the British grenadiers and a regiment of British infantry, and bravely contested the ground till night."

On September 26 Gen. Gates issued the following:

"The public business having so entirely engaged the General's attention that he has not been properly at leisure to return his grateful thanks to Gen. Poor's and Gen. Learned's brigades, to the regiment of Riflemen, Corps of Light Infantry, and Col. Marshall's regiment for their valiant behavior in the action of the 19th inst., which will forever establish and confirm the reputation of the Arms of the United States."

THE BATTLE OF SARATOGA.*

The following account of this brilliant affair of October 7,

* Sir Edward Creasy, M. A., in a book published in London, in 1872 and entitled the *Fourteen Decisive Battles of the World*, from Marathon to Waterloo, singled out the battle of Saratoga as the decisive battle of the Revolution.

1777, is given in Thatcher's Military Journal, published in New York at the time.

"I am fortunate enough to obtain from our officers a particular account of the glorious event of the 7th inst.

"The advanced parties of the two armies came into contact at two o'clock on Tuesday afternoon, and immediately displayed their hostile attitude. The Americans soon approached the royal army, and each party in defiance awaited the deadly blow. The gallant Colonel Morgan at the head of his famous rifle corps, and Major Dearborn, leading a detachment of infantry, commenced the action with such intrepidity, that the works were carried and their brave commander Colonel Breyman was slain.

"The Germans were pursued to their encampment, which, with all the equipage of the brigade, fell into our hands. Night-fall put a stop to our brilliant career though the victory was most decisive, and it is with pride and exultation that we recount the triumph of American bravery.

"This was indeed a signal victory."

The troops of Poor and Learned marched steadily up the gentle slope of the eminence on which the British grenadiers* and part of the artillery under Ackland and Williams were stationed, and true to their orders not to fire until after the first discharge of the enemy, pressed on in awful silence towards the battalions and batteries.

Arnold assaulted the works occupied by the light infantry under Earl Balcarras, and at the point of the bayonet drove the enemy from a strong abatis, through which he attempted to force his way into the camp. He was obliged to abandon the effort, and dashing forward to the right flank of the enemy, exposed to the cross fire of the contending armies, he met Learned's brigade advancing to make an assault upon the British works at an opening in the abatis between Balcarras' light infantry

* The grenadiers were the flower of the British army.

and the German right flank defense under Col. Breyman. The Germans, who fled, finding the assault general, threw down their arms and retreated to the interior of the camp, leaving their commander, Col. Breyman, mortally wounded. Burgoyne endeavored to rally the panic-stricken Germans.

Personal differences with Gates had led to Arnold's removal from command since the battle of the 19th., and he had remained in camp, and though without any regular command, Arnold was the animating spirit in the last conflict. Gates sent an aid to recall him. "But Arnold, keeping out of the way of the messenger, placed himself at the head of one brigade, and then another, and led them on with a reckless daring, to attack the enemy, with good judgment and undaunted courage. The British line was already breaking as he entered the field. Under his impetuous assaults with Patterson and Glover's brigades, and then with Learned's, the enemy gave way everywhere in confusion."*

The Hessians received the first assault of Arnold's brigades upon the British centre with a brave resistance, but when upon

* "Arnold rode to the front of Learned's brigade, which had been so recently under his command, and dashed into the fight. He was cheered as he rode past, and like a whirlwind the regiments went with him upon the broken British lines. Fraser fell mortally wounded in this assault, and swiftly behind the half-crazy volunteers came Ten Broeck with a force nearly double that of the whole British line. That line was now in full retreat. Phillips and Reidesel, as well as Burgoyne, in person exhibited marvellous courage in an hour so perilous, but nothing could stop Arnold; wheresoever he found troops he assumed command, and by the magnetism of his will and passion he became supreme in daring endeavor. With a part of the brigades of Patterson and Glover he assaulted the intrenchments of Earl Balcarras, but was repulsed. To the right of Balcarras the Canadians and Royalists were posted under cover of two stockade redoubts. There again Arnold met Learned's brigade, took the lead, and with a single charge cleared these works, leaving the left of Breyman's position entirely exposed."—*Notes of Gen. Carrington.*

a second charge he dashed furiously among them at the head of his men, they broke and fled in dismay. Gen. Fraser was killed. Burgoyne now took command in person, but could not keep up the sinking courage of the men. The whole line gave way and fled precipitately within the intrenchments of the camp.

At length "the Americans press forward with renewed strength and ardor, and compel the whole British line, commanded by Burgoyne himself, to yield to their deadly fire, and they retreat in disorder. The German troops remain firmly posted at their lines; these were now boldly assaulted by Brigadier-General Learned and Lieutenant-Colonel Brooks at the head of their respective commands.

"Here General Learned, mounted on his powerful horse, which at first refused to proceed, was forced by soldiers on with his rider through the opening of the abatis filled with the dead and wounded."*

Gen. Wilkinson, who was Gates' adjutant, and on the field, says :

"About sunset I perceived Gen. Learned advancing toward the enemy with his brigade in open column * * * when I rode up to him. On saluting this brave old soldier he inquired, '*where can I put in with most advantage?*' I had particularly examined the ground between the left of the Germans and the light infantry, occupied by provincialists, from whence I had observed a slack fire. I therefore recommended to Gen. Learned to incline to his right, and attack at that point; he did so with great gallantry; the provincialists abandoned their position and fled; the German flank was by this means uncovered; they were assaulted vigorously, overturned in five minutes and retreated in disorder, leaving their commander, * * * Breyman, dead on the field. The night

*Reminiscences of David Stone, who was in service under Gen. Learned.

was now closing in. The victory of the Americans was decisive."

Before dawn Burgoyne removed the whole of his army camp and artillery, meditating a retreat to Fort Edward. On the morning of the 8th of October the Americans took possession of the evacuated British camp. Burgoyne on the 9th of October quietly retreated to Saratoga. Gates followed the enemy. Morgan, Poor and Learned threatened their rear on the west. Burgoyne sent a flag of truce to the American commander.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER OF REV. JOSEPH BOWMAN OF OXFORD,
DATE OCTOBER 23, 1777, TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL LEARNED,
"IN YE NORTHERN ARMY."

"The most particular accounts, yt we have had of affairs in your quarter yt we could depend upon have been in your letters to Mrs. Learned, one of which was published in ye Worcester Paper; viz yt which gave an account of an action of y 19th of Sept. I do not know how it is, but seems yt our printers have no correspondence in y Army & consequently few particulars and those collected from one, and another, are vague and uncertain & sometimes unintelligible and some accounts contradicted by others so yt we knew not what to believe.

"Most of ye intelligence that I rely upon has come from you by y way of Mrs. Learned this summer; and I hope you will continue to give as circumstantial an account of things as you can as I shall still hope to gain some knowledge by yt means thro' her kindness, even tho' you should not write to me in particular which would be peculiarly acceptable if you could find leisure time enough for such a thing, amidst a multitude of care and Business which I know must lie upon your hands your family and friends here are all well. Sylvanus has got Bravely again and thinks of Returning to you soon please to give my love to all our oxford Friends with you when you shall see them, and you may tell them that their Friends here

are all well it has been remarkably healthy with us this summer past and fall hitherto ye season has been good and very fruitful we have plentiful crops (thro Divine goodness) tho' every thing is excessive dear our privateers bring in many prizes tho' not so many as they did last year from ye Southward we have had various reports since ye battle at Brandywine sometime yt General How has got Philadelphia at others that he has not.

"yt action of y 19th of Sept. you gave us ye most particular account of than any yt we have had but yt of y 7th Instant, your account is general & short, I was about to have added something further, but having just now received authentic intelligence of a most important Event viz ye surrender of ye whole British Army commanded by General Burgoyne to ye American forces I therefore stop short to congratulate you on this most singular, important and happy Event may all our hearts be filled with a grateful sense of ye Divine goodness in this most interesting affair and may we have grace to ascribe unto ye Lord of Hosts ye God of Armies all ye praise and glory yt is Due to His Great Name and may we never forget His Benefits."

Note.—

GEN. LEARNED'S LETTER.

"STILLWATER, *Sept.* 25, 1777.

"On Thursday the 18th instant marched about 4 miles at 5 o'clock A. M. in order to attack the enemy on the right flank on their march; but they not marching according to expectation prevented our doing any thing of considerable consequence.

"We attacked a small party about 60 or 70 rods from the enemy's front, killed some, said to be five or six, took and sent in that day, as I was informed after my return, 36 prisoners. We all returned about sunset, without the loss of one man killed or wounded.

"The next day (September 19th), we were early alarmed, being informed the enemy were on their march towards our Camp. Agreeable to a result of Council of War, the Riflemen and Infantry from the left of our army went and attacked the Enemy's right Wing, or rather their front guard about 5 minntes before one o'clock. The enemy gave way,

we took some prisoners. The enemy reinforced, which caused us to do the same; which was alternately done by the enemy and on our part of the Army till the battle became almost General between the Enemy and our Division.

"I was ordered to send out one Regiment at first, and the rest in succession, except the last.— I then received orders to march to the attack. We marched on briskly and came up to the Enemy's right wing, which was endeavoring to surround our left. A most severe fire lasted till the cover of the night prevented further action. We went back to our camp, and the enemy have encamped near the ground where the battle was fought. We are near neighbors. Our lines and those of the enemy are but about a mile and a quarter from each other. Both armies are fortifying, but time only can determine the further event. The effect of this battle is that we have lost two Lieut.-Colonels killed, with a number of other officers of different ranks. In the whole our killed, wounded and missing are about 318. By the best accounts the enemy's loss, killed and wounded, amounts to a thousand. These are facts. Capt. Wiley is wounded. Our army are in high spirits. We took eighty on the day of battle.

P. S.—On the day of battle, and since, two of our Captains were taken Prisoners, also one Lieut. and 27 privates. This is an exact account of the Prisoners sent by Burgoyne to Gen. Gates, each man's name specified in the list."

NOTE.—In the *Massachusetts Spy* of October 16, 1777, Isaac Pratt gave notice that he was about to start for the army, and would carry letters and bring returns at one shilling postage.

General Learned was esteemed a brave and humane soldier. He survived the Revolution about twenty years, and was much honored after his retirement from the army.

It is said that in personal appearance General Learned was tall and strongly built, being six feet and two inches in height, "his frame being capable of enduring great fatigue. His countenance expressed gentleness and calmness, and yet there were depicted dignity and command. He was endowed by nature with a sound judgment and discerning mind.

"His step and bearing were peculiar to himself, his tread was

heavy and measured. In conversation all were impressed with awe in his presence. General Learned was a judge of a horse and rode a very good one in his army campaigns. In the Revolutionary War he rode a high-mettled young black horse of wonderful endurance. His fine appearance on horseback, with his calm courage, and with the peculiar tread of the horse was ever recognized by the soldiers in the distance."

In the War of the Revolution, Captain Jeremiah Kingsbury's company from Oxford was included in Colonel Jonathan Holman's regiment, Massachusetts Fifth, or the Sutton regiment.

Capt. Jeremiah Kingsbury's company, Col. Jonathan Holman's regiment, Providence, January 20, 1777, roll: Jeremiah Kingsbury, captain; Silas Town, lieutenant; Jonas Pratt, Levi Davis, Jonas Eddy, Allen Hancock, sergeants; William Hudson, John Pratt, Amos Shumway, Ebenezer Shumway, corporals; Zacheus Ballard, John Rawson, Joseph Kingsbury, John Allen, John Larned, Josiah Shumway, Curtis Dixon, Sampson Marvin, John White, Amos Wakefield, Thomas Wolcott, Jesse Gleason, Nathan Pratt, Renben Eddy, Jonathan Coolidge, Elisha Town, Sylvanus Learned, Jesse Pratt, Jesse Merriam, Samuel Stone, Joseph Sparhawk, Aaron Parker, Jonathan Merriam, Jonas Davis, Benjamin Hovey, William Lamb. Time in camp, forty-three days.

A detachment of this company was again in service when the "Militia" marched to reinforce Gen. Gates' army.

Sept. 27, 1777, the following men from Oxford were members of Capt. Jeremiah Kingsbury's company and Colonel Jonathan Holman's regiment:

Jeremiah Kingsbury Capt., John Ballard, Lieut., Ebenezer Coburn, Sergt., Haynes Learned, Sergt., Jonas Eddy, Corp., Allen Hancock, Corp., John Learned, Aaron Parker, Joshua Pratt, Joseph Rockwood, Joshua Merriam, William Nichols, Nathan Pratt, John Rawson, Ambrose Stone, Jonas Davis,

David Stone, Ambrose Fitts, Amos Shumway, Anthony Si-gourney.

The following served nine months in 1778, in Captain Jeremiah Kingsbury's company and Colonel Holman's regiment :

Jeremiah Kingsbury, Capt., Eleazer Stockwell (or Stowell), David Chamberlain, Uriah Carpenter.

The regiment was then honorably discharged from service.*

The following men belonged to the company commanded by Capt. William Campbell in Col. Ebenezer Learned's regiment, and marched to Cambridge April, 1775 : William Campbell, Capt., Thomas Fish, Lient., John Campbell, Sergt., Sylvester Town, Sergt., James Learned, Corp., Abner Shumway, Drum., Abraham Mansfield, Timothy Sparhawk, Paul Thurston, Samuel Baker, John Fessenden, Josiah Eddy, Moses Kneeland (or Knowland), Negro Will, Moses Coburn, Jonathan Marsh, Thomas Bogle, Frost Rockwood, Daniel Sabins, John Hudson, Thomas McKnight, Jason Collar, Arthur Humphrey, David Dana Town, James Hambleton Parker, John Conant, William Bogle, William Foster, Richard Ferrars.

* Another regiment was soon organized, called the Massachusetts Fifth or Sutton regiment, composed of men coming from Sutton, Oxford, Sturbridge, Charlton and Dudley, including adjacent lands, and placed under the command of Col. Jonathan Holman of North Sutton.

The following entry is found in the journal of the Massachusetts Council, Feb. 7, 1776: "In the House of Representatives: The house made choice by ballot of the following gentlemen for field officers of the Fifth Regiment of Militia, in the county of Worcester, viz.:

"Jonathan Holman of Sutton, Colonel, Daniel Plympton, Lient.-Colonel, William Learned of Oxford, First Major, Jacob Davis of Charlton, 2nd Major. 'In council: Read and concurred.' This regiment was known and styled as the Sutton regiment."

"The Sutton regiment was included in the army of Gen. Wash-

The following belonged to Capt. John Town's company and marched to Cambridge, April 19, 1775: John Town, Capt., Daniel Hovey, Lient., Thomas Fish, Lient., Richard Ferrars, Sergt., Samuel Manning, Sergt., Arthur Humphrey, Corp., Phineas Allen, William Foster, Joshua Turner, Allen Hancock, John Hudson, Robert Manning, Elias Pratt, Ebenezer Shumway, John Ballard, William Bogle, John Campbell, Daniel Sabin, Abijah Harris, Timothy Sparhawk, David Dana Town, James Pratt, Jr., Haynes Learned, Abraham Mansfield (Merri-field) Amasa Allen, Samuel Baker, Anthony Sigourney.

"The two companies commanded by William Campbell, Captain, and John Town, Captain, include many of the same men. It would appear that the two companies were merged and the rolls at the State House from which the above lists have been copied taken at different times."

The list of men here given has been obtained from the office for the payment of pensions to Revolutionary soldiers and from the recollection of the aged inhabitants of the town:

Brig.-Gen. Ebenezer Learned, Capt. William Moore, Capt. ington at Cambridge. Soon following the evacuation of Boston they marched with him first to Rhode Island, where they were stationed some two or three months, from thence proceeding to Long Island, where they were in an engagement with the enemy; thence up the Hudson river to White Plains, where the American army had a severe battle, in which this same Sutton regiment bore a distinguished part.

"After the battle of White Plains the Sutton regiment, under Col. Holman, was ordered to Bennington, Vermont, where it remained several months to guard the country against Gen. Burgoyne's army. After the famous battle of Bennington, the regiment of Col. Holman was next ordered to join the army of Gen. Gates near Saratoga. In the battle that ensued, Col. Holman's regiment was actively engaged, and that they acquitted themselves bravely may be justly inferred from the fact that after the battle this regiment was designated "to take possession of Fort Edward, and to hold it, until the dispersion of Burgoyne's army, which they did."

John Nichols, Lieut. Benjamin Vassall, Lieut. Ebenezer Humphrey, Lieut. Jacob Town, Jason Collier, David Lamb, Frost Rockwood, Ebenezer Pray, William Simpson, George Alverson, Caleb Barton, John Learned, David Town, Allen Hancock, Peter Shumway, Abijah Kingsbury, Joseph Hurd, James Merriam, Elisha Blandin, Francis Blandin, Jonas Blandin, Sylvanus Learned, Arthur Daggett, Elisha Ward, David Stone, Ebenezer Robbins, — Sewall, Sylvester Town, Levi Davis, Elijah Learned, Richard Coburn, Jacob Learned, Silas Eddy, Solomon Cook, Elijah Kingsbury, Ezekiel Collier.

In May there was a reorganization of troops. William Campbell, previously in Capt. Craft's cavalry company, Sturbridge, was made captain of the Oxford company, and the following additional names appear that year on its rolls: Sylvanus Town, sergeant, from Craft's company, Abner Shumway, drummer, Moses Coburn, Jonathan Marsh (S. Gore), Thomas Bogle (took the place of Asa Larned, discharged), Frost Rockwood, Thomas McKnight, Jason Collier, James H. Parker, John Conant, John Fessenden, Josiah Eddy, Moses Knowland (S. Gore), Paul Thurston, from Craft's company, Will (a negro, servant of Campbell [?], discharged Oct. 5, 1775).

In Col. Learned's regiment, April, 1775, were also in Craft's company of cavalry, Sturbridge, William Campbell, lieutenant Levi Davis, Joseph Hurd, Sylvanus Town, Paul Thurston, John Walker, William Moore.

In Capt. Curtis' company, 1775, Robert Manning, corporal (transferred from Town's company), Stephen Griffith, corporal, died July 31, 1775; Daniel Griffith, Isaac Pratt, Joseph Streeter, Moses Town, Elias Town, John Mellen, Samuel Learned, Phinchas Allen, Benjamin Edwards.

In Capt. Healey's company, 1775, William Moore, sergeant, transferred from Craft's company, Curtis Dixon, Aaron Wakefield, Amos Wakefield.

In Capt. Green's company, October, 1775, Asa Meriam,

Samuel Stone. At Dorchester, 1775, for three months, in Dike's regiment, Richardson's company, Ebenezer Fish, Samuel Kingsbury.

In Tyler's regiment, Ferrer's company, December, 1776, Daniel Fisk.

The following enlisted early in 1777 for three years or during the war; Benjamin Wakefield, Josiah Eddy, corporal, John Hudson, corporal, Joseph Cody, corporal, Peter Shumway, drummer, Moses Knowland, Richard Moore, William Jordan, David Town, all in Capt. Moore's Co. In Webb's company, Sylvanus Learned, sergeant, Noah Harkins, sergeant, John Harvey, David Manning.

Jesse Stone, of Oxford, was captain of a company which marched on the "Bennington Alarm," and was out from July 19 to August 29, 1777. There were no Oxford men in the ranks.

The following served three months in 1776 in the company commanded by Jonathan Carriel and Colonel Josiah Whitney's regiment: Sampson Marvin, Corp., Wm. Jordan, Jedediah Blaney, Richard Moore, Moses Town, Elisha Town, Amos Putnam, Moses Knowland.

Elisha Livermore served as a bombardier three months in 1776 in Captain William Todd's and Colonel Craft's artillery regiment. Nathaniel Wyman, in the same year, served a little over a month in Captain Aaron Guild's company and Colonel Whitney's regiment.

The following served in Dorchester in 1778 in Captain March Chase's company in Col. Nathan Sparhawk's regiment: Jesse Hill, Isaac Anibell, David Smith.

The following were drafted in 1778: Jonathan Fuller, John Jewell, Eleazer Stowell.

The following served six months in 1779 in Captain Thomas Fish's company and Col. Nathan Tyler's regiment in Rhode Island: Thomas Fish, Captain, Ebenezer Coburn, Lieut., Abisha Shumway, Jacob Weeks, Samuel Atwood.

The following served six months in the Continental army 1780: Thomas Walcott, Samuel White, James Atwood, Samuel Wiley, Elisha Town, Jacob Nichols, Jacob Winslow, Moses Baker, Joseph Atwood, Benjamin Turner, Noah Dodge, David Town, Samuel Kelly.

The following served three months in 1781 in Capt. Renben Davis' company and Col. Luke Drury's regiment: William Tucker, Corp., John M. Jewell, James Atwood, Ebenezer Stone, Phineas Jones, Jonas Cummings.

Lemuel Cudworth served in Rhode Island in 1781, in Captain Joseph Elliot's company and Colonel William Thomas' regiment.

The following enlisted in 1781 to serve three years in the Continental army: Sylvanus Learned, Sergt., Noah Hoskins, John Harvey, David Manning.

Besides the above the following Oxford men were in the service at various times: Nathan Atwood, Elijah Shumway, John Brown, Benjamin Rider, Adams Sulley, William Stowell, Cupp Donnings, William Lewis, John Quick.

LEICESTER, *December y^e 27, 1781.*

This may certify that I have received from the town of Oxford their full Quota of Men to fill up the Continental army.

SETH WASHBURN, *Superintendent.*

(From the original receipt recorded per Samuel Harris, town clerk.)

FROM THE OXFORD TOWN RECORDS.

Capt. Fish discharge resignation and Recommendation.

May it please your Honor. I should take it as a favor if you could give me a discharge from the Service as I think myself much injured in my Rank as I can neither have what I think is my rank nor even a board of Gentlemen to sit to settle a dispute of Rank between Capt.

Webb and I both of one Regiment though I have requested it of Col. Shepard commanding the Regiment and at this time the Brigade to which we both belong.

T. FISH, *Cap.*
COL. SHEPARD, *Reg.*

PROVIDENCE, *June 15, 1779.*

To the Honorable Maj.-Gen. GATES, Head-Quarters, Providence, June 17, 1779.

Capt. T. Fish being desirous to Quit the service is hereby discharg'd the Army of the United States of America by order of Maj.-Gen. Gates.

ISAAC PEIRCE, *A. D. Camp.*

THE NAMES OF SOLDIERS IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMY FROM
OXFORD NEAR THE CLOSE OF THE WAR.

Richard Moore, Jedediah Adams, Zacheus Ballard, Josiah Eddy, William Foster, John Florey, John Fessenden, Jesse Forsyth, Adonijah Gleason, John Hudson, William Jordan, Moses Knowland, Sylvanus Learned, Samuel Putney, Ebenezer Robbins, Peter Shumway, David Scanning, William Stuart, Moses Town, David Town, Jr., Samuel White.

George Robinson, son-in-law of Gen. Learned, was in his brigade, and was killed at the battle of Saratoga.

✓ Reuben Robinson was also in the service, and died of fever in 1776.

Joseph Kingsbury was drafted in 1777, and Samuel, his son, went in his stead, and was in the Saratoga battles.

Josiah, son of Jeremiah Kingsbury, joined the army at sixteen years of age in 1775, and served till the close of the war; was acting quarter-master under Arnold at West Point, and ensign when discharged.

Others were as follows: James Hovey Davis, Samuel Jenison, lieutenant and quartermaster of Nixon's brigade at Saratoga battles; David, son of John Barton, sick at Richmond

after Cornwallis' surrender; William, son of Benjamin Eddy, Parley, son of William Eddy, six months; Jacob Fellows, Abijah, son of Abijah Gale, Brewer's regiment, died in service; Jesse Gale, his brother, killed March 24, 1780; Hezekiah Larned, marched from Upton on Lexington Alarm; Abijah Conant, son-in-law of Capt. John Nichols, went as servant to Nichols, died in service; John Twiehell, Gideon Sibley, from Sutton, on Lexington Alarm; Abijah and Elihu, sons of David Thurston, in the same company, and both killed in the same battle August, 1777; Jedediah Adams, seven months in Wiley's company, killed; Phinehas Barton, Capt. John Nichols, joined the army 1777; Andrew Sigourney, in battle at White Plains and others, commissary, with rank of captain; * Anthony Sigourney, in same regiment; Nathan Atwood, Elijah Shumway, John Bowers, Benjamin Rider, Adams Sully, William Stowell, Joseph Phillips.

On September 29, 1777, Ezra Bowman was appointed by the Legislature adjutant of the Fifth regiment and entered the service, continuing until April, 1781, at least.

A reinforcement for Gates, in service from August 1 to November 29, 1777, was commanded by Abijah Lamb, under Col. Cushing. Abijah Lamb, captain; Ebenezer Humphrey, Sylvanus Towne, lieutenants; Elijah Larned, Arthur Humphrey, sergeants; Dana Towne, Timothy Sparhawk, corporals; Thomas Baker, Jonathan Coolidge, Jason Collier, Ebenezer Davis, John Fitts, Joseph Hurd, Isaac Larned, Jonathan Merriam, Samuel Stone (commissary), Elias Towne, Isaac Larned, Jr., privates. This reinforcement was in the Saratoga battles.

Tradition states that Isaac Larned was bombardier in Capt. Todd's artillery company in 1776.

Capt. Ebenezer Humphrey, Col. Jacob Davis. Company

* Col. Holman's regiment.

marched July 30, 1780, to Rhode Island "on the alarm." Ebenezer Humphrey, captain; Levi Davis, lieutenant; Joshua Turner, 2d lieutenant; Joseph Hurd, Ebenezer Humphrey, Jr., John Campbell, Amos Shumway, sergeants; Benjamin Shumway, Jonathan Coburn, David Stone, Samuel Stone, corporals; Samuel Cudworth, fifer; Philip Ammidown, Ezekiel Collier, Thomas Campbell, Solomon Covel, Jonas Davis, Simon Gleason, Nathaniel Hamlin, Jonathan Harris, Gideon Hovey, Jeremiah Kingsbury, Reuben Lamb, John Nichols, Jonas Pratt, Thomas Parker, Nathan Pratt, Ebenezer Redding, Moses Rowell, Timothy Sparhawk, Josiah Shumway, Sylvanus Towne, Archibald Todd, Ambrose Stone, privates. Isaac Larned was in this expedition — in another company. Time of service about thirteen days.

LEARNED TO GEN. WASHINGTON.

"Sir, with regret I must humbly represent my case, Being so indisposed in body that I am absolutely rendered unfit to serve the much injured and distressed publick with the alacrity and usefulness I could wish, or the importance of the cause requires; yet my hearty and greatest wish is that your Excellency may receive renown, and the United Colonies' arms still be distinguished with success and victory, and in God's own time every worthy member in the struggle return to and enjoy his own habitation in peace. But at present must request to absent myself from the Army in the manner your Excellency shall prescribe; and if it should be thought most expedient I should be dismissed the Continental service, if my past conduct is equal, should pray I may be dismissed with honor and supported home. In obtaining this I shall have fresh instances of your Excellency's favor; and lay me under new obligations ever to remain your very humble servant.

EBENEZER LEARNED."

Addressed

To the Hon. His Excellency,

GEO. WASHINGTON, Esq.

Col. Ebenezer Learned on April 2, 1777, received his appointment from Congress of brigadier-general. He accepted

the offer, and soon joined the northern army under General Schuyler.

His first service under his new commission was at Fort Edward, whence he proceeded to Fort Ticonderoga, where he secured and removed valuable stores before that fort was taken by Burgoyne in his progress southward. On July 8, 1777, he was in command at Fort Edward, at which date he addressed the following to Gen. Schuyler:

“HON^d AND DEAR S^r:

“I have the agreeable Tidings that our Men at Fort Ann are full of Resolution to Defend the Place and I am Supplying every Request from there yesterday after Noon the Enemy appeared in sight our People out and attacked them and Drove them 3 miles—Saw them carrying off Dead & Wounded—the Enemy consisted of Hessians, Canadians, & Indians we had 1 man Killed 3 Wounded—

“From Fort George we are informed that the Enemy have made appearance 7 miles from there on an island—3 bateaux and 1 canoe—and Since we are drove to the great Necessity to Defend ourselves in this bare handed and confused Situation we are struggling to do it in the best manner we can. Have but very little Artillery and that unmounted—but very little lead Balls—but very few Tools for fortifying—no Tents more but few Kettles &c &c—but in the midst of these Difficulties we find the great Importance of Defending this last security of our Country which God Grant we may never give up though at Present are very Defenceless—I would ask your Particular Orders and advice in this Critical Time—I have made all Dispatch to remove the most valuable stores from Fort George not with any Design to leave it—but find the Necessity to save what few Medicines &c we have left.

“This moment received from Fort Ann: the Enemy made an attack very near the Fort drove our People into the Fort—have heard no more

“S^r your very Humble Serv^t

“EBEN^a LEARNED B.: G.

HON^d GEN^l SCHUYLER.

“This moment heard there were a firing on Lake George we had boats sent down &c.”

Fort Stanwix was saved, and Arnold and Learned marched to the Hudson.

“During their absence the battle of Bennington had been fought, and Schuyler had been superseded by Gen. Gates. Burgoyne was preparing for an advance on Albany, and to oppose his progress Arnold and Kosciusko had selected a position to fortify called Bemis’ Heights, a rise of ground peculiarly appropriate for the purpose, lying between the river (near which was the highest portion) and Saratoga Lake, about six miles from it. On this ground, on the 19th of September, occurred the first of two hard-fought battles, and from the best evidence we have, Arnold was a leading spirit in the day’s contest, and Learned, who commanded the centre brigade, acted a very important part under him.

WASHINGTON TO HEATH.

The next mention we find of him is in a letter of Gen. Washington to Gen. Heath at Boston, bearing date January 9, 1778, at Valley Forge, which contains the following:

“I beg you will carefully forward the enclosed letters to Brigadiers Glover and Learned. They contain orders for them to join their respective brigades, with which they are much wanted.”

Gen. Heath replied, saying these letters had been forwarded as requested. Upon the receipt of Washington’s order Learned proceeded to Boston and laid open his case to Gen. Heath, who, on Feb. 7, 1778, wrote as follows to Gen. Washington:

[Extracts from Gen. Heath’s Reply.]

Brig.-Gen. Learned called upon me a day or two since and requested that I would transmit your Excellency the enclosed certificates, and represent his present state of health. He has proposed to resign his commission, but the Hon. Mr. Hancock and myself have persuaded him to delay for the present, as in a summer campaign he may render his country essential service. He is anxious to know your Excellency’s pleasure.

On February 27, 1778, Gen. Washington replied as follows:

“Considering Gen. Learned’s ill state of health, I think his resigna-

tion had better be accepted of, more especially as from the nature of his complaint it does not appear that he can ever be able to bear the fatigues of a campaign. I would therefore advise him to make his resignation, with the reasons for so doing, to Congress, who are the proper body to receive it."

GEN. LEARNED'S LETTER TO GEN. WASHINGTON.

"BOSTON, *March 12, 1778.*

"MOST HON^d PR.:

"I have served in this warfare since the beginning as a Col. of a Regt. till May 1776 when by indisposition by reason of certain fatigues in the army I found myself unequal and resigned the service.

"Since I recovered a little the Honorable the Continental Congress on the second day of April 1777 appointed me to the command of a Brig.-Gen^l.

"I immediately took the field, proceeded to Fort Edward, and at the evacuation of Ticonderoga had great fatigue in securing the remains of our stores that way. Directly on that marched my brigade to the relief of Fort Stanwix.

"Immediately on return we had the satisfaction of reducing Burgoyne's army with much fatigue and was personally and brigade in the severe but victorious actions of Sept. 19 and Oct. 7, and after that army was imprisoned we took a forced March to Albany to stop the progress of the enemy that way.

"All which brought on my former difficulties and by the advice of Doct. Potts I took a furlough of Gen. Gates to retire from the army till I was well; the receipt of which with my surgeon's certificate I have enclosed.

"And I find I am quite unequal to act vigorously in my country's cause in the field and to eat the Publick's bread and not do the service I am not disposed. And I think I am better able to serve in a private or civil than in a military character.

"All of which considered I think it my duty to myself and my family, and country to pray your Honor the Congress to discharge me from the service.

"And I shall remain as before

"Your Honor's

"Very Humble Serv^t.

"EBENEZER LEARNED, B. : G."

In Congress, March 24, 1778, it was resolved that this resignation be accepted.

NOTE.—The Saratoga battle-field, in 1885, still retains relics to recall the memories of scenes enacted on its site in the War of the Revolution.

"The breastworks which surrounded Reidesel's Brunswickers, and at the south-eastern extremity of which the Hanau artillery, under Capt. Pausch, was placed (enclosing an area of, perhaps, twenty acres), are yet easily traced, being still two, and in some places five feet high; and in the midst of a dense wood is seen the old camp well used by this portion of Burgoyne's army.

"A large portion of the British camp, after the action of the 19th, was on the site of that battle.

"The house which was the headquarters of Generals Arnold, Learned and Poor, before, during and after the two actions, is still standing in excellent preservation.

"The 'Ensign House,' which received a portion of Burgoyne's wounded, together with the tall Dutch clock, which ticked off the numbered minutes of the dying, still remain.

"Among other souvenirs of similar interest, may be mentioned the 'Lovegat House' of Coreville, in which Burgoyne and his staff rested for one night, both on the advance and on the retreat, and which is rendered additionally interesting from its having been the starting point of Lady Ackland, when, accompanied by Parson Brudewell, she set out in a frail boat, and in the midst of darkness and a cold autumnal storm, to rejoin her husband, then lying wounded in the American camp. The house remains exactly as it was at the time of Burgoyne's visit, and with the same old poplar standing in the door-yard."

CHAPTER XXVI.

WAR OF 1812; MEXICAN WAR; THE CIVIL WAR.

The war of 1812 was caused by aggressions upon the commerce of the United States, and the impressment of seamen from American vessels by the English. The American government decided to declare war against England, June 18, 1812. General Henry Dearborn was commander-in-chief.

The war of 1812 continued until the battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815.

In 1813 the Americans planned to invade Canada with three armies. The Army of the West, commanded by General William Henry Harrison, was collected near the western end of Lake Erie. The Army of the Centre, under General Dearborn, was at Sackett's Harbor and on the Niagara frontier. The Army of the North assembled on the shores of Lake Champlain, with General Wade Hampton as commander.

Abijah, son of Dr. Daniel Fisk, died in 1813, of camp fever, at Greenbush; John, son of George Alverson, killed in battle; J. Prentice, son of Levi Lamb, died in service; Sylvanus, son of Col. Sylvanus Towne, in regular army on western frontier, from 1800 to 1820, returned and died in Oxford; David Wait served at Fort Warren; Tisdale Atwood and Hovey Bounds, wounded at Queenstown; Russell White and George Blandin died in service; Jesse Briggs, Rufus Briggs, William Stiles, Edward Shunway and Joseph Lamb, musician.

Capt. John Butler during the war of 1812 served in the regular army. The Army Register (p. 107) sets him down second lieutenant, August 14, 1813, and on March 17, 1814, first lieutenant, in the Twenty-fourth infantry. His captain was Robert Desha, and his colonel, E. P. Gaines.

He was stationed at Fort Osage, Jackson Co., Missouri, founded 1808, 300 miles up the river and near the present

site of Kansas City. It is described by Brackenbridge in 1811. (Louisiana, p. 217.) Penned in by Indians, his command had no rations but potatoes, while buffaloes were roving before their eyes. They were at last obliged to burn the fort and escape down the river in boats. Among his other stations were St. Charles, Bellefontaine and Fort Clark. In January, 1814, he was acting adjutant at Newport, Ky., keeping guard over 400 British prisoners. He writes from Detroit, May 14, 1814, that he had marched thither from Newport across the State of Ohio; that 400 regulars were in Detroit, and that 400 militia had just pushed on to establish a post ninety miles above. His force reaching St. Joseph, July 20, destroyed it, and also British stores at St. Mary's, arriving at Mackinaw, July 26. On August 4, 900 Americans landed, were attacked by Indians in thick bushes, and fought there forty minutes, losing 87 killed or wounded; they returned to their boats. In Lieutenant Butler's company the captain, Desha, was shot through the thigh, the third lieutenant, Jackson, and six privates were killed; Butler's own sword belt was cut by a bullet. General Cullum's account of the action is as follows (p. 200): "Aug. 4. Our land force attempted an attack from a height in the rear of the fort, which resulted in a sharp conflict, chiefly with Indians in a thick wood, and the retreat of our troops."

Capt. Butler in his person was not a large man, but of uncommon strength and agility. In youth he was a celebrated wrestler.

During the war there were conflicts on the ocean. The sloop-of-war *Hornet*, Captain James Lawrence, compelled the British brig *Peacock* to strike her colors after an engagement continuing but fifteen minutes. Lawrence was promoted to the command of the *Chesapeake*.

James Butler Sigourney of Boston was a sailing master in the United States Navy; entered as midshipman, March —, 1809; was a favorite pupil of Lawrence, on board the *Wasp*. Was sailing master of the *Nautilus*

when captured, June 16, 1812; was carried to Halifax, June 28, by the *Shannon*; he soon came back to the States, and was invited to the same station on board the *Hornet*, by his old master, but was unable to accept, because the *Hornet* sailed before his exchange was ratified by our government. He was ordered to the southern station and commanded the schooner *Asp*. July 14, 1813, he was attacked in the Potomac by three British barges, which he successfully repelled, but an hour afterward was overpowered by a force of fifty men, in five boats, who boarded, exclaiming, *no quarter*. Of the *Asp's* crew, twenty-one in all, some threw themselves overboard; the rest (except two) were put to death. Sigourney kept his station, and was cut down when only three men were left on deck, one of whom begged in vain for *quarter*.—*Boston Gazette*, August 9, 1813.

On the 1st of June, 1813, Lawrence, with his vessel ill-equipped and ill-manned, put to sea from Boston, to engage the British frigate *Shannon*, which, with a well-disciplined crew, was lying off the harbor inviting an attack. The action was short, but very furious. In a few minutes the *Chesapeake* became exposed to a raking fire, and her chief officers were killed or wounded. Then the enemy boarded her and hauled down the colors. Lawrence, after he was mortally wounded, gave his last heroic order: "Don't give up the ship." This was the most memorable sea-fight of the year.

Perry's victory on Lake Erie, in capturing British vessels, was a great achievement. General Harrison hastened to profit by this victory of Perry on Lake Erie. Embarking his troops on board of Perry's fleet, he crossed to Canada. Harrison pursued the enemy and overtook them, October 5th, waiting to give battle. He charged upon the English, broke their ranks, and caused them to surrender.

The savages made a brave resistance, but Tecumseh*, their leader, was soon slain, and they were forced to take flight.

The victories of Perry and Harrison brought the war to an end on the north-western frontier.

* Tecumseh was a noted Indian warrior; he was chief of the Shawnees and had taken part against the Americans in many conflicts.

Owen Quinn, in the war of 1812, a native of Ireland, had been impressed into the British service when at his home in Ireland, in early youth. His recollections of that home were of his mother standing at the gate of her cottage taking her last leave of him, as he was hurried away, with the sound of drum and fife, to join in the Peninsula war in Spain. He fought against the French, was stationed at the Straits of Gibraltar, and from his tall figure he was a grenadier while in service. In 1813 his regiment was ordered from Spain to the United States to fight against the Americans. Owen Quinn was in the British blockade on the Atlantic coast, which was stationed at the Penobscot river in Maine.

While on board of the British man-of-war he was detailed to go on shore to collect wood for the ship. While on shore he fled to the American camp, was pursued as a deserter, but just escaped being made a prisoner and shot. In sympathy for American liberty he enlisted in the United States service to the end of the war. He knew by deserting he lost all hope of his pension from the British government, as he was promised, if he were disabled or retired with an honorable discharge from service. He became a resident of Oxford (now Webster). He died in Sutton, Mass., December, 1871, aged 82 years.

Captain William Googings of Oxford, it is said, was a native of Maine, born in 1768; in his youth went to Nantucket, where he continued for thirty two years a sailor and whaler; later in the merchant service, and became part owner and captain of a vessel. In the war of 1812 his vessel, with a valuable cargo, of which he was also part owner, was captured by French privateers, and he was taken to France. A few years after his return he came to Oxford, and resided in a cottage on the old Charlton road near the river, west from the north common. Captain Googings died June, 1832.

Close of the War.

In December, 1814, a fleet of over 10,000 troops arrived from England to capture New Orleans.

On the 8th of January, 1815, the British, under Sir Edward Pakenham, made an attack upon the intrenchments a few miles below New Orleans, but failed of success—General Jackson obtaining a great victory for the Americans in this engagement.

The war had now continued for more than two years and a half before the battle of New Orleans.

A treaty of peace was signed at Ghent, in Belgium, December 24, 1814, by American and British Commissioners.

News traveled slowly in these days.

THE MEXICAN WAR.

President Polk's administration was most notable by the war with Mexico, which resulted from the annexation of Texas. Permitting Texas to join the Union was received by the Mexicans as an act of hostility.

While war was impending, General Taylor received orders from government to advance into Texas with a body of American troops to repel a threatened invasion of the Mexicans. In August, 1845, he formed his camp at Corpus Christi, just within the boundary of the disputed territory. The early part of the following year, having received orders to advance, he moved to the Rio Grande, opposite Matamoras.

Now on the east bank of the river, he commenced building a fort (Fort Brown). Before arriving at the Rio Grande he established at Point Isabel a place of deposit for supplies.

May 8, on returning from Point Isabel, he met General Arista with the Mexican army, and gained a victory over the Mexicans on the plains of Palo Alto. The next day, May 9, General Taylor advancing again met the Mexicans at Resaca de la Palma, and totally defeated them. On the 18th of May

Taylor crossed the river Rio Grande and took possession of Matamoras. In a few months General Taylor moved his army of about 6,600 men against Monterey, and on the 24th of September, after a siege of four days and a series of assaults, the city was surrendered to the Americans. In January, 1847, a large part of General Taylor's best troops were withdrawn to aid General Scott, who had been ordered to invade Mexico by way of Vera Cruz.

Santa Anna, general-in-chief of the Mexican forces, collected 20,000 troops, and made an attack upon Taylor and Wool in a narrow mountain-pass, near the plantation Buena Vista. The battle commenced in the afternoon of the 22d of February, 1847, and continued the next day till night, when Santa Anna retreated. This victory terminated the war in that part of the country held by Taylor's forces. From this time the Mexicans made efforts to resist the invasion which General Scott was to make to the very centre of her power. General Scott had landed his army near Vera Cruz, March 9, 1847, and soon had completely invested the city. After a furious bombardment of four days from the army and fleet, Vera Cruz and the strong castle San Juan d'Ulloa surrendered. A few days afterward Scott began his march toward the city of Mexico. At the mountain-pass of Cerro Gordo he met Santa Anna, who had collected another army. On the 18th of April the Americans totally routed the Mexicans.

The victors continued their march to Pueblo, which was surrendered by the Mexicans. The fortified camp of Contreras, twelve miles south of Mexico, was assaulted and carried. This success was followed by the brilliant victory of Churubusco. On the 8th of September General Worth led his column against the forces of the enemy in a strong stone structure. "The battle fought on that day was the most bloody of the war, but the position was won."

Five days later the Americans stormed the rock and castle

of Chapultepec, the last strong defense of the capital, and routed the whole Mexican army.

September 14, 1847, the Americans entered the city of Mexico and raised the "stars and stripes" over the national palace. The fall of the capital was the close of the war.

The United States gained by their brilliant victories in Mexico a large territory stretching to the Pacific coast.

A treaty was concluded in February, 1848, and peace was proclaimed by President Polk the following July.

Gen. Nelson Henry Davis of Oxford was distinguished in the Mexican war.

"Nelson H., son of Col. Stephen Davis of Oxford, studied at Leicester Academy; appointed upon nomination of Levi Lincoln (then representative to Congress from fifth Massachusetts district) as cadet at West Point, where he entered July 1, 1841, was graduated 1846, went the same year into the Mexican war under Gen. Taylor at Monterey, joined at Tampico the forces of Gen. Scott, under whom he served through the war; was in the siege of Vera Cruz, the battle of Cerro Gordo, the storming of Contreras, the taking of Churubusco, and in later engagements in the valley of Mexico, and the taking of the capital. He left Mexico with the army in June, 1848, and in November of that year sailed from New York with troops around Cape Horn, arriving in April at Monterey, Cal. There he served until December, 1853, first as commissary and later with his company at remote stations in the Indian country, where subsistence was difficult, and with the Clear Lake and the Russian River Indians had two notable and successful engagements under the brave captain, later General, Nathaniel Lyon. This was said to have been one of the most brilliant Indian campaigns in the army service.

"His health having been impaired by exposure he obtained leave of absence, and in 1853 visited China and the Sandwich Islands. In January, 1854, he returned to New York, and

for a year was on recruiting duty at Boston. In the fall of 1855 he went into frontier service at Forts Leavenworth, Randall, Ridgely, Ripley, and on field duty in the Indian country, continuing until the spring of 1861, when he was ordered east to engage in the late civil war. At the first battle of Bull Run he was acting major of the 'Regular Battalion,' and on September 4, 1861, was by Gov. Andrew commissioned as colonel of the 7th Regt., Mass. Vols., which office he held until November 12, when he was appointed assistant inspector-general of the army, ordered to other duties and resigned his colonel's commission.

"As assistant inspector-general he served in the field, in the 'Army of the Potomac,' at the head-quarters of Sumner, McClellan, Hooker and Meade, and was in all the battles in which these commanders were engaged while he served under their commands, and was specially efficient at the battle of Gettysburg. Later he was ordered to the department of New Mexico as general inspecting officer. The duties in this field required almost constant traveling through a vast extent of wild country infested with hostile Indians, the climate, embracing extremes of heat and cold, rendering the service severe. Many movements were made at night to avoid the enemy. "On one of these campaigns, after repeated night marches in which several Indian Rancherias were captured, * * * a forced march was made at night over a high range of mountains to the reported camp of the Indians. * * * Near the summit the escort was divided into two detachments, a third having been left behind in a cañon to guard the pack-train. These detachments, which were about five miles apart, attacked simultaneously at dawn two camps of the Apaches, who were completely surprised." A short and sharp contest ensued, resulting in large loss to the Indians. This was the first severe chastisement they had received for many years, and in recognition of his services in this affair the Legislature

of Arizona passed Davis a vote of thanks, and the United States government conferred on him the rank of colonel in the army.

“Later he was for several years inspecting officer of the Department of the Missouri, to which the District of New Mexico was then attached. From this service he was assigned to special duty under the War Department, with station at New York city, for three years, his duties covering inspections in the Western States and Territories to Alaska. He was next inspector-general of the Division of the Atlantic, under Gen. Hancock, until July 1, 1881, when he was assigned to the same duty in the Division of the Missouri, under Gen. Sheridan, with station at Chicago. On the death of Gen. D. B. Sacket, chief inspector-general of the army, Gen. Davis in March, 1885, was promoted as his successor, assuming the duties of that office at Washington.

“On September 20, 1885, by the operation of the law he was retired from active service as brigadier-general.

“Gen. Davis held every grade of rank in the army from second lieutenant to brigadier-general, and head of the Inspector-General's Department; was brevetted for services in the Mexican War, the War of the Rebellion and Indian fights, and traveled on duty in each and every State and Territory of the Union.

“His services in the Civil War were of the highest importance, and as acting inspector he undoubtedly had a more complete knowledge of the conditions of the ‘Army of the Potomac’ in its details than any other official in the country.

“Later Gen. Davis resided in New York city, and was several years president of the Colorado Smelting Co., with an office in New York. He died suddenly of apoplexy at Governor Island, N. Y., May 15, 1890.”

THE CIVIL WAR.

On the 15th of April, 1861, the day following the evacuation of Fort Sumter, President Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand troops to serve for three months.

The national troops, only a few thousand in all, were stationed on the remote frontiers, while most of the war ships were dispersed in distant seas.

Friday, April 19, witnessed the contest between the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment and the Baltimore mob.

It was on this eventful evening that gentlemen in Oxford assembled with great enthusiasm to make arrangements for the immediate organization of a volunteer company of soldiers. Hon. Alexander De Witt, president on the occasion.— In a few days a sufficient number of volunteers were obtained to assure the success of a company. The company was organized May 4, under the militia laws of the State, and in honor of Col. Alexander De Witt, was called the “De Witt Guards.”

The town provided for the members of the company, procuring uniforms and aiding families. On June 1, an excursion was made to Worcester, where the company were entertained. When passing through Sutton the company halted at Freeland Place, the residence of the late Captain Freeland. On June 28, the company went into camp at Worcester, and was attached to the Fifteenth Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteers, and designated as Company E. Camp duty was continued until August 8, when under the command of Col. Devens, the regiment left en route for Washington, and arrived on the 10th. An encampment was made on the 12th, at Meridian Hill, under the name of Camp Kalorama.

NOTE.— In November, 1861, the town voted to pay board bills of soldiers not exceeding \$267.85. Of this, \$132 were paid to L. A. Presby, tavern-keeper. The amount paid by the town to the “De Witt Guards” for drilling was \$2,084, and for uniforms \$1,043. The bounties paid before the spring of 1862 amounted to \$10,650. The amount paid to

soldiers' families in the fiscal year ending 1862 was \$1,707; 1863, \$4,283; 1864, \$4,904; 1865, \$6,708; 1866, State aid, \$2,691. [Town Reports.]

Through the efficiency of Lament B. Corbin, first selectman, as recruiting officer, all demands for men were promptly met. In June, 1864, the town by a unanimous vote expressed its thanks to him "for the energetic, faithful and patriotic manner" in which he had performed the duties.

April, 1864, the following appeared in the *Worcester Spy*: "The town of Oxford considers itself the banner town of the county, having filled all quotas with four or five men in the field in excess, and all have been raised without war meetings, extra bounties or purchases of men out of town."

The following names are found registered as the De Witt Guards: Watson, capt., Nelson Bartholomew, 1st lieutenant, Bernard B. Vassall, 2d lieutenant, Luther C. Torrey, 1st sergeant, Leonard E. Thayer, student. Henry W. Arnold, Albert Prince, George B. Works, Peleg F. Murray, Charles A. Bacon, Amos H. Shumway, Pliny Allen, John M. Norcross, Loren C. Hoyle, Sutton, Joseph N. Williams, George N. Carr, Patrick Moore, Oscar L. Guild, musicians, Elias B. Ellis, Kensington, Ct., Charles Sutton, wagoner.

Ithiel T. Johnson went August 1, 1861 with Co. E, 15th Regt., as attendant of Lieut. Bartholomew. Feb. 6, 1865, went again and was news agent in Hancock's Veteran Corps.

OXFORD IN THE CIVIL WAR, 1861-1865.

Company E, Fifteenth Regiment.

Peleg F. Murray, sergeant, Amos H. Shumway, sergeant, John A. Thurston, sergeant, Lieut. Nelson Bartholomew, Edward Booth, George W. Cross, George P. Davis, James H. Davis, Alfred W. Davis, Antonio Phillips, Francis C. Pope, Lyman Phipps, Vernon F. Rindge, Edward Ennis, Patrick Elliot, Herbert N. Fuller, Henry Hock, Cyrus Learned, Elliot F. McKinstry, Francis A. Fletcher, Chester I. Smith, Estes E. Baker, James D. Adams, James O. Bartlett, Valentine Suter, Edward

Cudworth, Henry C. Hayden, Charles F. Wheelock, George S. Williams, Albert L. Williams, Patrick Holden, Rufus Vicers, Christopher Vicers, Pliny Allen, corp., Simon Carson, corp., Horace P. Howe, corp., Anthony Murphy, corp., John Toomey, corp., Nathaniel Viall, corp., Joseph H. Williams, corp., Andrew B. Yeomans, corp., Oscar L. Guild, musician, Charles A. Bacon, Matthew Brennan, Patrick Brennan, Samuel A. Clark, Daniel Cobb, Otis Coburn, Edward Cudworth, F. L. Kirby, Leander T. Kirby, James H. Davis, Horatio C. Dodge, Caleb F. Dudley, James Duffy, Frank Dupré, John Eckersley, Joseph E. Fellows, Patrick Feighan, Herbert N. Fuller, Joseph M. Green, George W. Gunston, Joseph E. Haskell, John W. Humphrey, James Hilton, Joseph Jennison, Thomas King, Edward Lovely, Edwin E. Rindge, George O. Raymond, Jerome P. Southwick, Bernard Schmidt, Felix Sherbino, Edwin A. Martin, Julius N. Bellows, Josiah C. Brown, Daniel V. Childs, John Dore, Amos P. Newton, Jr., William Robbins, Albert Foscett, George Bacon, William Ronan, Leonard E. Thayer, Albert S. Moffitt, Margins E. Steere, Timothy Moynahan, Anthony Murphy, William Y. Woodbury, Alexander Thompson, Thomas Thompson, Samuel Thompson, John Tully,— Mac Lyneh.

Battles in which Company E, Fifteenth Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteers was engaged. Ball's Bluff, Oct. 21, 1861; Siege of Yorktown, April 5 to May 5, 1862; Fair Oaks, May 31, 1862; Savage Station, June 29, 1862; White Oak Swamp, June 30, 1862; Glendale, later, same day; Malvern Hill, July 1, 1862; Vienna, Sept. 2, 1862, on retreat from Fairfax; South Mountain, Sep. 14, 1862; Antietam, Sept. 17, 1862; Fredericksburg, Dec. 11 to 16, 1862; second Fredericksburg, May 34, 1863; Gettysburg, July 2, 3, 4, 1863; Bristow Station, Oct. 14, 1863; second Bull Run, Oct. 15, 1863; Mine Run or Locust Grove, Nov. 27, 28, 29, 1863; Wilderness, May 5 to 9, 1864; Laurel Hill, May 10, 1864; Farna Hill,

May 11, 1864; Spottsylvania, May 12, 13, 18, 1864; Cold Harbor, June 3 to 11, 1864; before Petersburg, June 18 to 22, 1864.

Gen. George B. McClellan, who had just conducted a successful campaign in West Virginia, was summoned to Washington to take command of the troops on the Potomac. This army soon became immensely strong, but made no general advance until the next year. Some months were spent in organizing and disciplining the grand army. On the 1st of November McClellan succeeded the aged chieftain, Scott, as general-in-chief of the armies of the United States.

In the autumn a severe action took place at Ball's Bluff, on the Potomac, above Washington. Nearly two thousand Union troops sent across the river from the Maryland side by Gen. Stone, the commander in that vicinity, were defeated in a battle, October 21, with heavy loss. Col. Baker, a national senator from Oregon, and the leader of the expedition, was among the killed.

Joseph Jennison, Jr., and James Hilton were killed; Bernard B. Vassall, lieutenant, prisoner; John M. Norcross, Nathaniel A. Viall, Joseph H. Williams and Patrick Moore (both wounded), corporals; privates Amidon, Daniel Cobb, Coburn, Thomas Conroy, William Conroy, Geo. P. Davis, William M. Davis, Dockham, Duffy, Eckersley, Emerson, Fellows, Feighan (wounded), McIntire, McKinstry, Moffit (wounded), Moyuahan, Phipps (wounded), Vernon F. Rindge, Schmidt were taken prisoners; 5 officers, 22 privates; total, 27. The number of men of the regiment who crossed was about 625, of these only one-half returned.

McClellan moved forward toward Richmond, and establishing his base of supplies at White House, on the Pamunkey, threw the left wing of his army across the Chickahominy, a very few miles from the rebel capital. This wing was attacked May 31, 1862, near Fair Oaks and Seven Pines. The battle

lasted part of two days, and at its close the Confederates fell back to Richmond. The loss was very severe on each side. Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, the Confederate commander, was severely wounded, and Gen. Robert E. Lee was afterward assigned to command in his place.

McClellan had been expecting to be re-enforced by McDowell, who was at Fredericksburg, in command of over forty thousand men. To keep the way open for McDowell to join him, he had sent forward a column under Gen. Fitz-John Porter, who routed a body of the enemy at Hanover Court House, four days before the battle of Fair Oaks. But a bold enterprise performed by the Confederate Gen. Jackson, popularly known as "Stonewall" Jackson, prevented the junction of McDowell and McClellan.

On July 1, 1862, occurred the battle of Malvern Hill, the last of the Richmond battles, in which the Confederates were repulsed at every point. The Fifteenth Regiment was engaged, but the loss was small.

The fighting continued during seven days, known as the Seven Days before Richmond, ending in a bloody repulse of the Confederates at Malvern Hill. The other principal battles had been fought at Mechanicsville.

September 17, was fought the great battle of Antietam, which raged from dawn till dark, and left both armies greatly shattered; but Lee was forced to recross the Potomac.

This was one of the great battles of the war. Each army numbered about one hundred thousand men, and the contest continued from morning till night. During the night the Confederates retreated. In this struggle the Fifteenth lost heavily. The casualties in Company E were: killed, Serg. Amos H. Shumway (buried on the field); Alfred W. Davis, died of wounds Sept. 22; John H. Curran, James H. Davis, Alexander Thompson, Conrad Amptaeur, Charles H. Wheelock, with many wounded.

On December 13, 1862, occurred the first battle of Fredericksburg (Gen. Burnside being in command), in which the Fifteenth was engaged. The Confederates fought behind intrenchments and the Unionists in the open field, with great loss. One, Edward Lovely, wounded, and one, Emory F. Bailey, missing, in Company E. A note (in Company E Records), dated December 11, says: "Regiment marched across the river to Fredericksburg — in active service till the 16th — then ordered to old camp near Falmouth."

On the 3d crossed to Fredericksburg and joined, under Gen. Hooker, in the second attack on the Confederate works. Failing in the attempt, it recrossed the river the same night, and for four days acted as picket guard and support of a battery near the river. "On the 8th, "moved back to the hill opposite the Lacy House," where an encampment was made, continuing about five weeks.

1863. In Virginia, Gen. Hooker superseded Burnside, and was severely beaten at Chancellorsville (May 2, 3) by Lee, who soon after set out for a second invasion of the loyal States. General Meade superseded Hooker, beat Lee in the great and decisive battle of Gettysburg (July 1, 2, 3), and pursued him into Virginia.

In a *Spy* editorial, July 23, 1864, occurs the following:*

Gen. Lee, thinking the Union lines weakening, precipitated upon their left center his reserve of eighteen thousand of his best troops, intending to sweep the field. The Union veterans were equal to the emergency, met the assault with coolness and bravery, forced back the attacking column, and decided the fortunes of the day.

*The next day (July 3) the battle was renewed. The shock was terrible. Late in the afternoon, when the rebel lines showed signs of wavering, the colors of the Fifteenth were ordered (by Gen. John Gibbon) to advance. The remnant of the regiment rallied to their support, and as if by one impulse the whole line pushed forward with a shout and carried the position. The rebel army was defeated."

Of Company E, privates Geo. W. Cross and Michael Flynn were killed, and Capt. Prince, Corp. Anthony Murphy and Owen Tonar, Robert Lusty and Thomas King, privates, wounded. Flynn was on detached service in a Rhode Island battery, and is said to have been among the bravest.

1863. The Federals, under Rosecrans, were defeated at the Chickamauga (September 19 and 20), and besieged in Chattanooga. The siege was raised, and the enemy thoroughly defeated by Grant in a three days' battle, beginning November 23. Soon after the Confederates were repulsed before Knoxville by Burnside.

Gen. Meade still held command of the Army of the Potomac, which had the task of conquering Lee's army. Lieut.-Gen. Grant had his head-quarters with the Army of the Potomac, and took the general direction of military affairs.

This army crossed the Rapidan, May 4, 1864, and the next day Lee hurled his heavy columns upon it, in the region known as the Wilderness.* There a terrific battle raged for two days, at the close the Confederates withdrawing behind their intrenchments. These were too strong to be assaulted. Grant,

* Of the battle of the Wilderness, a recent writer has said: "It was the most strange and indescribable battle in history. A battle which no man saw, and in which artillery was useless. A battle fought in dense woods and tangled brake, when manœuvre was impossible, where the lines of battle were invisible to the commanders, and whose position could only be determined by the rattle and roll and flash of musketry, and where the enemy was also invisible." Another says: "Nothing can be stranger or more difficult to understand and picture mentally than this death grapple between 200,000 men in virtual darkness, this desperate struggle, costing from 12,000 to 15,000 lives, fought out without perception on either side of the entities that were moving rifle-trigger and gun-loek. The firing was guided wholly by the flashes of the opposing volleys. No men were to be seen. Yet death was everywhere. In no battle of the war could the courage of the combatants have been so severely tried as here."--*N. Y. Tribune*, June 22, 1888.

resolving to go on, therefore made a flank movement, but again found his foe before him at Spottsylvania, where the rival armies had a long, fierce struggle. Another flank movement was followed by a fight at the North Anna, and another by the bloody Federal repulse at Cold Harbor. Whenever Grant made a flanking advance, Lee fell back rapidly, and behind breastworks again confronted him.

The great battles of the Civil War were Gettysburg, Spottsylvania, Wilderness, Antietam, Chancellorsville, Chickamauga, Cold Harbor, Fredericksburg, Manassas, Shiloh, Stone River and Petersburg. Gettysburg was the greatest battle of the war; Antietam the bloodiest. The largest army was assembled by the Confederates at the seven days' fight; by the Union, at the Wilderness.

On the 5th and 6th of May was fought the battle of the Wilderness, with many losses and no decided advantage to either side. On the 9th, after three days' hard fighting, the Confederates retreated with 13,000 loss. On the 11th and 12th occurred the battle of Spottsylvania, when 4,000 Confederates were captured.

General Wilson, with thirteen thousand horsemen, sent out by General Thomas, was making a great raid through the heart of Alabama, capturing cities, and destroying railroads and other property useful to an enemy. General Stoneman, from East Tennessee, was also making a great raid with cavalry in South-western Virginia and the western part of North Carolina.

General Sheridan, with near ten thousand troopers, bursting through the Shenandoah Valley, had fallen again upon the little army of Early, and captured most of it. Then he destroyed the canal west of Richmond, and tore up the railroads north of the city. Sweeping around easterly, he joined the Union army before Petersburg.

Grant opened the final campaign on the 29th of March.

On the morning of that day² he set in motion strong columns of his army to pass around the end of the intrenchments south-west of Petersburg, so as to get to the enemy's rear. Fighting began on the same day, and on the 1st of April, Sheridan, in command of these flanking columns, thoroughly defeated part of Lee's army, at the cross-roads called Five Forks.

Early in the next morning Grant made a general assault upon the whole line of intrenchments before Petersburg, and carried it, driving the Confederates to their inner works. Jefferson Davis and his Cabinet fled from Richmond. Lee's army abandoned³ the cities which they had so long and so bravely defended, and hurried westward, aiming to unite with Johnston's army in North Carolina. April 3 the Union troops occupied both Petersburg and Richmond.

The saddest story of all the war is that which tells of the cruel treatment of Union prisoners in the South. We would not here describe, if we could, the terrible sufferings which the captives had to endure in Libby prison, on Belle Isle, and above all, in that great prison-pen at Andersonville, from heat, cold, hunger, from diseases which should have been prevented, and from outrages committed by brutal guards.

NOTE.—The government sent expeditions for the capture of Fort Sumter and Charleston. Early in April, 1863, Admiral Du Pont, with a fleet of iron-clads, assailed the defenses of Charleston Harbor, but he was soon obliged to retire. Afterward land and naval forces, under General Gillmore and Admiral Dahlgren, attacked these defenses. In July Gillmore seized part of Morris Island, and tried to take Fort Wagner, on the other part, by storming it, but failed with sad loss. By a siege, the Confederates were at length forced to abandon this fort. Fort Sumter was bombarded and made a heap of ruins, but the garrison still held it, and Charleston also withstood the long siege, although Gillmore threw shells into the city from Morris Island.

NOTE.—The 1st of February, 1865, saw Sherman again on the march. Moving northward, he easily brushed aside the small bodies of the

enemy which offered any annoyance, and on the 17th occupied Columbia, the capital of South Carolina. On the same day Charleston was abandoned by its garrison, whose safety was now threatened by Sherman's movements. On the following day, February 18, Gillmore's troops raised the national flag over Fort Sumter, and took possession of the city.

THE CIVIL WAR.

Chronological Review.

"Lincoln became president in 1861. He entered upon a second term in 1865, but, April 14, was assassinated, and Vice-President Johnson succeeded to the presidency.

"During these administrations the most formidable rebellion known to history was subdued, and slavery in the United States was abolished by an amendment of the Constitution.

1861.

"The Rebels attacked Fort Sumter, and compelled Major Anderson to evacuate it, April 14. The president called for troops. Jefferson Davis offered to commission privateers, and a blockade of the southern ports was established. Four more slave States joined the Confederacy.

"The Federals, in Virginia, were disastrously defeated at Bull Run (July 21), and in the autumn at Ball's Bluff. In West Virginia, General McClellan, in July, gained victories over the Confederates at Rich Mountain and Carrick's Ford, and before the end of the year that region was nearly cleared of armed Confederates.

"In Kentucky, the Confederates, in September, seized and fortified Columbus, and the Union troops, under General Grant, then occupied Paducah.

"In Missouri, Lyon captured a camp of disloyalists near St. Louis, in May, but lost the hard-fought battle of Wilson's Creek (August 10).

"On the Atlantic coast the Federals captured the Confederate works at Hatteras Inlet (August 29), and those at Port Royal Entrance, November 7.

"Mason and Slidell were taken from the British steamer *Trent*.

1862.

"The Federal government prohibited slavery in the territories, abolished it in the District of Columbia, and authorized the enlistment of colored troops.

"In the West, east of the Mississippi, the Federals gained a victory at Mill Spring (January 19); captured Fort Henry and Fort Donelson, and occupied Nashville; were victorious, under General Grant, at Shiloh

(April 6 and 7), and, under General Halleck, compelled the enemy to evacuate Corinth (May 29). In autumn, the Federals, under General Rosecrans, defeated the enemy at Iuka, and at Corinth. The Confederates fell back after the battle of Perryville (October 8), and at Murfreesboro' they were beaten by General Rosecrans in a three days' battle, which began December 31.

"West of the Mississippi, a Union victory was won at Pea-Ridge (March 7 and 8), and nine months afterward, another at Prairie Grove.

"The Confederate posts on the Mississippi, as far as Vicksburg, successively yielded to the Federals, and Admiral Farragut opened the river from its mouth to New Orleans (April 25), of which city General Butler took military possession.

"On the Atlantic coast General Burnside and Commodore Goldsborough captured Roanoke Island, and before the end of April nearly the whole coast of North Carolina was at the mercy of the Federals, who also had reduced Fort Pulaski. The Confederate ram *Merrimack* after a day's havoc among the Union vessels in Hampton Roads (March 8), was driven back to Norfolk by the *Monitor*.

"In Virginia, the Army of the Potomac, under McClellan, compelled the Confederates to evacuate Yorktown, beat them at Williamsburg, repulsed them near Fair Oaks and Seven Pines (May 31). Meanwhile Stonewall Jackson drove the Federals from the Shenandoah Valley, and then joined General Lee before Richmond. Lee then, in a seven days' campaign of almost constant fighting, raised the siege of the Confederate capital, pursuing McClellan to the James, where the latter repulsed the Confederates, with great loss, at Malvern Hill (July 1). The Confederates next moved against the Army of Virginia, commanded by General Pope, and, after a series of conflicts, beginning at Cedar Mountain and ending at Chantilly (September 1), compelled Pope to fall back within the defences of Washington. Lee next invaded Maryland. McClellan gained a victory over him at South Mountain, and by the great battle of Antietam (September 17) forced the Confederates, who had meanwhile captured Harper's Ferry, back to Virginia. Burnside superseded McClellan, and was badly defeated, at Fredericksburg (December 13).

"During the summer the Sioux War broke out. It was suppressed the next year.

1863.

"President Lincoln signalized the opening of the year war by issuing the Emancipation Proclamation.

"In Virginia, General Hooker superseded Burnside, and was severely beaten at Chancellorsville (May 2, 3) by Lee, who soon after set out for

a second invasion of the loyal States. General Meade superseded Hooker, beat Lee in the great and decisive battle of Gettysburg (July 1, 2, 3), and pursued him into Virginia.

"Vicksburg was surrendered to General Grant (July 4), and a few days later Port Hudson to General Banks.

"The Federals, under Rosecrans, were defeated at the Chickamauga (September 19 and 20), and besieged in Chattanooga. The siege was raised, and the enemy thoroughly defeated by Grant, in a three days' battle, beginning November 23. Soon after the Confederates were repulsed before Knoxville by Burnside.

1864.

"Among the earlier events were the expedition to Meridian, the Fort Pillow massacre, the Red River expedition, and a Federal defeat at Olustee, Florida.

"Grant was appointed to the chief command of the Union armies, and, crossing the Rapidan with the Army of the Potomac (May 4), met the enemy in bloody conflicts in the Wilderness, at Spottsylvania, the North Anna, and Cold Harbor. Then crossing the James (June 14), joined by Butler from Fortress Monroe, he laid siege to Petersburg and Richmond. The Confederates made a third invasion of Maryland. They were soon obliged to retreat, but hovered near the Potomac till General Sheridan, in a brilliant campaign, ending in the victory of Cedar Creek (October 19), closed the war in the Shenandoah Valley.

"In the west, General Sherman made his famous march to the sea. Setting out (May 6) from Chattanooga, he fought heavy battles, the severest being at Resaca, Dallas, and Kenesaw Mountain, and captured Atlanta (September 2); then sweeping through Georgia to the sea, he carried Fort McAllister by assault, and took Savannah (December 21). Meanwhile the Confederates had been successfully resisted at Franklin, and disastrously routed at Nashville (December 15 and 16) by General Thomas.

"In June the notorious privateer *Alabama* was captured. In August Admiral Farragut won a victory in Mobile Bay.

1865.

"Fort Fisher, North Carolina, was captured (January 15). Sherman swept northward through South Carolina; drove the Confederates from Columbia; compelled them to evacuate Charleston; then pressing forward into North Carolina, beat them at Averysboro' and at Bentonville, and entered Goldsboro' (March 23).

April 3, the Union troops occupied both Petersburg and Richmond. Before the end of May all the Southern army surrendered.

Biographical Sketches
And Notes.

The Records of Oxford.

BERNON, THE FOUNDER OF THE FRENCH SETTLEMENT IN OXFORD.

In 1685 Gabriel Bernon, the rich merchant of La Rochelle, in the height of persecution was imprisoned for some months. A memorial of his imprisonment is still preserved by one of his descendants, a French Psalter* of minute size presented to him by a fellow prisoner in the tower of La Lanterne. On his release from imprisonment he escaped from France to Holland. Esther Le Roy, his wife, endeavored to accompany him, but was arrested in the attempt, but afterward with her children, rejoined him in Holland.

Bernon's goods were seized October 13, 1685. His imprisonment extended from this date to May, 1686, as shown in a document dated La Rochelle, 10 May, 1686, giving the condition of his affairs on his release. A portion of his estate was transmitted to his bankers in Amsterdam. He left Holland with his family in February, 1687, for London.

Gabriel Bernon was married to Esther, daughter of Francois Le Roy of La Rochelle. In a little packet (among the manuscripts of Gabriel Bernon) sealed with the Bernon arms, is enclosed the following paper: "Esther Le Roy was born the 9th of September, 1652, between 2 and 3 o'clock in the morning. She was baptized in church on the 10th of the following November by the Rev. Mr. Flang; godfather, my brother-in-law; godmother, Olive Cosse, cousin german to my wife." (This little manuscript would appear to be written by the father of Esther Le Roy).

Soon after his arrival in New England, he was engaged in the manufacture of various naval stores for exportation to England.

His success in this manufacture attracted a government agent, who had been sent over by the Earl of Portland to ascertain what advantages existed in the American Colonies for supplying the royal fleet with these articles. Mr. Bernon proceeded at once to England, in 1693, hoping to obtain from the English government a patent for the manufacture of such naval stores. He was well received in London by Lord Portland and by Lord Carmarthen, president of the royal council. He succeeded in securing a contract with the government for a certain number of years.

Bernon made a second visit to London in December, 1696. The following spring he returned to Boston, in company with Governor Bellemont, "to whom he had been introduced and strongly recommended, while in England, by the Earl of Galway and other distinguished persons. Lord Bellemont entered heartily into his plans for the encouragement of colonial products, and urged upon the royal council the expediency of

*On the heavy silver clasp of the book are the initials "T. D." of the original owner.

appointing Bernon to superintend the manufacture of naval stores." "It was brought again and again to the notice of the Lords of Trade (but without success.)"

Meanwhile, as early as 1692, Bernon's indomitable energies were engaged with Faneuil and Louis Allaire in the commerce with Pennsylvania and Virginia, exporting goods to England and the West Indies, in partnership with other Boston merchants; and joining Charles de la Tour in the peltry trade with Nova Scotia. He was interested in the manufacture of nails, in the making of salt, and in building and purchasing of ships.*

After a residence of nine years in Boston, Bernon leaves Boston in 1697, for Newport, R. I., where he remained some years. Madame Bernon died at Newport, June 14, 1710, aged 56 years. And her gravestone is still to be seen in the old church-yard at Newport. He then removed to Providence, and subsequently to Kingstown, but in 1718 he returned to Providence. For a short time after the death of Madame Bernon he resided at Newport, and then commenced making investments, by purchases, in the Narragansett country, with a view to residing in No. Kingstown. The ruins of his house still remain. In these days the great road for travel from Boston to New York followed the shore, and was sometimes known as the Pequot path, and Wickford as Updike. Newtown and Tower Hill were two of the principal places of business. Bernon purchased of Ludowick Updike a wharf lot at Wickford, built a wharf, a warehouse and a sloop.

While in Kingstown he was active in support of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, of which the noted Dr. James McSparran was rector. Bernon was elected one of the vestry of St. Paul's in 1718.

A letter addressed by Richard Coote, Earl of Bellemont, to Mr. Bernon, dated New York, November 23, 1698 (Bernon papers, translation from the French):

"Sir: I am sorry to learn that you have left New England for the purpose of residing in Rhode Island. Mr. Campbell told me the news, which afflicts me much, since I had desire to cultivate all possible friendship with you when I shall arrive at Boston.

"I am ashamed for not having written you sooner, but, I assure you, it has not been for want of esteem, but solely from having been continually occupied by the affairs of my government. If you find occasion to come and establish yourself here in this town, I shall do all I possibly can for your encouragement.

*It would appear that Bernon, like other refugees who were "men of estates" in France, received remittances from La Rochelle, through his correspondents.

"I shall not forget the recommendation of you by the Count of Galway; and I am truly and strongly disposed to respond to it by all good offices. I shall be very glad to see you here, for the purpose of conversing with you upon certain affairs which relate to the service of the King.

"I am, with true esteem and friendship,

"Your very humble servant,

"BELLEMONT.

"For Mr. Bernon, a French merchant, Rhode Island."

Bernon was truly a loyal subject to the crown of England and it was with displeasure he viewed the French Protestants of New York uniting with the opponents to Governor Bellemont's policy.

Mr. Bernon accepted Governor Bellemont's invitation and visited New York the following March, and was received with great courtesy and every mark of consideration.

EXTRACTS FROM CHARLES W. BAIRD, D.D.'S HISTORY OF THE EMIGRATION OF THE HUGUENOTS.

Gabriel Bernon was born at La Rochelle, France, April 6, 1644. He was descended from a family of great antiquity in Burgundy, "tracing its lineage to the earliest centuries of the French monarchy." The Bernons of La Rochelle possessed an independent claim to nobility, for they had furnished several mayors to the city, and according to ancient usage, this office conferred much rank upon the occupant and upon his heirs forever. Gabriel Bernon was hereditary register of La Rochelle. For many generations the family had been of high position in rank and of large estates.

In the sixteenth century they are mentioned as contributing for the ransom of the sons of Francis I., held as hostages by Spain after the battle of Pavia; and as sending a sum of money to Henry IV. by the hands of Duplessis Mornay, to assist him in gaining his crown.*

The Bernons of La Rochelle were among the first in that city to embrace the Reformed religion.

The branch of the family to which André, the father of Gabriel, belonged, was distinguished (1542) as that of Bernon de Bernonville, a designation which was borne by his elder brother Léonard.

Another branch known as the Bernons de la Bernonière, seigneurs de l'Islean, was also attached to the Protestant faith.

*The Bernon arms are "d'azur á un chevron d'argent surmonté d'un croissant de même, accompagné en chef de deux étoiles d'or, et en pointe d'un ours passant de même."—Filleau.

André Bernon, the father of Gabriel Bernon, was a merchant of La Rochelle; died some years before the Revocation. He was living at the time of Gabriel's marriage, when he signed the marriage contract, 23d August, 1673. His wife, Susanne Guillemard, was then already deceased.*

"The name de Bernon is found in the year 1191, in the list of families who had representatives in the crusades to the Holy Land."

Transplanted into various provinces of western France, the family originated in Burgundy, a younger branch of the house of the Counts of Burgundy, resting this belief upon the name, which was borne by several of these princes, from the year 895, and upon the conformity of its armorial bearings with those that were borne at an early day by the Counts of Mâcon.

From the fourteenth century, and beginning with Raoul de Bernon, the house of Bernon possesses all the documents necessary to establish its filiation.†

"The house of Bernon has formed alliances with some of the most illustrious families of the kingdom; it has rendered military services that have not been without distinction; and it counts among its members superior officers of the greatest merit, both military and naval.

"It has had several chevaliers of the order of Saint Louis."—*Livre d'Or de la Noblesse de France.*

According to the pedigree traced by M. Henri Filleau, Raoul Bernon "who served with distinction in the wars of his time," married Charlotte de Talmont, and had a son Nicolas, chosen mayor of La Rochelle in 1357. Jean, son of Nicolas, was chosen mayor in 1398. Jean Thomas, son of Jean, founded the two gentilhommières, or manors, of "Bernonière" and "Bernonville." The former derived its name from a small château in the province of Poitou (now in the department of Vendée), and the latter from a château on the island of Ré Jean-Thomas. Left a son André, who had two sons, Pierre, sieur de la Bernonière et l'Isleau, and Jean. The latter, Jean, second son of André, had a son André. M. Filleau has not followed out the line of descent through Jean and André, the younger branch of the family.

But from this point the line of descent is traced by M. Crasson as follows: André Bernon married Catharine du Bouché in 1545. Their son Léonard married Francoise Carré in 1578, and had two sons, Jean, sieur de Bernonville, and André. The younger, André, married (1) Jeanne Lescour, and (2) Marie Papin in 1605, and had two sons, Léonard, sieur

*Bernon papers, MS.

†M. Henri Filleau. *Dictionnaire historique et généalogique des familles de l'ancien Poitu.*

de Bernonville, and André, to whom reference is made, and who was the father of Gabriel Bernon, the refugee.—(*Généalogie de la famille Bernon, à La Rochelle, dressée par M. Joseph Crassou, 1782.*)

TRANSLATION.

It appears by an act of 1524, that the house and manor of Pomeraye at Perigny was possessed by Peter Bernon; this house and manor belongs at the present time [1782] to Mary Susanne Bernon, "the lady of the manor," a widow in line of one of his descendants.

The family of Bernon is found registered with the families of Poitou. It is said the name of Bernon occurs in "Froissart's Chronicles."

Gabriel Bernon, born 1644, in April, fourth son of André, had reached the age of 41 at the time of the Revocation. His accounts show a very extensive commerce with the principal towns of the provinces,—Poitiers, Limoges, Angoulême, Niort, Châtellerault, Loudun and other places,—and a foreign trade with Martinique, St. Christopher, Cayenne and St. Domingo.

In Quebec he had been styled the principal French merchant, and as having rendered great service to the colony.

"It is a pity," wrote de Denonville (the Governor of Canada), "that he cannot be converted, as he is a Huguenot; the bishop wants me to order him home this autumn, which I have done, though he carries on a large business, and a great deal of money remains due to him here."

The daughters of André and Suzanne Guilleminard Bernon were Esther, who resided in England; Jeanneton, m. Jean Allaire; Eve, m. Pierre Lanceau; Suzanne, m. Paul de Pont; and Marie, m. Benjamin Faneuil.

There were five sons, André, Gabriel, Samuel, Jean and Jacques. André, the eldest son, was a wealthy banker; Samuel and Jean, the second and third sons of André Bernon, renounced the Protestant faith—Samuel, sieur de Salins, had changed his faith long before the Revocation, in 1660, shortly after his marriage to Marie, daughter of Samuel Cottiby, pastor of a church at Poitiers, in Poitou, who abjured Protestantism. Samuel Bernon resided at Poitiers in Poitou, having acquired a large fortune in European and American commerce. Jean, educated in the Protestant faith, became a pastor of the Reformed church of Saint Just near Marennes in the province of Saintonge, but at the Revocation he abjured Protestantism; he is now known as Jean, sieur de Luneau, and resided in Marennes, or the parish of Saint Just, possessing an estate. He died in or before the year 1714.*

* Samuel Bernon continued to be engaged in commerce with Canada, and is spoken of as the merchant who carried on the most extensive business.

Among the few French prose writers who preceded Francis I. and who are

The residence of Gabriel Bernon in Providence, near Roger Williams' spring, is thus described in an historical sketch of the life of Gabriel Bernon, M.S., by the late Hon. Zachariah Allen, LL.D. :

"Hon. Gabriel Bernon built a house somewhat after the French style, with a bold jet arching over the street. The house was framed of wood, two stories in front and three in the rear, and for that early day was doubtless one of the best structures in the town. The spring which attracted the attention of Roger Williams, and allured him to turn the prow of his canoe toward it, is well remembered by the writer. It gushed forth from the earth in a copious stream that flowed into the adjacent river."

The location of Bernon's ancient home in Providence is perfectly well remembered. It was on the plot of ground of the original "Roger Williams' spring," on the west side of North Main Street, and next north of his great-grandson Governor Philip Allen's residence. Almost directly opposite Bernon's house, on the east side of Main Street, was the mansion of Roger Williams, next to which, though at a later day, was King's Church, now St. John's, on the corner of Main and Church Streets.

An aged lady of Providence perfectly recollected Mr. Bernon, and had spoken of him to her daughter, who was living in 1844, aged eighty-three years. Bernon was described as "a man of very gentlemanly manners and as wearing a scarlet coat trimmed with gold lace," and the ladies of his family wore very "superb brocades."

Bernon is represented as slight, tall and very erect in his person, with a commanding appearance, blended with most courtly manners, for which "the descendant of the princely house of Burgundy" was distinguished.

Extracts from a letter which Gabriel Bernon received from his brother Samuel Bernon, dated Poitiers, Sept., 1714 :

"You may have heard of the death of our playmate and cousin of Bernonville. Thus of the Bernon name, the males of our family are the only ones remaining in the world. Our sister, Françoise Esther, who

named as great historians is Froissart, who was interested in all the events and personages of his day. At one time Froissart "fell in at Pamiers with a good knight, Messire Espaing of Lyons who had been in all the wars of the time and managed the great affairs of princes. They set out to travel together, Messire Espaing telling his comrade what he knew about the history of the places whereby they passed, and Froissart taking great care to ride close to him for to hear his words. Every evening they halted at hostels where they drained flagons full of white wine as good as the good canon had ever drunk in his life, then after drinking, as soon as the knight was weary of relating, the chronicler wrote down just the substance of his stories."—History of France, M. de Guizot.

complains much of you, is in good health, as well as our sister-in-law, and Andrew Bernon, her son. Andrew has a numerous family, and all of its members are wealthy, as well as Mr. du Petit Val, and our nephew, De Pont.*

"I have four grown daughters and a boy who has gone through his course of philosophy at Paris, whom I have recalled to this place to make him pursue law studies; my eldest daughter I married six months ago to a very honorable man of one of the best families of this country, whose name is Mr. De la Chaize Peraut, who has a good estate, and is a gentleman. I have three left, who will easily marry, as they are fine looking girls."

Newport, Rhode Island, in 1706, was much engaged in commerce with the West Indies at this period. Tradition states that Gabriel, the only son of Gabriel Bernon by his first marriage, embarked for the West Indies in a vessel under the command of one Captain Tripe, which was lost during a snowstorm on leaving the bay and all on board perished.

Gabriel Bernon was much interested "in the formation of the first three Episcopal churches in Rhode Island,—Trinity Church in Newport, St. Paul's Church in Kingstown, and St. John's Church in Providence."

"In the summer of 1724—in his 81st year—he crossed the ocean for the purpose of representing to the Bishop of London and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the necessities of the congregation in Providence, and the importance of sending a competent minister to that thriving town."

Family tradition states while in London Mr. Bernon was presented at the Court of St. James.

There in his peaceful home he is represented as teaching his young English wife and children "the devotional verses he had composed in his native tongue, corresponding with Dean Berkley at Newport, and inditing his (Christian) reflections upon "Thomas à Kempis" and "Drelincourt's Consolations." Bishop Berkley in a letter to Mr. Bernon, written in French (after thanking him for his beautiful prose and his belle poésie), writes, "Your reflections on the events of this world show a very laudable zeal for religion and the glory of God." Indeed, through all his trials, and they were many, Mr. Bernon uniformly sustained the character of a Christian gentleman. In his own words, it was his most fervent desire to sustain himself in the fear of God.

From a Boston newspaper dated February 19, 1735-6:

"Obituary notice of Gabriel Bernon, one of the founders of the Oxford Colony in Massachusetts, and afterwards a settler of the Narragansett country of Rhode Island."

*André De Pont.

"He was decently buried under the Epis. ch., in Providence & a g't concourse of people attended his funeral to whom the Rev. Mr. Brown preached an agreeable sermon from the 39th Psalm 4th verse, "Lord make me to know mine end & the measure of my days what it is that I may know how frail I am."

In a "Will" of Gabriel Bernon dated February 10, 1727-8, proved in Providence, Feb. 10, 1735-6, and there recorded, he mentions his first marriage and his children by that marriage who survived him, viz.: Mary Tourtelot, Esther Powell, Sarah Whipple and Jane Coddington; and also his second marriage, to Mary Harris, and four small children by that marriage, viz.: Gabriel (who died young), Susanne, Mary and Eve (a most exemplary Xtian young lady who died unmarried and was buried in St. John's Church-yard), and Mary in Providence.

Sarah Bernon was married to Benjamin Whipple of Cumberland, R. I., Nov. 11, 1722, the descendants of whom still reside at Cumberland and North Providence.

Jane Bernon was married to Col. William Coddington of Newport, who was the Governor of Rhode Island.

NEWPORT, R. I., *May 30, 1713.*

Esther, daughter of Gabriel Bernon, was married to Adam ap Powell.*

Adam ap Powell was a Welchman. He died at Newport, Dec. 29, 1725, and was there buried, aged 51 years. Madame Esther died Oct. 20, 1746, at South Kingstown, and was buried at Tower Hill, R. I., in a deserted church-yard, aged 69 years. Elizabeth, their daughter, born at Newport, April 8, 1719, was married to Reverend Samuel Seabury of New London, Conn., whose son Samuel, by a former marriage, was the first English bishop in America. Elizabeth became his stepmother when he was five years old. She died Feb. 6, 1799, aged 87 years.†

Esther, the second daughter of Adam and Esther ap Powell, born in Newport, May, 1718, was married, October, 1738, to James Helme, chief justice of the Superior Court of Rhode Island. Judge Helme died at South Kingstown, March 22, 1764.

In the Narragansett Country the purchasers set aside three hundred acres of the best land as a glebe for a church, and in 1707 the church of St. Paul's was erected in Kingstown, the tradition is that much of the wood furnishing for the interior of this church was brought fully finished from England, and Queen Anne in her sympathy sent to the church a silver christening bowl. In the old church records are found the names

* From Trinity Church Records, Newport.

† Mrs. ap Powell resided first at Newport, R. I., then at Tower Hill, half a mile west of Allen's house and store, about two miles southwest of Wickford, North Kingstown afterward, with her daughter, Mrs. Helme, at Tower Hill.

of Bernon, Potter, Gardiner, Helme, Arnold, Coddington, Stuart and many other names of distinction who were members of the Church of England and were settled previous to the year 1700 in the King's Province or Narragansett Country. This church is the oldest Episcopal Church edifice in New England.

Among its ancient church records a curious and obsolete entry is of the "gossips" at a christening. "March 31st, 1771. Mr. Fayerweather baptized a male child of Mr. Benjamin Nason, by the name of Elisha, the gossips being Mr. Bowyer, Mr. Jefferson and the grandfather." It is the old Saxon word for sponsor, and is so used by all old English writers. Beaumont and Fletcher say in the "Noble Gentleman," "I'd be a gossip. Beauford. I have an old apostle spoon."

Tradition states that there are still diaries that have been preserved which refer to Narragansett hospitality. There were no taverns at this date. The distinguished William Ellery, wrote in 1777, "October 22nd. Rode to Judge Greenes at Warwick and dined, and reached Judge Potters at Kingstown, in evening." With the entry in his diary for the 23d, 24th and 25th, "Weather Lowering." On the 26th he wrote, "Weather still lowering, and unfit for journeying. Good Quarters in a storm takes of its force and renders it less disagreeable. So remain at Judge Potters." On the 26th Mr. Ellery took his leave, and Judge Potter rode with him several miles, as was the fashion of the time. Judge Sewall mentions in his diary as an extreme discourtesy that in one instance no one rode with him when he left as the guest of a friend.

In the year 1712, at Providence, Bernon was united in a second marriage to Mary, the daughter of Thomas Harris and grandniece (or grand-daughter) of William Harris, who accompanied Roger Williams in the settlement of Providence, and landed with him at What-cheer. Mr. Bernon sent to England for a clergyman of the English church to perform the marriage ceremony. In relation to Mr. Bernon's family by his second marriage, in the records of the Narragansett church is the following entry: July 11, 1721, baptized Mary and Eve Bernon.

Mr. Bernon had at this time a daughter Mary by his first marriage still living. Bernon is now represented by the descendants of a numerous family of daughters, who may be traced in some of the most distinguished families of Rhode Island.

The children of Gabriel Bernon and his second wife, Mary Harris, were Gabriel, Susanne, Mary and Eve.

Gabriel died young.

Eve, the third daughter of Gabriel Bernon, baptized July 11, 1721, died, unmarried, in 1775.

Mary, daughter of Gabriel and Mary Bernon, born April 1, 1719, married Gideon, a brother of Joseph Crawford; she died Oct. 1, 1739. They

had seven sons and four daughters. From this marriage descended the family of Mrs. N. Dodge. Another daughter married Mr. Arnold and removed to Vermont.

Susanne, daughter of Gabriel and Mary Bernon, was born in the Narragansett country in the parish of Old St. Paul's in 1714, and about fourteen miles from Walsfield. She was married to Joseph Crawford in Providence, August 28, 1734. Joseph was the son of William Crawford and grandson of Gideon Crawford, of an ancient and noted Scotch ancestry.

She died February 15, 1802, aged eighty-six years. Joseph and Susanne Crawford had nine children, the youngest of whom, Anne, born June 25, 1759, was married, January, 1778, to Zachariah Allen, who died April 4, 1831, aged sixty-one years. She died September 8, 1806, leaving six children: Lydia, Ann, Philip, Candace, Zachariah and Crawford.

From this marriage are descended the families of Governor Philip Allen and Hon. Zachariah Allen, LL.D., and also Mrs. Sullivan Dorr's family. The families of Nibbengale, Jenckes, Pratt and Barnes also trace their ancestry.

EXTRACT FROM LETTERS OF HON. ZACHARIAH ALLEN TO M. DE W.
FREELAND.

“PROVIDENCE, *June*, 1831.

“My grandfather Crawford married Susanne Bernon, the daughter of Gabriel, who was 86 years old at the time of her death. She remembered her father, and I remember her well; so that at my age of 55 years, these lives date back to the first founding of Providence in 1639. This illustrates how comparatively recent is the first settlement of New England. Gabriel Bernon is buried under St. John's Church in Providence, where his remains I have caused to be interred in a tomb with an inscription; and in the church our family have joined to have made a large bronze tablet, with suitable inscriptions. When you come to Providence this might interest you, perhaps.

“Your suggestion of meeting some of the Huguenot descendants for a reunion at the scene of the ancient settlement is very pleasant, for it will add to the interest of the occasion, which will be nearly a bi-centennial celebration.

“With regard I remain,

“Yours truly,

“ZACHARIAH ALLEN.”

"PROVIDENCE, *July 30th*, 1881.

"MRS. MARY DE WITT FREELAND :

"The ancient sword of Gabriel Bernon, now in the possession of (Master) Philip Allen of Providence.

"It was received from his daughter, Susannah (Bernon) Crawford, by my brother, Gov. Philip Allen, and by him at his death given to his son, Charles B. Allen, who gave it to his son, Philip Allen. He carried it with him to add interest to the celebration on memorial day at (Oxford) the very spot where it had been worn at the fort. I remember this sword when it was kept in a drawer of the chamber where I slept while a child, more than seventy-five years ago. The authenticity of the sword, as belonging to Mr. Bernon, is further confirmed by the Sewall Papers, 1707, vol. ii., page 262, in Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vi., fifth series, in the following words: Judge Sewall records, "As I came from Charlestown Lecture I met Mr. Bernon in Sudbury Street; he turn'd from me and would not have seen me; but I spoke to him. Quickly after I saw Col. Vitch in the Council Chamber, and said to him, Mr. Bernon is in town, as I told you he would. I observed him at Sir Charles's Muster, when he went around with a sword by his side among the governor's attendants."* Probably the reason for his turning away from Judge Sewall was disgust for him in condemning the women to be hung in Salem for witchcraft, which he did do.

Bernon's sword is in the possession of his descendants, bearing the date on the blade the figures "1414" It is said this date is the same with that of one of the wars of the house of Burgundy, from which the Bernons claimed to be descended.

Delfius relates that "in 1414, John the Intrepid came to Burgundy, with twenty thousand horse, and reduced all the fortified of Tonnerre and gave them to his son Philip."

"The Hon. Zachariah Allen, LL.D., son of Anne Crawford, who married Zachariah Allen, and grandson of Susanne, daughter of Gabriel and Mary Bernon, was born in Providence, Rhode Island, September 15, 1795, and died in that city, March 17, 1882, in the eighty-seventh year of his age. He was graduated in 1813 at Brown University, and subsequently pursued a course of study in law and medicine. He was married in 1817 to Eliza Harriet, daughter of Welcome Arnold, Esq., of Providence."

Hon. Zachariah Allen, LL.D., was President of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

* In 1709, Judge Sewall in his Diary mentions Mr. Bernon:

"I observ'd he was at Sir Charles' Muster, and went round the Body with his sword by his side, followed by the Govrs. Attendants."

EXTRACTS FROM HUGUENOT ANCESTRY BY EX-GOV. DYER,
PROVIDENCE, R. I.

On October 26, 1843, Gov. Dyer arrived at Havre accompanied by Mrs. Dyer and his sister. "On the succeeding day we took our departure for Paris via Rouen, remaining there sufficient time for visiting its far-famed cathedral and other places of interest, after which we resumed our seats in the diligence for Paris, where we arrived October 27th.

"All of our early childhood had been cheered and brightened by our honored and endeared mother's narratives of her life and uninterrupted associations with her grandmother, Esther Tourtellot, who was the great-granddaughter of Gabriel Bernon, who resided in the gambrel-roofed brick house, which stood, until within a few years, near the junction of Benefit and North Main Streets, the old elm tree now remaining there being in her grandmother's yard. I will not hazard the supposition of its being planted by her, as I do not know its origin. I think now that my mother's ready acquiescence in my younger sister's absence from home, was the hope and wish that we might by some favorable circumstance be known by, and associated with, the members of her grandmother's family then living in Bordeaux and La Rochelle, which I had promised should be faithfully and as extensively accomplished as time, health and other circumstances would possibly allow.

"I arranged with the Hon. Henry Ledyard, at Paris, Chargé d'Affaires, in the absence of our minister (his father-in-law, Gen. Lewis Cass, who was then in the United States), for my presentations at the King's reception for gentlemen, early in December.

"We arrived at Bordeaux early on the day we left Paris, after a most interesting diligence ride through Orleans. We passed through many old walled towns, under the portcullis, to the entrance, through narrow streets, lighted by lanterns suspended by ropes across them.

"Before leaving Paris, I was fortunate in securing the services, as courier and travelling servant, of Joseph Henner, a man of an agreeable personal prestige and manner. He was of superior education, and more than ordinarily familiar with several languages. The next day, with Henner, we thoroughly searched Bordeaux for some representative of the Tourtellot family, but could not find any person or recognize the name in the place. My next object of research was the Bernon family at La Rochelle.

"We left the next morning for that quaint, old, highly interesting place. When leaving home, my mother gave me the history of the Huguenot ancestry which she had received from her grandmother. It was in English, but Henner's ability and intelligence most satisfactorily translated it into French.

"At breakfast the next morning I told Henner to inquire of the waitress and landlady if they knew of any family by the name of Bernon in the place. They promptly replied, 'Yes.' There was Madame la veuve Bernon, living at No. —, Rue ——. The name of the street and number I have forgotten.

"After arranging my papers and toilet very critically, Henner and I started out on our most interesting and exciting mission. We readily found the place, and ringing the bell, it was answered by a very comely and neatly dressed maid in the peculiar Normandy costume and cap. We inquired if Madame Bernon was at home. She very hesitatingly assented. Henner, as instructed, told her to say to her mistress that a young American gentleman, a descendant of Gabriel Bernon, wished to see her. The girl rapidly returned and said her mistress did not wish to see the gentleman, and to inform him that there was no property of any kind remaining undisposed of.

"As she was closing the door, Henner said: 'My master is a gentleman "rentier," travelling for pleasure, with sufficient resources. He does not wish to inquire for any property, but only to see the members of his ancestor's family now living. His wife and sister are now in Paris, and he is to return immediately for preparation for his presentation to the court next week.' This information was communicated to madame, who requested us to call again at four o'clock that afternoon.

"I should have said that my companions were so interested in this quaint old city that they preferred a thorough investigation of it rather than to accompany me in the questionable success of seeking for old family representatives and associations.

"Punctually at four o'clock I was at the house again, and was formally, with great civility and ceremony, ushered into the parlor, where I met a very fine looking lady, of about fifty years of age, I should suppose, rather short and stout, with as bright complexion and cheerful countenance as one of twenty-five or thirty. As a companion there was a gentleman, probably seventy years of age, who was introduced to me as Dr. ——. I soon realized that his presence was as a counsellor and advisor in any result that might succeed our interview. I understood sufficient French to know what passed between them. In order to relieve them from any restraint or embarrassment, I told Henner to ask her if my papers had been examined. She replied yes, and they were incorrect. She ordered her servant to bring from its lockup receptacle her husband's lengthy genealogy in French, and referring to it, she observed to her counsellor, that it declared a Gabriel Bernon went to America and died there, leaving no posterity. I told Henner to call her attention to other parts of the paper, and she would find a correct account of his family, and to say to the doctor that it was a very natural

mistake to make in the difficulty and infrequency of being able to communicate with his family in France, if there was no emergency requiring it. He very readily assented to Henner's explanation, and called madame's attention to it, and other parts of the paper's correctness. I had with me also from my mother, a seal representative of the Bernon coat of arms, and asked for hers. It was brought, with a lighted candle and sealing wax, which the doctor took and very expertly made several impressions of each. Again madame denied any similarity of the one to the other. The doctor said: 'You are very much mistaken, madame; it is precisely the same,' and pointed out critically the designation of each. With that peculiar French shrug of the shoulders she exclaimed: 'Mon Dieu, is it possible?' I told Henner to repeat to them the information he had given to the maid in the morning, of my personal position and intended court presentation. He, the doctor, seemed perfectly satisfied with all that occurred. After an hour had passed, unwilling to trespass further upon their courtesy, time and attention, or to make any intrusive inquiry as to their own personal history, I retired, making proper acknowledgment for their kind and courteous manner of my reception and somewhat protracted interview.

"As I was passing to the door, she expressed her gratification at seeing me, and gave me as a souvenir the copy of the French genealogy which had been the subject of the consideration. It was printed on the thickest and strongest paper, of ordinary foolscap form, but quadruple in its size. The type was in ordinary form, but nearly as large as capitals. They very kindly informed me that another family connected with Gabriel Bernon resided elsewhere in La Rochelle, and advised me seeing them. I told her I would call upon them the next day at twelve o'clock, noon.

"At the hour appointed and place mentioned, Henner and myself were present, and found a family of three ladies, sisters, nearly connected with Gabriel Bernon; two being maiden ladies, the other, Madame Steiuman, who was confined to her bed with a very severe illness, which eventually proved fatal. I was much impressed and gratified on being informed that Madame Bernon and the doctor had notified this family of my presence and identity, in recognition of which, I was invited into Madame Steinman's sick chamber, upon the walls of which was suspended the original of the portrait now in possession of my son, Gabriel Bernon Dyer.

"Madame Steinman told me of her having a son residing in New York. I was also informed by the ladies that Baron de Bernon was then living in the Château Guillemard, in Bourbon-Vendée, whom they had also informed of the presence of an American descendant of Gabriel Bernon, whose identity could be satisfactorily confirmed. In a short

time after this I received a kind and courteous invitation to visit him, in which he advised me of the route and time it would require for me so doing. He had been likewise made aware of my wife and younger sister being then in Paris awaiting my return for our presentation at court within a short time. This I assigned as the necessity of my declining his kind invitation.

"After his receipt of my inability of seeing him at his château, I received a most characteristic letter with proposals of marriage between his son of suitable age, and my sister, stating that his son would succeed him as the inheritor of his titles and estates. He inquired rather minutely what dowry my sister would bring with her, offering to duplicate it for the benefit of the young people.

"This was a most unexpected issue of his courtesy and our correspondence, and one somewhat difficult of proper action. My reply was expressive of the great honor he had done my family in his proposal. I assured him of its being most gratefully appreciated by all interested, and expressed the great reluctance I felt in communicating to him the inability of my family to regard it with approval. As my sister was the only member at home with my parents, who were somewhat advanced in life, her separation from them would create the most painful emotions; and I was apprehensive that much more serious results would be realized in her leaving them under any circumstances, especially those then existing. The time and distance of any interchange of communication or visiting to and from home were too great and difficult, if not hazardous, and necessarily attendant upon the separation which the acceptance of his proposal would require; my reply, that I should be unable to visit him, terminated our correspondence.

"I should have stated that my most courteous reception and gratifying recognition by the Bernon ladies were due, in a great degree, to the kindness of Monsieur Paul Louis Armand Auboyneau, a graduate of Brown University in 1799, to whom all my papers and pretensions had been submitted by the last-named family. As a student at Brown University he had been a frequent guest and visitor to my mother's family. His recollections of her as Miss Frances Jones were vivid and highly flattering, as he referred to her personal appearance, manners and address. He fully verified all that I had said or done in the matter under consideration, and, as expressive of it, requested my presence at his family gathering, at dinner or tea, the next day. The former I declined, apprehensive of its formality in my limited ability for the maintenance of the conversation usually connected with that entertainment. At the tea-table I was introduced to his family, and passed the most delightful evening in giving him the most recent information of

his former friend and associates, of many of whom he had not heard since his graduation, half a century previous (forty-four years).

"As he recalled many of them, it was a sad reply I had to make ('dead, sir'). Of their families I could say more. On my return home, I sent to him the last tax-book, Providence Directory, and the annual and triennial catalogues of Brown University.

"To return to the Bernon ladies. As one of the maiden sisters accompanied me to the door, I referred as delicately as I could to the inexpressible pleasure which some souvenir of their kindness would give my family at home. She promptly apprehended my meaning, and asked if I had particularly noticed the portrait in the sick sister's chamber. I replied I had been so engrossed with the presence of those about me that I had not. She led me back to the room and pointing to the portrait said: 'There is our most valuable souvenir of the past.' Any further reference to it would have been inappropriate and ill-advised, although when at Monsieur Auboyneau's I expressed a wish for a copy of it. I asked him if such a request would be intrusive or unwelcome. He replied: 'I will see and let you know.' Soon after our return home the copy was sent through his and their generous kindness, without cost of any kind to me. Soon after its receipt Madam Steinmau's death occurred, of which formal notice was sent to my family, that they might be present at her obsequies. With this notice of her death and the invitation was inclosed a lock of her hair.

"These recognitions of our connection with Gabriel Bernon and his family were as gratifying, if not affecting, as had been my personal interviews. In all of my intercourse with the different families I had referred to our frequent adoption of the Bernon names, my maternal grandmother being Esther Jones, and this was also the name of one of my mother's sisters. My grandmother's brother was Bernon Dunn; my mother and an elder sister were named Frances, from Francois Le Roy, Gabriel Bernon's father-in-law; another, Esther, and my son, Gabriel Bernon, concludes the list. An account of the two court receptions, and of further travels in Italy, etc., would be interesting, but irrelevant to this paper. In closing, however, I offer a tribute to the hallowed and endeared memory of one who, through the entirety of a protracted, active and unusually eventful life, was the expressive possessor and most faithful exponent of the highest, brightest, purest and best attributes of an exalted Christian character. And whatever meritorious distinction my family may have, or can acquire, as descendants of such an honorable and distinguished ancestry, is also due to the direction and control of a mother of the most exalted quality of character that could adorn and elevate humanity; my family and myself sor-

rowfully realizing that in 'this wide world's space, there is, indeed, one vacant place.'"

MRS. FREELAND :

MY DEAR MADAM.—Your favor of the thirteenth ult., addressed to my father, has been duly received, and as he has commissioned me, by reason of continued ill-health, to furnish what information we may be able to give you concerning our Gallic ancestors, I hasten to answer your request. My parents were second cousins prior to their marriage, and I am thus doubly descended from the Bernon and Tourtelot families.

Through the union of Esther Tourtelot and Samuel Dunn, we are descended from the families which you mention in your letter, and the relationship to which I alluded as existing between my parents arose from two of their daughters (Esther and Anne Dunn) marrying respectively Thomas and William Jones. The younger brother was Governor of our State for several years in the early part of this century, and was my mother's grandfather, his only surviving daughter, Harriet Dunn Jones, having married the late Thomas Hoppin. Thomas Jones was father of my father's mother and she became the wife of the first Elisha Dyer in the year eighteen hundred. Through his grandparent am I descended in nearly the same course and in the same number of generations from Roger Williams, the founder of our State. We have the coat of arms of Bernon and Tourtelot families. We have also a portrait of Marie Sara Bernon, a niece of Gabriel Bernon, who married Paul de Pont, and who was in La Rochelle during the siege of 1661. My father, ex-Gov. Elisha Dyer, obtained this painting in eighteen hundred and forty-four.*

I am, dear Mrs. Freeland,

Yours respectfully,

G. BERNON DYER.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., *June 1, 1881.*

*The portrait, three-fifths length of Madame de Pont, is described as representing a very beautiful lady, a brunette, possessing extreme dark brown hair, with soft brown eyes; the figure is a full bust, pale complexion, heightened by a delicate tint of color; her dress is of the court style of the seventeenth century. Her frizzed hair appears to be carelessly held in place by a heavy pin of gold with a head like a very small comb set with pearls, a veil of lace covering her head, and a mantle of the same material falling around her arms, giving to the figure an appearance of a floating drapery of lace.

In the portrait of Madame de Pont there is a close resemblance in style to that of the Countess de Grignon, the daughter of the Marquise de Sévigné, who was married to the Count de Grignon in 1669, as is shown in an ancient painting by Mignard or Petitot, noted artists of the time, only the frizzed hair of Countess de Grignon is held apparently in place by a plain heavy pin of gold, to which is fastened on the left side a bouquet, and her neck is encircled with a pearl necklace.

TOURTELLOT.

Abraham Tourtelot from Bordeaux, France, married Marie, daughter of Gabriel and Esther (Le Roy) Bernon. (So stated in a deed executed June 1, 1699.—Suffolk Deeds, Boston, lib. xix., fol. 179.)

He joined the Narragansett colony, and after its dissolution removed to Roxbury, Massachusetts.

Children of Abraham* and Marie (Bernon) Tourtelot: Gabriel, born Sept. 24, 1694; Esther, born June 12, 1696; Abraham, born 1698.

In the Suffolk County Probate Records, No. 1618, Boston, Massachusetts, there is on record an administrator's bond, showing that there were two brothers, Abraham and Benjamin Tourtelot, who were born in Bordeaux, France. Benjamin died on the passage in the ship *Friendship*, to Boston from London. Abraham administered upon the estate, which consisted principally of merchandise. The brothers were associated as merchants.

Abraham Tourtelot came with his three sons. Jacob, Moses and John† are recorded with that of Gabriel Bernon in Latin, in a charter or patent from King James II., giving a list of names of French refugees who accompanied Bernon from London to Boston.—Lib. 14, fol. 212.

The foregoing Patent was recorded this 20th of July, 1688, at the Desire of Mr. Gabriel Bernon, one of the Partys therein mentioned by Mr. Tho. Dudley, Clr.—Early Suffolk Deeds, by John T. Hassan.

Abraham, son of Abraham and Marie (Bernon) Tourtelot, and brother of Gabriel Tourtelot, owned a landed estate in Gloucester, R. I., in the county of Providence.

* Abraham Tourtelot removed with Bernon, his father-in-law, to Newport, Rhode Island.

In the autumn of 1686, some forty French families made a settlement in Rhode Island, having purchased of the Atherton Company, England, and remained some five years. The ownership of lands in the Narragansett counties purchased of this company was proven involved.

The site is still pointed out in the town of East Greenwich, Rhode Island.

†The names of Abraham Tourtelot's sons are given in act of naturalization, James Moses, James Thomas and John.

The broad seal of England is appendant.

Tradition states that Esther, the daughter of Abraham and Marie (Bernon) Tourtelot, married a gentleman by the name of Harding of Newport, Rhode Island; also, Marie (Bernon) Tourtelot survived her husband and resided with her son Abraham Tourtelot at Gloucester, Rhode Island, to the close of her life.

Tradition states, the graves of mother and son are still pointed out by some of the descendants, though there are no inscriptions on the rude headstones.

Tradition states, that Gabriel the son of Abraham and Marie (Bernon) Tourtelot, resided at Newport, Rhode Island, and sailed from that place, as master of a vessel, with his son, and both were lost at sea.

In a family Bible of William Tourtelot, a son of Abraham Tourtelot, Jr., there is the following record of his father :

Abraham Tourtelot, born in 1698.

In the Colonial Records of Rhode Island Abraham Tourtelot is admitted freeman May, 1722.

Abraham, the second son of Abraham Tourtelot, who came from Bordeaux, France, was married first to Lydia Ballard; in a second marriage, Jan. 29, 1743, to a Mrs. Corps, whose name prior to her first marriage was Hannah Case. In a third marriage to Mrs. Williams, a widow lady.

Children of Abraham and Lydia (Ballard) Tourtelot: Mary, born March 20, 1721, who married a gentleman by the name of Mitchell; Lydia and Esther (twins), born Jan. 24, 1723. Lydia married Thomas Knowlton. Esther married Samuel Dunn and resided in Boston. Abraham, born Feb. 27, 1725, married a Miss Harris, and resided in Thompson, Ct.; Jonathan, born Sept. 15, 1728, married a Miss Williams, and resided in Scituate, R. I.; Benjamin, born Nov. 30, 1730, married a Miss Ballard, and resided in Vermont; Sarah married John Inman.

Children of Abraham Tourtelot by second marriage: Stephen, who died young of the small-pox; William, who married Phoebe Whitman of Providence, and resided in Gloucester, R. I.; Jesse, married Freeclove Angell, and resided in Mendon, Mass., and died in Sutton; Daniel, married Urena Keech; resided and died in Gloucester, R. I.; Anne, married a Mr. Jones, in a second marriage Ebenezer White, and died in Providence, R. I., at a very advanced age.

FANEUIL.

Benjamin Faneuil, a Huguenot in the Oxford French settlement, was the father of Peter Faneuil of Boston. Pierre, a brother of Benjamin Faneuil who married Marie the sister of Gabriel Bernon, married Marie De Pont. He was the father of two daughters and of Benjamin, Jean and Andrew Faneuil who left La Rochelle, France, at the Revocation and went to the Colonies.

First Report of the Record Commissioners, p. 154. The names of Benjamin, John, and Andrew Faneuil are in a list headed "Boston, Feb. 1, 1691. List of persons of the French nation admitted into the Colony by the Governour and Council." Printed in Sewall's Papers.

Marie Jeanne, eldest daughter of Peter Faneuil, was married to Jacques Bernon of Bernonville. This Bernon branch was of the family of Léonard Bernon, a son and daughter of Jacques and Marie. Jeanne Bernon deceased without issue. Pierre, a son of Benjamin and Marie (Bernon) Faneuil, married Esther Allaire.

"Francois Bureau of La Rochelle, France, came to America in 1688,

bringing with him his wife Anne, two sons and two daughters. He was the brother of Thomas Burean, one of the principal French merchants of London, 'living near y^e Savoy great gate in the Strand.' Francois, who invariably signed himself Burean l'ainé, joined the settlement in Oxford, and upon the breaking up of that colony removed to New York."

Anne, the daughter of Francois Burean, became the wife of Benjamin Faneuil in 1699 and the mother of Peter Faneuil of Boston.

Benjamin Faneuil died in New York, 1719, aged 50 years. Jean died at La Rochelle, June, 1737. Andrew died in Boston, February, 1737.

Peter Faneuil was born at New Rochelle in New York, June, 1700; his father died when he was eighteen, and subsequently he came to Boston. His uncle, Andrew Faneuil, who died in February, 1737-38, appointed him his executor and residuary legatee. This large fortune came from his uncle. "Last Monday the Corpse of Andrew Faneuil, Esquire, whose death we mentioned in our last, was honorably interred here," says the *Boston News-Letter* of February 23, "above 1,100 persons of all Ranks, besides the Mourners, following the Corpse; also a vast number of Spectators were gathered together on the Occasion, at which time the half-minute guns from on board several vessels were discharged. And 'tis supposed that as this Gentleman's Fortune was the greatest of any among us, so his funeral was as generous and expensive as any that has been known here." The nephew did not long enjoy this ample wealth. He died in about five years, after a short illness,—Feb. 3, 1742-43,—leaving no will; so that his whole property went to his brother, who had been disinherited by Andrew Faneuil, and to his four sisters.

Peter Faneuil was a shrewd, careful, and energetic business man, fond of display, and fond of good living. Two or three weeks after his uncle's death he wrote to one of his correspondents in London: "Send me, by the very first opportunity for this place, five pipes of your very best Madeira wine, of an amber color, of the same sort which you sent to our good friend DeLancey, of New York." And he adds: "As this wine is for the use of my house, I hope you will be careful that I have the best. I am not over fond of the strongest sort." About the same time he wrote to his New York correspondent: "Send me by the first conveyance the pipe of wine, having none good to drink." A fortnight later he renewed the order, directing his correspondent to send "by the first good opportunity the best pipe of wine that you can purchase." And a month afterward, when he had received it, he wrote: "The wine I hope will prove good; comes in very good time, there being none good in town." In another letter he wrote for "the latest, best book of the several sorts of cookery, which pray let be of the largest character, for the benefit of the maid's reading." A fortnight

after his uncle's death he wrote to London: "Be so good as to send me a handsome chariot with two sets of harness, with the arms, as enclosed, on the same, in the handsomest manner that you shall judge proper, but at the same time nothing gaudy." Along with these requests are specific instructions for the management of his business, and sharp demands for the payment of any debts due to him. One illustration of this characteristic is all that need be given:

In 1738-39, about a year after Andrew Faneuil's death, he wrote to one of his correspondents, a merchant at Barbadoes: "I have been very surprised, that, ever since the death of Captain Allen, you have not advised me of the sale of a horse belonging to my deceased uncle, left in your hands by him, which I am informed you sold for a very good price; and I am now to request the favor you would send me the net proceeds, with a fair and just account for the same, in sweetmeats and citron water: your compliance with which will stop me from giving some of my friends the trouble of calling you to an account there. I shall be glad to know if Captain Allen did not leave a silver watch and some fish, belonging to a servant of mine, with some person of your island, and with who. I expect your speedy answer." This energetic demand for an account of sales and a payment of the proceeds produced the desired effect, though the West India merchant very naturally complained of the tone of Faneuil's letter. A little more than two months afterward the latter acknowledged the receipt of the account of sales and a box of sweetmeats; and in answer to his correspondent's complaints of the "unhandsome style" of the previous letter, he added: "I must own it was not in so soft terms as I sometimes make use of; but at that juncture I really thought the state of the case required it, not having heard anything to be depended upon concerning the horse in dispute, either if he was dead, sold, or run away; upon either of which, I presumed the common complaisance, if not honor, among merchants might have entitled either my uncle in his lifetime, or myself after his decease, to some advice at least. I had indeed transiently heard here you had kept him, which in some measure prest my writing you on that head." Only one other letter need be mentioned, as characteristic of a social condition which ceased to have a legal existence in Massachusetts one hundred years ago. In a letter written in February, 1738-39, now in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and printed in the *Proceedings* of that Society for August, 1864, he directs his correspondent to purchase from the proceeds of a sale of fish, "for me, for the use of my house, as likely a straight negro lad as possibly you can, about the age of from 12 to 15 years; and if to be done, one that has had the small-pox, who being for my own service, I must request the favor you would let him be one of as tractable a disposition as you can find, which I leave to your pru-

dent care and management; desiring after you have purchased him, you would send him to me by the first good opportunity, recommending him to a particular care from the captain."

Peter Faneuil by the gift of Faneuil Hall to the town identified his name with the history of Boston. At the time of its erection there were no market-houses in the town. The result was that 367 votes were cast in favor of accepting the gift and 360 against its acceptance. There was much opposition in Boston against the system of market-houses by those who preferred the fashion of hawking provisions through the streets.

Faneuil Hall is a permanent memorial of the Huguenots in Boston, and, with the exception of a few crumbling grave-stones, it is the only visible monument of their residence in Boston. But it is impossible not to recognize the services which descendants of these Huguenots, or those connected with them by marriage, have rendered to this community.

Faneuil did not live many months after the completion of his hall; and it was remarked at the time that the first annual town-meeting held within its walls, March 14, 1742-3, was the occasion for the delivery of an eulogy on Faneuil by John Lovell, master of the Latin School. A tablet at the Faneuil tomb is surmounted by an hour-glass.

BUTLER AND DAVIE.

James Butler, the son of James and Elizabeth (Davie) Butler, of Boston, became a resident of Oxford in 1780. Mr. Butler was the perfect type of an English country gentleman. His large-hearted hospitality was noticeable in his time, inviting all his personal friends, and indeed all with whom he was acquainted, to partake of a glass of Maderia wine on Christmas and Thanksgiving holidays, and his drives about the country in a large, square-top chaise, distributing half-crowns for any service rendered to him.

He often called on his friend, Mr. John Bush of Worcester. The old Bush house in its day was an elegant mansion on Main street. Mr. Butler was not only distinguished for his wit, but for his agreeable manners as a gentleman. James Butler was town treasurer in 1786. In 1794-1796 and 1809 he represented the town in the Legislature.

James, son of James and Elizabeth (Davie) Butler, married, May 18, 1763, Mary, daughter of Anthony and Mary Waters Sigourney of Boston.

James Butler, the father of James Butler of Oxford, in the War of the Revolution was a Loyalist. It is said he was a favorite among the British officers in Boston. Sabine, in his work on American Loyalists,

page 189, states: "James Butler, in 1776, embarked at Boston for Halifax, with the British Army." His son James was urged by him to seek a refuge in the British Provinces. "He is said to have been saved from such a flight through the influence of his wife, Mary Sigourney, who had a great dread of any pioneering analogous to that of her Huguenot grandmother in Oxford a century before."

In 1774, the Port bill destroyed the commerce of Boston. Mr Butler was then residing on Prince street; the house was brick, originally of two stories, opposite Snow Hill street and near Thatcher, in going east from Salem street. He decided to leave Boston, and engaged passage for himself and family on board a British vessel, through the captain's leniency he took the family on board his ship. Mr. Butler entertained the captain with punch from the ancient family punch-bowl.

They left Boston Sunday evening of August 6, 1774, for the Kennebec river. "They arrived at Arrowsic Island on Thursday. This island is seven miles below Bath and opposite Phippsburg and near a rocky and bushy bluff called Squirrel Point." Before leaving Boston their pewter plate was buried in the cellar of the house, which they found on their return, with their house and furniture, unharmed. All silver plate, rich brocade dresses, and articles of linen and wearing apparel were removed with them.

In 1850 the white cottage on Arrowsic Island, near the shore, which Mr. Butler and his family had occupied four years, was still to be seen, and on an eminence was the mansion of Mr. Butler, his kinsman and landlord, who owned the island and had rented them the cottage at a yearly rent of £4.

In 1780 Mr. James Butler purchased a landed estate in Oxford, Massachusetts, of Silvanus Town, Esq., for £4,500. The estate was situated, with its mansion house, opposite the old North common, the south front of the house on the old Charlton road. Afterward this road was changed to pass on its north side. This same estate had been conveyed by Duncan Campbell, Esq., to Silvanus Town, June 22, 1778.

Their Children.

Mary², b. March 4, 1764; d. 1847, in Rutland, Vt.
 James Davie², b. Oct. 5, 1765; m. Rachel Harris; d. in Rutland, Vt., 1843.
 Anthony², b. Oct. 8, 1767; m. Jerusha Hill; d. 13 March, 1847.
 Elizabeth², b. Feb. 9, 1771; m. Jeremiah Kingsbury; d. 28 Aug., 1830.
 Hannah², b. Dec. 5, 1771; d. 6 Feb., 1792.
 John², b. July 4, 1773; m. Sarah Fiske; d. 25 Sept., 1824.
 Peter², b. Dec. 16, 1774; m. Mehitable Corbin; d. Dec., 1856.
 Sarah², b. Sept. 29, 1776; m. Jeremiah Kingsbury.

Celia², b. April 25, 1779; m. Archibald Campbell.

James¹, d. 20 Dec., 1827, æt. 87. Mary, wife, d. 14 April, 1823, æt. 81.

James, the son of James and Mary Sigourney Butler, born in Boston, 1765, and afterward resided with his parents in Oxford, Mass. In June, 1787, James Davie Butler visited Rutland, Vermont, accompanied by his kinsman, Col. Holman of Sutton, Mass. In August of the same year he again visited the place with his father, and decided to make Rutland his future home.

The education of James Butler in his childhood appears to have been directed by Master Tileston, at the North Writing School in Boston, and subsequently other masters, until he had acquired a superior education for his time. He was a merchant in the town for fifty years until his death, June 3, 1842. He had been a member of the State Council. He represented Rutland in the Vermont Legislature for several years.

He married Mrs. Rachel Harris Maynard, the mother of two daughters, Laura and Eliza, whom he educated with great care, placing them at the celebrated boarding-school of Misses Beach and Saunders, at Dorchester, Mass. Both of these young ladies died in early youth. His own daughter, Mary Sigourney, was placed with Madame Emma Willard, of Troy, N. Y., in 1823-4. She received instruction in music, dancing, French and drawing, and became a most accomplished young lady of her time. She was married to Horace Greene, M. D., of Rutland, and afterward of New York. His son, James Davie Butler, received a university education and also studied in Germany some months at the universities of Jena, Halle and Berlin, and finished his education by extensive travels.*

Anthony Sigourney Butler, the second son of James Butler, born in Boston, resided in Rutland, Vermont, subsequently Pittsford, Vermont. In 1817 he left Vermont and secured a large landed estate in Oxford, Butler County, Ohio. He married Jerusha Hill; children—Mary, Hannah and James.

Captain John Butler was the third son of James and Mary Sigourney Butler, born in Boston, July, 1773, married Sarah, daughter of Dr. Daniel Fiske of Oxford. He died September 25, 1824, in Oxford; children—Celia, Susan, Mary. John Butler resided in Rutland, Vermont, subsequently in Spencer, Massachusetts. (See Army Records.)

Peter Butler, youngest son of James and Mary Sigourney Butler, was

*Among the interesting descriptions of Prof. Butler's travels are "Naples and its Neighborhood," "Visits to Pompeii," "The Architecture of St. Peter's," "The Ceremonies of Holy Week," "Provincial German Life," "Alpine Wanderings," "European Peculiarities," with "Visits to English and French Provincial Towns."

a merchant and resided on a landed estate near the North common in Oxford. He was courteous and of kindly manners, and was extensively known for his hospitality and as a gentleman of Christian principle and of superior mental endowments. Among the reminiscences of the past he is named as the gentleman before whose residence there were so many visitors in fine equipages waiting at the ancient gateway of his mansion house. He married Mehitable Corbin, the step-daughter of Captain Allen Hancock.

REMINISCENCES OF JAMES BUTLER OF OXFORD, BORN IN BOSTON, 1739,
WHO MARRIED MARY, DAUGHTER OF ANTHONY SIGOURNEY OF
BOSTON.

"Stephen Butler of Boston, my ancestor, was born, 1620, in Kilkenny, Kilkenny County, Ireland; a younger branch of the Butlers of Ormond. The county of Kilkenny became possessed mostly of this family. The father of Stephen was killed in battle in Ireland. Stephen Butler died in Boston, 1695.

"The word Ormond is said to mean in Irish, East Munster. The Ormond family, through the Irish chief, Butler, is traceable to a Walter, who came to England with the Conqueror, and in 1086 was owner of estates in Lailand, Lancashire. This Walter came from Glanville near Caen. His arms were a chief indented."

According to John O'Hart's "Irish Pedigrees," the ancestors of the Butlers, came from Normandy to England with William the Conqueror; their original name was Fitz-Walter, from Walter, one of their ancestors, who came to Ireland with Henry II., 1172. The office of chief butler was conferred on him, as his duty was to attend the coronation of the kings of England, and present them with the first cup of wine. From the office of butlership of Ireland, the name of Fitz-Walter was relinquished for that of Butler.

John Butler, captain in the 55th Bengal Regiment, who in 1845 published in Sibsagor, Assam, "Memoranda" on his Butler Ancestry.

Walter, a young Ormond, left Kilkenny and arrived before 1628 in Hampshire, some fifty miles from London, and became a landholder, and his estate was transmitted down, generation after generation, whose line is traced by Captain Butler into the present century.

Mrs. Mary Butler, the mother of Stephen, had married in England Benjamin Ward; by this second marriage she had one child, a daughter Mary, who in the year 1652 was married to William Halloway, who was from Taunton or Marshfield, Mass., 1650. Mrs. Mary Butler Ward was a resident of Boston in 1635; she died July, 1667.

Mrs. Mary Butler Ward in her "Will" made a bequest to Rev. John

Wilson; he was the minister of the first church in Boston, which was on State street on the site of Brazer's Building, also for the poor of the church of Boston, four pounds.

"Unto my much honored friends, Major Generall John Leverett and Mr. Peter Olliver, my Ancient and neere neighbors always helpfull to me [Three] pounds a peece to buy them a ring."

"I bequeeth all the rest of my Estate both reall and personall in Houses, landes, wharfes, goods and Household stuffe to my son Stephen and his heirs and the children of my daughter Mary Halloway and their heirs."

Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Ward of Boston, in the year 1637-8 were the proprietors of twelve acres of land northwest of Muddy River. In a list of fifty-two persons to whom "great allotments" were assigned. So in the Book of Possessions, 1645, which is made up of the original entries of the recorded divisions of land, is found the name: "B. Ward, one house and about one acre on the north side of Fort Hill, and south of the marsh."

Stephen Butler was a soldier in King Philip's War, in 1675, August 12, as a soldier in Captain Lathrop's company. He was charged at Hatfield 1s 9d for a pouch and belt, being one of 13 members of the same company who were furnished with supplies at the same time. On the eighteenth of the next month 71 persons of that company were killed by Indians at Muddy Brook. On Dec. 10 of the same year, his name appears among the troops under Maj. Appleton, and he was credited as having £3 18s, then his due. About a week afterward, Dec. 19, this force stormed the strongest fort of the Narragansetts.

James, the son of Stephen and Jane Butler, born August, 1665, married Grace, the daughter of Andrew Newcombe of Boston. James Butler died 1689, aged 24 years. Among the items of his estate were the following: Plate and coin; negro boy and girl; house and land in Boston; house, barn and land in Worcester; musket and arms. Previous to 1682, forty acres of land had been allotted him in Worcester.

James, the son of James and Grace Newcombe Butler, born August, 1688, married, 1710, Abigail, daughter of John and Elizabeth Eustiss. James Butler died 1715, aged 27 years. The house and land of James Butler adjoined those of Thomas Jackson, a distiller, who had married Grace, the sister of Mr. Butler.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JAMES BUTLER INVENTORY, 1715.

House lot £100, Negro woman Dinah £39, silverware £26 18s 2d, one-sixth of sloop *Mary* £16, 1 bay mare, 1 red cow, 1 heifer and calf £17, pewter and brass ware £16 6s, table-linen £13 7s, 4 suits clothes and

riding coat £17 4s, sheet and pillow biers £28, clock and two tables £12 16s, chairs, looking-glass and tables £13 18s, curtains, bedstead, quilt and blankets £17, green curtains, bed bolster and pillows £26, other items amount in all to £510 10s. 10d. About two years afterward the administrators returned an additional amount of moneys, viz.: £777 4s 6d. The estate ever remained unsettled.

Among the charges made by the administrators of moneys paid out by them were the following:—

Funeral charges £12 14s, widow's mourning £5 3s 10d, nursing the widow £1 5s, calash hire and expenses of carrying the widow to Salem £1 6s 6d, wages of Hannah Simpson for keeping house £18 19s.*

James, the son of James and Abigail (Eustiss) Butler, born in 1713, Dec. 4; his mother died Dec. 15, eleven days after the birth of her son James. He was educated by his uncle, Thomas Jackson, who was his guardian. James Butler married in 1739, May 17, Elizabeth, daughter of Humphrey and Hannah (Gedney) Davie. She died in February, 1740, at the birth of James, her only child, James Butler of Boston, afterward of Oxford, Mass.

BOSTON, 10 Feb'y, 1795.

This may certify that James Butler was baptized on the 17th day of Feb'y 1740, by the Rev'd Mr. Gray, one of the Pastors of the New Brick Church.

Attest.

JOHN LATHROP,

Pastor.

Mr. Butler was placed during his infancy with his aunt Tileston, five miles out of town (Dorchester). Afterward he was placed under the care of his uncle Jackson in Boston.

Bartholomew Gedney of Boston was appointed guardian of Elizabeth Davie when she was fourteen years of age.

The Edmund Quincy house is one of the most ancient mansions in New England. The antique parlor has on the walls the quaint French hangings, which tradition says were hung there in 1775, in honor of Dorothy Quincy's approaching marriage to Governor Hancock.

The Edmund Quincy† house at Quincy has for many years been the home of Peter Butler, Jr., Esq., who sustains the hospitalities of its former occupants, and also of his ancestor, Sir John Davie.

*James Butler's second wife was Mary, daughter of William and Mary (Gardner) Bowditch of Salem.

†Judge Sewall in the description of a journey made by him in March, 1712, from Plymouth, where he had been holding court, to Boston, notes the fact "that owing to the very hard rain storm which prevailed when he reached 'Braintury,' the day and I were in a manner spent, and I turned into cousin

This notable brook reflects the ancient mansion, with its shrubbery and forest trees, forming one landscape picture of great beauty.

"Socially, Mr. Butler was one of the most delightful men we have ever had among us, and especially as a host in his own home. The unique house at Quincy which he occupied as a residence for so many years was one of the most interesting in this country. It was about 250 years old and was kept in perfect condition. It was furnished in sympathy with its architecture and its history. Mr. Butler's numberless mementos of Mr. Webster, whose intimate friend he was for many years, his large collection of rare books and innumerable souvenirs from friends made it one of the most entertaining places of historical interest that the country has possessed."

The family of Davie is of remote antiquity in the county of Devon, being established there since the Conquest. It is of Norman descent, but from the residence of its ancestor at an old mansion formerly known by the name of Wey, the first surname adopted in England was "de la Wey," and the first of the de la Wey's mentioned in the family pedigree had coat armor which has ever since continued without variation to be borne by his descendants, although their surnames have been at different times written de la Wey, de Vie, Davie and Dewey. From William de la Wey lineally descended John Davie (fourth son of Robert Davie, Esq., of Crediton, by the daughter and heir of John Bardolph, Esq., of Titchfield), who had the honor to be three times the mayor of the city of Exeter, and was celebrated for his hospitality.

During the first mayoralty of John Davie, in 1584, Don Antonio, King of Portugal, having been driven from his kingdom by Philip, King of Spain, landing at Plymouth, thence removing to Exeter, was received with his whole suite by the mayor, and sumptuously lodged and entertained for a considerable time, while he sojourned there at the magistrate's expense and in his own house.

John Davie, mayor of Exeter, England, married Julian, daughter of William Strode, Esq., of Neunham, Kent, and had issue :

I. John, his successor. II. William, who had a son William who succeeded his cousin. III. Humphrey, a merchant of London, married and had John, 5th Baronet.

At the decease of John Davie he was succeeded by his only son, John Davie, Esq., of Creedy, created a baronet in 1641. The family seat is Creedy Park, Crediton, Devonshire.

Quincy's, where I had the pleasure to see God, in His Providence, shining again upon the persons and affairs of the family, after long and distressing sickness and losses. Lodged in the chamber next the Brooke."

Coat of Arms.—Ar. a chev. gu. betw. three mullets pierced Sa. Crest a paschal or Holy lamb ppr. Motto "Auspice Christo."—Exeter.

Mary, daughter of John Davie of Exeter, married Humphrey, a London merchant.

The lineage of Sir John Davie, his heraldic emblazonries and the like, may be found in Burke's Peerage of England.

John Davie, who came to New England, became a resident of Groton, Mass., in 1662. His oldest son, John, graduated at Harvard University in 1681, and became a resident of New London, Ct., but was recalled to England and became a baronet in 1713. He presented Yale College his library on his departure. See New London, Caulkins.

Humphrey, a second son of John Davie, of Groton, became a resident of Dorchester, Mass., and a merchant of Boston. He married Hannah, daughter of William and Hannah (Gardner) Gedney of Salem, Mass. He died 1718. Elizabeth, daughter of Humphrey and Hannah Davie, was married to James Butler Feb. 15, 1739.

James, the son of James and Elizabeth (Davie) Butler, married Mary, daughter of Anthony Sigourney of Boston.*

SIGOURNEY AND GERMAINE.

"BEVERLY FARMS, Mass., July 7, 1880.

"MY DEAR MADAM:

"I am much obliged to you for your kind and interesting letter. It is only the other day that I was asked for information about the Sigourneys by Mr. C. C. Smith, who is to furnish the chapter on the 'Huguenots in Boston' in the great Memorial History of Boston, soon to be published, but I could give him no help and can I fear give you but little.

* John Gedney, born in 1603, admitted to the church in Salem, November, 1637; died in 1688. John, his son, lost at sea. William Gedney, his son, born in 1668; married in 1690 Hannah Gardner. Their daughter, Hannah Gedney, married Humphrey Davie.

Humphrey Davie came from London 1662 and married Mrs. Sarah Gibbons, the widow of James Richards of Hartford, Ct., a lady of large estate, as she claimed the lands of the "Dutch House of Good Hope," now Hartford, Ct. See Ancient Records of Hartford. He left a son John by a former marriage who married Elizabeth, daughter of James Richards of Hartford, Ct., and resided in New London, Ct.

Gov. Gardner Saltonstall of Connecticut (his brother-in-law having married Jernsha, a daughter of James Richards) describes him being attorney to Sir John Davie of Creedy Co., Devon.

Humphrey who was brother of the baronet was born 1673 in Hartford, Ct.

"The only one of my family who could recollect my great-grandmother, Mrs. Susannah Sigourney Brimmer, was my aunt, Miss Eliza Brimmer, and she only slightly. She remembered as a child that a Frenchwoman used to come to see the old lady, and that they talked French together. As Mrs. S. S. B. was born some years after the Sigourneys came over this shows that they must have held to the use of their own language among themselves, and the Huguenots doubtless did for many years hold very closely together. After 1720 many, perhaps all of them, applied to the provincial legislature for an act of naturalization and obtained it; but the act was disallowed by the King in Council as an infringement of his prerogative. My great-grandfather, Martin Brimmer, who had come out from Germany in 1720, and found none of his own countrymen here, joined the Huguenot colony and afterwards married into it. He applied to be naturalized in a postscript to their petition.

"I have not much of value in the way of family portraits on that side —of my grandfather Martin only a black silhouette; of his brother Herman there is a poor portrait; of my father two unsatisfactory portraits and a good bust. The latter has been photographed and I will send you a copy if you would like it. I have no recent likeness of myself and am moreover not distinguished enough for such good company. The best portrait I know of any descendant of Andrew Sigourney is that of Samuel Dexter by Stuart. I have a copy of it, said by his son to be a better likeness than the original, which has been copied for the War Dept't at Washington, and which you have seen engraved on the 50-cent pieces, fractional currency. Perhaps it could be photographed to advantage.

"If you have any information bearing especially on the Colony in Boston, such as lists of names of families composing it, &c., I am sure Mr. C. C. Smith (24 West St., Boston,) would be glad to have it, and to reciprocate with anything within his reach.

"I am much obliged for your kind invitation, and if I have the opportunity, should be glad to see Oxford and the memorials of the Sigourneys which you mention.

"Very truly and resp'ly yours,

"MARTIN BRIMMER."

"Mrs. M. DeW. Freeland."

CHILDREN OF ANDREW SIGOURNEY, 2ND.

Andrew, born in France, 1673, married Mary Germain, also born in France, 1680. He was a distiller in Boston; was one of the proprietors

of the French Church in South Latin School Street, being one, with others, who executed a deed, conveying the same to another society. Died in 1748. Mary, his wife, died March 20, 1763-4.

Children of Andrew² and Mary (Germaine) Sigourney.

Andrew,³ b. in Boston, Jan. 30, 1702. Married by Rev. Andrew Le Mercier, October 7, 1731, Mary Ronchon (an only daughter of John Ronchon, who died 1761), died Nov. 4, 1762. Will dated June 13, 1760. Recorded in Suffolk, Dec. 10, 1762. Lib. 61, folio 125. Mary his wife died 28th Feb., 1772.

Susannah,³ b. in Boston, Dec. 27, 1704. M. by Rev. Andrew Le Mercier, Oct. 24, 1726, Martin Brimmer, who was born 1697, at Osten, 16 German miles from Hamburg, in Germany. Died, Feb. 18, 1793.

Peter,³ b. in Boston, March 1, 1706. Died, 1738. (Dec. 16, 1738. Suffolk Probate, lib. 34, folio 93, administration was granted to Elizabeth Green, widow, on estate of Peter Sigourney; but nothing beyond appears.)

Mary,³ b. in Boston, Aug. 1, 1709. M. by Rev. Andrew Le Mercier, Feb. 20, 1734, John Baker, who came from Jersey or Guernsey, died Sept. 27, 1774.

Charles,³ b. in Boston, April 27, 1711. Died, unmarried, Dec. 8, 1751.

Anthony,³ b. in Boston, Aug. 17, 1713. M. by Rev. Andrew Le Mercier, April 10, 1740, Mary Waters, of Salem, afterward married widow Elizabeth Breed (maiden name, Whittemore). Died, 1761. Will dated Aug. 7, 1761. Recorded in Suffolk, Oct. 2, 1761, lib. 59, folio 148. Elizabeth, his wife, died at Oxford, May 18, 1804, æ. 88.

Daniel,³ b. in Boston, Nov. 17, 1715. M. by Rev. John Webb or Peter Thatcher, 1735, Mary Varney (daughter of James and Jane [Tudor] Varney, who was born 14 Jan., 1711); afterward, about 1745, m. Joanna Tileston; afterward, on Feb. 13, 1780, m. Rebecca Tileston, sister(?) of Joanna. Died July 7, 1787. Joanna, the second wife, died in Boston, Sept. 19, 1770, æ. 53. Rebecca, his wife, died in Malden, Jan. 14, 1807, æ. 88.

Rachel,³ b. March 5, 1717-8. Died Sept. 20, 1719.

Hannah,³ b. in Boston, Feb. 27, 1719. M. by Rev. Andrew Elliot, D.D., June 23, 1748, Hon. Samuel Dexter (son of Rev. Samuel Dexter of Dedham), b. 16 March, 1726. Died Nov. 6, 1784.

Andrew Sigourney (will made 1736, May 20th, proved July 5, 1748. Attest A. H. Ward).

Aged and infirm, I give to Mary, my beloved wife, one-third part of all my personal estate, also one-third part of my real estate during her natural life; to my son Andrew of Boston, mariner, one hundred pounds above my other children.

Debts to be deducted out of my estate and my wife's share. Then the balance to be divided into seven equal parts, and one of them to be given to each of my children and their heirs, viz.: Andrew, Susannah Brimmer, Mary Baker, Charles, Anthony, Daniel, Hannah Sigourney.

That part of my real estate that I have given to my wife for life, I give, after her decease, to my said children in seven equal parts. As to the one-third part of the personal estate which I gave my wife, I would have her dispose of it as she pleaseth.

My wife, my son Andrew and my brother Daniel Johnnot are to be my executors.

ANDREW SIGOURNEY. [SEAL.]

Witnesses :

THOMAS BAKER.

ROBERT BRECK.

OWEN HARRIS.

In [1822] Mr. and Mrs. Charles Sigourney of Hartford, Ct., visited Oxford, Mass., and were the guests of Mr. and Mrs. James Butler, and of Mrs. Butler's brother, the late Captain Andrew Sigourney.

Mrs. L. H. Sigourney writes : "A visit to this fair scenery many years since was rendered doubly interesting by the conversation of an ancient lady of Huguenot extraction, though she had numbered more than four score winters her memory was perfectly retentive, while her clear black eye, dark complexion and extremely expressive countenance, displayed some of the striking characteristics of her ancestral clime, mingled with that beauty of the soul which is confined to no nation, and which age cannot destroy.

"Mrs. Butler had derived many legends which she had treasured with fidelity and related with simple eloquence. Truly, the voice of buried ages spoke through her venerated lips.

"This was the same Mrs. Butler, formerly Mary Sigourney, whose reminiscences the late Rev. Dr. Holmes, the learned and persevering annalist, has quoted in his 'Memoirs of the French Protestants.'

"L. H. SIGOURNEY."

Mary Sigourney was educated with her cousin, Elizabeth Brimmer, who afterward was married to Henderson Inches, Esq., by their grandmother, Mrs. Mary Germain Sigourney, both of her granddaughters residing with her, the mother of Mrs. Butler dying when she was two years of age.

Mrs. Butler may be pictured as she was long remembered, as residing in a rich, old-fashioned mansion house, with its wide, heavy gable, fronting an ancient common, on which was a rustic church, which being shaded partly with elms, added to its quaint beauty. The parlor was

richly wainscoted, with its long, narrow windows of extremely diminutive panes of glass, giving a southern landscape view with a cheerful sunlight to give lovely, sunny rooms, and its curious buffet garnished with old china and silver.

There were rich, leather bottomed antique chairs of various patterns, including a huge easy chair, once the favorite of Mary Germain Sigourney, and where for many years she reclined as an invalid.* There was a tall, narrow mirror without sconces, the bridal gift of her cousin, Mrs. Inches, and lovely pictures adorned the walls, and in the summer the parterre of flowers on which the parlor opened added to its attractions, for the windows were curtained with tall spikes of hollyhocks, one of the rich border flowers.

On a winter's day Mrs. Butler would be seen in her easy chair by a bright, cheerful wood fire, knitting with a book before her. Her inseparable companion was a delicate little girl† with fair complexion and bright flaxen hair, ensconced in her tiny easy chair at her side, either engaged in reading or in embroidery, while listening to her grandmother's tales of the sufferings of her ancestors in leaving their pleasant home in France, or some other historic lore. Thus the little orphan lived under the sweet influence of her grandmother, and so bright were the days of her childhood that its brightness remained in her memory through her life. "The rich benefits derived from friendship between infant inexperience and saintly wisdom, are incalculable."

"L. H. SIGOURNEY."

Children of Anthony and Mary (Waters) Sigourney.

Mary, b. March 23, 1741-2; m. May 18, 1763, James Butler of Boston. She died April 14, 1823, in Oxford.

Susannah, died young.

Peter, b. Dec. 8, 1745; m. by Rev. John Lathrop, May 30, 1767, Celia Loring. He died June, 1823, in Boston.

In a second marriage, with Elizabeth Breed, Andrew and Anthony.

Andrew, son of Anthony and Elizabeth Breed Sigourney, was born in Boston Nov. 30, 1752; married July 26, 1787, Elizabeth, daughter of Josiah Wolcott, Esq., of Oxford. Andrew Sigourney died at Oxford, Mass., April 16, 1838, aged 89 years. Mrs. Elizabeth Sigourney died at Oxford, March 20, 1829, aged 67 years.

Andrew Sigourney and his brother Anthony were nearly taken prisoners at the retreat from New York in 1776. They were in the battle at

*The ancient chair is now in the possession of Peter Butler, Esq., Quiney, Mass.

†Late Mrs. Sternes De Witt of Oxford.

White Plains and other engagements. Andrew obtained a commission as Commissary, with rank of Captain. In 1784 he was a resident of Oxford, Mass., and became wealthy in commerce.

Anthony, a son of Anthony and Elizabeth Breed Sigourney, born May 12, 1751; married by Rev. Ebenezer Chaplin of Sutton, June 23, 1774, to Ruth, daughter of Abel Chase of Sutton, Mass.; in a second marriage, to a lady by the name of Phillips. Anthony Sigourney of Oxford removed in 1797 to Stratton, Vt., where Mrs. Ruth Chase Sigourney died Jan. 17, 1802.

A reminiscence of Mrs. Mary (Germaine) Sigourney.

Capt. Germon [Germaine] when he left his mansion house in La Rochelle, locked the door, taking the key with him as a memento of his home—hastening with his family on board a vessel for England.

The Germaine family were from La Rochelle, France. Captain Germaine (sometimes written Germon or Jermon) was of a Roman Catholic family of high position, being a younger brother of Count Germaine. He left France at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and arrived in Boston during the summer of 1686.

Captain Germaine and his two daughters, Marguerite and Mary, with his three sons, Charles, Ober and Peter, left Boston, and were included in the French settlement in Oxford in 1687. His son, Charles Germaine, of Oxford, became a resident of New Rochelle, N. Y.

The Sigourney family were in the first French settlement of Oxford, but were not included in the resettlement of the French in Oxford. Mrs. Mary (Sigourney) Butler and her brothers, Capt. Andrew and Anthony Sigourney, became residents of Oxford at the close of the Revolutionary War.

1681, the British envoy residing in Paris, had kept his government informed of the proceedings of Louis XIV. against his reformed subjects.

The "terrible edict" of June, 1681, at length decided Charles II. to issue a royal proclamation July 28, 1681, promising letters of denization under the great seal of England to all "distressed Protestants" "who by reason of the rigors and severities which are used towards them upon the account of their religion, shall be forced to quit their native country, and shall desire to shelter themselves under his Majesty's royal protection, for the preservation and free exercise of their religion."

There has been as yet no authenticated record found of the time when Andrew Sigourney and his family, accompanied by his nephew, Daniel Johannot, of seventeen years of age, left France and arrived in England, and no record of the marriage of Andrew Sigourney, Sr., only records of three children with certainty, viz.: Andrew, Susanne and Mary.

Tradition states the name of Mrs. Sigourney to have been Charlotte Pairan.

The late Capt. Andrew Sigourney of Oxford, born in Boston, stated that Mrs. Sigourney, Sr., who came from France, died in Oxford, and was buried in the French burying-ground of that place.

The family of Sigourney is found registered with the families of Poitou, 1681. "The Sigourney family bore the name of a locality in the province of Poitou."

" 'Sigournais,' now a hamlet of some eight hundred inhabitants, in the department of La Vendée, four miles from Chatonnay. Near by is the château de Sigournais."*

The grave-stone of Andrew Sigourney* stands in the "Granary" burial-yard, and bears the following epitaph:—

ANDREW SIGOURNEY,

DIED, APRIL 16TH, 1727.

AGED 89.

Andrew,² the son, born in France, married Mary Germaine.

Susanne, born in France, married Jean Jansen, who was massacred, with his three children, by Indians at Oxford, Massachusetts, August 25, 1696.

She was afterward married, April 18, 1700, to her cousin, Daniel Johonnot of Boston, by Rev. Samuel Willard of the Old South Church. Daniel Johonnot died in Boston, 1748, aged eighty years.

Mary, a daughter of Andrew Sigourney, was married to Antoine Olivier in Boston previously to the year 1712.†

DANIEL JOHONNOT.

Daniel Johonnot was born in France in 1668, and arrived in Boston via England 1686, and in 1687 accompanied his uncle, André Sigournais, to the Oxford settlement. In 1696 he became a resident of Boston.

THE SITE OF THE FIRST RESIDENCE OF DANIEL JOHONNOT.

A part of the "edifices" now remains standing opposite the site of the Green Dragon Tavern. This is said to have been his mansion house. The distill house was near the mill-pond.

* That Andrew¹ Sigourney, the ancestor, may have had other children with him besides the above Andrew² and Susan² is very probable. There are records extant of a Samuel Sigourney as having married Mary Dunbar, Dec. 1, 1723; also of a Sharlotte Segarnéc, as married to Peter Holman (or Holton), May 26, 1719, both by Andrew Le Mercier, the pastor of the French Church, but nothing after the marriage records has been discovered or is known.

† See records of the Olivier family Bible in the Historical Society, Boston, presented by Elisha Sigourney, Esq., Boston.

The last purchase of real estate made by Daniel Johonnot, was of Thomas Wade, guardian of Wm. Ballantine, minor, a brick house now in possession of widow Bouyer (his daughter), bounded north-erly on Marlborough street and upon Thomas Flagg and Robert Pettishall.

Consideration, £12,000, old tenor. This estate is now 156 Washington street, directly opposite the Province House, and near the Old South Church. It is now held by one of the descendants of Mary Anne (Johonnot) Bouyer. At the time of Mr. Johonnot's death it was occupied by his grandson. It must have been his last residence, as in the inventory it is described as being in possession of Mr. Daniel Bouyer.

On the west line and rear of this land stood the distillery of Mr. Johonnot; on the east, Long lane, now Federal street, were several wooden stores and a garden in the rear between the stores and the distill house; on the south-west corner where the Catholic church now stands were the store-houses, well-room, etc., which he occupied until his death. The business was then continued by his son Andrew, and subsequently by his grandson of the same name.

Daniel Johonnot was engaged in mercantile affairs as is seen in a few of his advertisements in the Boston *News-Letter* of that day:

"A convenient Dwelling house in Pond Street, next door to the French Doctors, to be let. Inquire of Daniel Johonnot, Distiller, near the Star Tavern, June 11, 1724."

"Lately brought in very good York Flour, also six great guns and four large Anchors. To be sold by Daniel Johonnot at his house, near the sign of the Buck in Marlborough street. June 26, 1726."

Children: Zacharie, b. January, 1701; Susanne, b. April, 1702; Daniel, b. March, 1704, d. 1721; André, b. June, 1705; Marie Anne, b. August, 1706; Francois, b. November, 1709.

Daniel Johonnot died in 1748; his wife Susanne was living till after 1731, as her name appears on a date at that time.

The above record of the births of the children of Daniel and Susanne Sigourney (Jansen) Johonnot, is taken from a French Bible, Amsterdam edition of 1700, now in the possession of one of their descendants.

"He bequeathed to Rev. Andrew Le Mercier £50 old tenor and the sum of £50 old tenor to the poor to be distributed among them as my executors shall think proper. Residue of his estate to his three sons, Zachery, Andrew, Francis, and the children of Mary Anne Bouyer. My further will is that my Distill House, with copper pumps, still, and all other utensils and appurtenances thereof, the garden adjoining thereto, together with the way leading to the street (Long lane) shall go to my son Andrew, and be reconed to him as a part of his quarter."

Will dated May 29, 1748. Approved July 1, 1748.*

Zachariah Johonnot, the eldest son of Daniel Johonnot, was first married to Elizabeth Quincy, who died during the War of the Revolution, 1777; and in a second marriage to Margaret, daughter of Rev. Andrew Le Mercier, minister of the French Protestant church in Boston.

He was a merchant; his residence and store were in Orange street at the south part of the town. His distillery on Harvard street, directly opposite to his dwelling. At the bottom of the same street was his wharf, a wooden distillery house and storehouses. Mr. Johonnot died in 1784, aged 84 years.

His will, dated March 1, 1784 :

To his son Peter (then in England) he bequeathed his mansion house, store adjoining, yard and garden "as the same is now fenced in," his large silver salver, two pair of silver candle-sticks, silver snuffers, snuff dish, etc.

"And to Cesar, formerly my negro servant, now a freeman, I bequeath £50 lawful money, to be paid to him by my executors within twelve months after my death."

There is much of interest in regard to the family of Johonnot in the records of the Hollis street church, Boston, Mass. "Dec. 20, 1761, Zachariah Johonnot, Esq., presented to the Hollis Street church, a large silver basin for Baptisms." And on March 29, 1773, he presented a large and costly silver flagon for the Communion Table (to the same church).

Will of Zachariah Johonnot, proved April 20, 1784. Inventory, May 18, 1784, Suffolk Records, lib. 83, Peter Bouyer, one of the executors.

Peter, son of Zachariah Johonnot, married Katherine, daughter of Hon. William Dudley, son of Governor Joseph Dudley. He was married by the Rev. Matthew Byles.

Charlotte, a daughter of Zachariah Johonnot, was married to her first cousin, Peter Boyer.

The mansion house and store and beautiful gardens of Zachariah Johonnot were burned in the great fire, April 20, 1787. The house was unoccupied.

The estate was subsequently sold to Dr. Elijah Dix; he erected an elegant brick mansion on the site.

Peter was a loyalist, an addressee of Gov. Gage in 1775, and one of the committee with Thomas and Jonathan Amory, March 8, 1776, to communicate, etc., etc.

*All of the Johonnot family are buried near the Franklin Monument in the Granary church-yard on Tremont street, near the graves of their ministers, Daile and Le Mercier, and also near to Sigourney, Bouyer and others; their antique gravestones now stand erect, and mark their resting-place.

Peter Johonnot, the loyalist, was chosen by the citizens of Boston to communicate with Gen. Howe to take measures to avert the impending destruction threatened by him in case his army should be molested while evacuating the town.

Mr. Johonnot died in London, August 8, 1809, at the advanced age of 80 years. Mrs. Johonnot died in Boston, June 28, 1769. No issue.

Andrew, son of Daniel and Susanne Johonnot, was born in Boston, 1705; he married Susanne, daughter of Antoine and Mary (Sigourney) Olivier.

He was a distiller and succeeded his father in business on Long Lane, 1748, and he himself was subsequently succeeded by his son Andrew. His residence was on Pond Street, now Bedford Street. A part of his building is standing on corner of Washington Street. He bequeathed to his wife Susannah one-third part real estate during her life, all his plate, jewelry and household furniture forever, and the use and improvement of all the rest of his estate, real and personal, until his children all reached 21 years of age.

The descendants of Andrew, the son of Daniel Johonnot, are not only descended from Susanne, the daughter of Andrew Sigourney, Sr., who came from France, but from his daughter Mary, who was married to Antoine Olivier, whose daughter Susanne became Mrs. Andrew Johonnot.*

Children of Andrew and Susanne Johonnot :

Mary, born in 1730; Daniel, about 1732; Andrew, 1735, died without issue; Francis, died single; Susannah, born 1738; Margaret, 1740; Martha, 1750, died in 1774, single; William, born 1752; Elizabeth in 1754; Olivier, 1755, and the other children died in infancy.

Margaret was married by Rev. Henry Caner, of the King's Chapel, to Dimond Morton, July 3, 1767, he died about 1790. Susanne (Olivier) Johonnot, daughter of Antoine and Mary (Sigourney) Olivier of Boston, was born July 12, 1713, died in Boston, Jan. 23, 1774, aged 61 years.†

*There is an ancient jewelled ring of Mrs. Andrew Johonnot, being marked with her name, which she retained until her death. From the style of the ring and its size it would indicate that it once belonged to a gentleman. In the will of Andrew Johonnot he bequeaths his jewelry to Mrs. Johonnot. Mr. Johonnot died June 1, 1760, aged 55 years. The ring is now in the possession of a lineal descendant of Andrew Johonnot.

†There is a French Bible, including a prayer-book, in the Sigourney family, said by the late Charles Sigourney, Esq., of Hartford, Conn., to have belonged to Susanne (Sigourney) Johonnot.

On a blank leaf is the following writing :

“Bot of Wm. H. Sumner with pew No. 137, Brattle Street Church, April, 1830. A. Johonnot.

Lazarus Le Baron, a native of Barbadoes, became a resident of Boston; he was married to Susanna, the daughter of Andrew and Susanne (Olivier) Johonnot, Boston, by the Rev. Dr. Caner of King's Chapel, March 3, 1767. Mrs. Johonnot was born in 1738; died August 10, 1774, aged 36 years, leaving Susanne, an only child of seven years of age in 1774-1775.

Soon after the decease of Mrs. Le Baron, Mr. Le Baron removed with his daughter Susanne, born Dec. 1, 1767, to Sutton, Mass., where he purchased a landed estate.

Susanne was married to Dr. Stephen Monroe of Sutton, Sept. 6, 1790. Dr. and Mrs. Monroe both died in Sutton.

Their children were: Margaret Neuson, who was married to Jonas L. Sibley, Esq., of Sutton, a gentleman distinguished in his time, educated at Brown University, and became a U. S. Marshal; Mary married Jacob March, a physician; a third daughter was married to — March, a merchant; and a daughter who married Charles White, and in a second marriage Edward Clarke.

Mr. Le Baron was a gentleman of wealth and high position in society, extremely aristocratic in the opinion of the public, but at the same time was possessed of a very affable manner and could adapt himself to all classes of persons. He did not, with the time, change the fashion of his dress, but retained his small-clothes of fine cloth in the English court style, with long hose and silver knee and shoe buckles. He also wore a three-cornered hat, assuming the appearance of a gentleman of the preceding century.

In late years of his life, Mr. Le Baron would refer to the parting scene with his mother—the vessel in the harbor waiting to sail—and all made ready for his departure, his mother, in the place of his attendant, dressed his hair in heavy curls falling on his shoulders—as was then the fashion for boys of his age—her tears falling at the time attracted his attention and sympathy, as the mother feared it was the final parting with her son.*

"By which last presented to Charles Sigourney, Hartford, in Boston, July 11, 1849."

On one of the margins of the book is found the name of And^w Johonnot.

The volume is now in the possession of Charles Sigourney Burnham of New York, a grandson of the late Charles Sigourney of Hartford.

*Children in those days, when in full dress, wore tunics, as styled, of rich brocaded silk in plain colors made with plaits to fit the person from the throat, in form of a yoke, and left flowing in front, with full ruffles falling from neck and hands, and with a small three-cornered hat made the costume.

In the Sigourney family there are dresses of this description still retained as relics.

DURING KING WILLIAM'S WAR ON BOARD A FRENCH PRIVATEER.

Dr. Francis Le Baron from Bordeaux, France, a surgeon in the French navy, arrived in Plymouth about the year 1694. He is named in the Plymouth Records. He died August 8, 1704, aged thirty-six years. His gravestone in Plymouth on the "Ancient Hill," is still in good preservation. From a copy of his will and inventory of his estate, it appears he was a gentleman possessed of wealth in those times.

He was married to Mary Wilder of Hingham, September 6, 1695.

He left three sons, James, Lazarus and Francis.

Lazarus, son of Dr. Le Baron, after finishing his university education, studied medicine in New York, and resided in Plymouth; his family included nine sons and five daughters.

His eldest son, Lazarus, after finishing his course of education, chose medicine as his profession; he became a resident of Barbadoes, West Indies, where he married Margaret Neusome.

May 11, 1775, Mr. Le Baron was, in a second marriage, united to Hannah Chase. June 3, 1783, he was married to Mary Chase, and in 1802, he was married to Mary Woodbury. She died August 28, 1837, aged seventy-two years. He died November 30, 1827, aged eighty-three years.

Hannah, daughter of Lazarus and Hannah (Chase) Le Baron, was born in Sutton, January 22, 1776. She was married to Captain Israel Putnam, April 24, 1796. Captain Putnam was a gentleman of high position, and was said to have lived in advance of other country gentlemen of his time.

Children of Mary Anne Johonnot, who married James Bouyer: Daniel, Peter, Susanne, James and Peter.

Susanne was married to André Olivier, born Sept. 20, 1724.

Daniel had two daughters, Elizabeth and Katharine; they both were married to Joseph Cooledge of Boston, who was a merchant of great wealth.

The mother of Mr. Cooledge was Marguerite, daughter of Antoine and Mary (Sigourney) Olivier, born in Nova Scotia, Nov. 8, 1726. In a second marriage to Mr. Jennison of Worcester, and in a third marriage to Joseph Wheeler of Worcester. Marguerite Olivier was educated by Andrew Sigourney, 2nd, and resided in his family.

Children of Antoine and Mary Sigourney Olivier.

1712, Sept. 3, Jean is born, presented for baptism by his father and his aunt Susanne Johonnot.

1713, July 12, Seuzeon (Susanne) is born, presented by the same; was married to Andrew Johonnot.

1715, Feb. 15, Antho is born, presented by his uncle Daniel Johonnot, and his aunt Mary Sigourney.

1716, Antho dies.

1716, Feb. 16, Marie born, presented by her father and mother.

1717, April 16, Jeanne (Jane) born, presented by her uncle and aunt Sigourney.

1717, Jean dies.

1719, March 20, Daniel is born.

1720, August 20, Jeanne born.

1721, Sept. 14, Anne born.

1721, Sept. 21, Anne dies.

1722, August 29, Jeanne born.

1723, Dec. 13, Marianne born.

1724, Sept. 20, André born.

1725, Sept. 18, Gillaoume (Guillaume, William) is born.

1726, Nov. 8, Marguerite born.

1727, Dec. 31, Anne born.

1731, June 15, Elizeabet (Elizabeth) is born.

Eight of these children were born in Boston, the remaining seven in Nova Scotia.

From the names of these children presented in baptism, and their relatives, it is evident that Susanne Johonnot was the aunt of Olivier's children and that Daniel Johonnot was their uncle, and also that André Sigourney and Mary his wife were uncle and aunt.

The wife of Antoine Olivier was Mary, a sister of Susanne Sigourney Johonnot and André Sigourney, 2nd. Mrs. Mary (Sigourney) Olivier was a daughter of André Sigournais, Sr.

Antoine Olivier left Boston in 1721, and became a resident of Annapolis, Nova Scotia; the family or a part of the same returned to Boston.*

BOWDOIN.

In a petition of Pierre Baudouin to Governor Andros for one hundred acres of land in Casco Bay, now Portland,—“A son Excellence, Monsieur le gouverneur en chef de la nouvelle Engleterre”—Pierre Baudouin represents in his flight from the kingdom of France, he had lost almost the entire estate which he possessed. He prays therefore to be exempted for a few years from taxation, having been obliged to sell some of his effects at a sacrifice in order to pay for the survey of land.

*An ancient “French Bible,” once belonging to Antoine Olivier (Anthony Oliver), was presented by Elisha Sigourney, Esq., of Boston, to the Boston Athenæum, July, 1810.

“The Bible is a thick-set, chubby quarto in two volumes. It bears the marks of diligent and reverential use; not even a pencil-mark has profaned its sacred pages.”

In this Bible there is a record of Antoine Olivier's numerous family.

Benjamin Bowdoin was engaged with Gabriel Bernon in the commerce of Oxford in the second settlement. He afterwards left Boston and removed to Virginia. Gabriel Bernon conveyed his estate in Oxford to James Bowdoin, a brother of Benjamin Bowdoin, in 1716, which was in the care of Bowdoin until 1720.

"Fleury, in his *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, Edit. 1779, gives an account of nineteen eminent persons from the 'Compte de Flanders,' A. D. 862, to Baudouin, Jurisconsulte, A. D. 1561."

The Baudouin family ancestry can be traced to Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, who died in 1118, and his remains were deposited in a church on Mount Calvary.

Governor Andros issued a warrant, dated Oct. 8, 1689, to the deputy surveyor, authorizing and requiring him to lay out one hundred acres of vacant land in Casco Bay for Pierre Baudouin. "Before the warrant was executed, however, Pierre Baudouin had obtained possession of a few acres of land on what is now the high road from Portland to Vaughan's Bridge, a few rods northerly of the house of the Hon. Nicholas Emery. A solitary apple tree and a few rocks, which apparently formed the curbing of a well, were all that remained to mark the site of this original dwelling-place of the Bowdoin in America."*

"At the period of the Revocation, one of its branches took refuge in Prussia, another fled to the Netherlands, and a third escaped to England."

Pierre Baudouin [Bowdoin] of Boston on leaving France took refuge in the city of Dublin, Ireland. He then obtained an eligible position in the Royal Customs, but was finally induced to come to America and make a settlement in Casco, now Portland, in Maine in 1687. From Portland he removed to Boston with his family. He died in Boston, September, 1706, and his wife Elizabeth died August 18, 1720.

He left two sons James and John, and two daughters Mary and Elizabeth.†

The Baudouin family, whose name in Boston has been changed to Bowdoin, were descended from one of the most ancient and honorable families in La Rochelle, France. Its different branches were known by designations taken from the numerous seigneuries which they possessed. They were descended from Pierre Baudouin écuyer, sieur de la Laigne, who married the daughter of Jean Bureau, mayor of La Rochelle, in 1448.

The Baudouins were conspicuous in La Rochelle for their Protestant

*The Life and Services of James Bowdoin, by Robert C. Winthrop.

†New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vol x. pp. 76-79.

faith. "Several members of this family distinguished themselves by their services to the Protestant cause during the civil wars."*

James, the son of Pierre Baudouin [Bowdoin], was a merchant of Boston greatly distinguished. He was a member of the Colonial Council for several years, and left the largest estate, it is said, that had ever been possessed by one person in the province.

His son, Governor James Bowdoin, was an eminent statesman and patriot. Entering upon public life at the age of twenty-seven, he took a prominent part in the opposition to the encroachments of the crown during the period preceding the Revolution. Not long before the rupture with England, he was president of the council of government. The convention that assembled in 1779 to form a constitution, chose him as its presiding officer; and at the close of the war he was elected lieutenant-governor of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, and succeeded Hancock as governor.

James, the governor of Massachusetts, was born August 7, 1726, died November 5, 1790. He married Elizabeth, daughter of John Erving. Governor James Bowdoin had two children by his last marriage. His son James married Sarah, a daughter of William Bowdoin and died without issue. His daughter Elizabeth married Sir John Temple, first British Consul-General to the United States, and had two sons, Sir Grenville and James, with two daughters.

James, the only son of Gov. James Bowdoin, was very noticeable for his elegant scholarship, and for his refined and literary taste. He was appointed by the government of the United States plenipotentiary to the court of Madrid. He was also the munificent patron of the college that bore his name.

Elizabeth, who married Thomas L. Winthrop, Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, and Augusta, were the daughters of Sir John Temple and Lady Elizabeth. Hon. Robert Charles Winthrop is the youngest of the children of Thomas L. Winthrop and Elizabeth Temple.

HON. ALEXANDER DEWITT.

At the age of fifteen years obtained a clerkship with the Merino Manufacturing Company in Dudley, where he remained some four years. While there he was frequently sent abroad (although but a youth, but manly in appearance and deportment), to secure sales of manufactures, and sometimes extended his travels through the Southern States.

In the year 1818 he became a resident of Franklin, Mass.; during the following year he formed business connections with Dr. Nathaniel Miller.

[An incident of his childhood in New Braintree gives a picture of his life. He had a contest on a certain occasion with a schoolfellow as to the occupa-

* Huguenot Emigrations, vol. i., p. 280.

tion of a favorite seat in the schoolhouse. The teacher on being appealed to decided that the one being first at school the next day should have it. Alexander went home, told his mother of the case, and returning to the schoolhouse established himself in the coveted seat and there spent the night. Very early in the morning his competitor arrived, but only to find himself preceded by his rival.]

Previously to becoming a resident of Franklin he had decided to become interested in the fur trade and to proceed at once to Mackinaw, the great central station of the Northwestern American Fur Company.

While a resident of Franklin he commanded one of the militia companies of that town, and was afterwards colonel of the 3rd regiment in the 2nd brigade.

In 1825 Col. DeWitt became a resident of Oxford, Mass.

In 1830 he was elected by the town of Oxford as a Democratic Representative to the General Court, and was continued in that office six years.* In 1842, 1844, 1850 and 1851 he was elected Senator to the Massachusetts Legislature. In 1853 and 1856 he was a member of conventions held for amending the Constitution of the State. He was for four years Representative for Worcester, South District, in Congress (in the years 1852, 1854, 1856 and 1857). In 1857 he was the American candidate for Lieut.-Governor of Massachusetts. For many years he was engaged in railroad improvements, banks, insurance companies and other corporations, either as president or director.

Hon. Alexander DeWitt, the son of Benjamin and Olivia (Campbell) DeWitt, was born in New Braintree, Mass., April 2, 1798; died in Oxford, Mass., Jan. 13, 1879. Alexander DeWitt was married June 5, 1820, to Mary, daughter of William Makepeace, Esq., of Franklin, Mass.

[Copy.] Feb. y^e 13, 1787. Mr. Benjamin Witt (DeWitt) of New Braintree & Mrs. Olivia Campbell were married by A. Campbell. (Charlton) "recorded marriage in Worcester County Records," 1788.

Olivia was the daughter of Duncan Campbell, Esq. (son of Rev. John Campbell of Oxford). After her marriage she resided in New Braintree until 1793, when they became residents of Oxford, at an ancient house on the site of the present Episcopal Church, which was at that time the estate of her brother Samuel Campbell. They returned to New Braintree, where Mr. DeWitt died April 17, 1818. Mrs. DeWitt was re-married to Daniel Bacon of Charlton and died Feb. 5, 1848, at Franklin, Mass.

Children of Benjamin and Olivia Campbell DeWitt Sternes: Sophia, Mary m. Amos Thompson of New Braintree, Hollis m. Sarah Harris of Oxford, Archibald m. Martha Fisher of Franklin, Susan m. Rufus Harris

* In the years 1833 and 1834 he opposed the measures of the general government in the removal of the deposits from the United States Bank, in that it was a violation of contract, an agreement having been made to continue the deposits in that institution a stated period and which period had not expired. This severed for a time his connection with the Democratic party.

of Oxford, Alexander, Nancy m. Horace Smith of Leicester, Elizabeth m. Jonas Bacon of Charlton.*

Benjamin DeWitt, b. Aug. 15, 1750, at Brookfield, son of Lieut. John DeWitt, whose landed estate in Brookfield is since known as the Samuel Cheever place. John de wit, the ancestor of Benjamin DeWitt was, from Holland, but of French extraction, the name originally "de vit." He was a resident of Salem or Lynn in 1630, where he died Dec. 2, 1675. His son, John DeWitt of Lynn, married Elizabeth Baker, June, 1676. His son, John 3d, born 1679, married Mary Dane; resided in Marlborough 1707, and Ipswich. Lieut. John, son of John and Mary Dane, came to North Brookfield, 1744. Children of Lieut. John DeWitt of North Brookfield: Benjamin; Ivory; Stephen; Joseph; Mary, m. May, 1755, Ebenezer Tidd of New Braintree; Sarah, m. 1777, Francis Stone of Brookfield.

Benjamin DeWitt was a soldier in the Revolutionary war and was detailed as one of the guard at the execution of Major Andre.

Sternes DeWitt in 1823 purchased a large landed estate with the water-power and mills once owned by Lieut. John Nichols, who came from Londonderry, Ireland, and a part once included in the estate of Peter Papillon, one of the original proprietors of the land. In 1824 Mr. DeWitt gave a deed of three undivided fourths of this estate to his three brothers, Hollis, Archibald and Alexander DeWitt.

In 1826 the second landed estate in which Sternes DeWitt and his brother Alexander became interested with other gentlemen associated with them in what was known as the Nipmuck Country, included the Augutteback mill property and fine woodlands, which they most carefully preserved in all their natural beauty, leaving groups of trees on the banks of the Maanexit or French River. This property was once the Peter Papillon estate. At the present time known as Howarth.

Stearns DeWitt, son of Benjamin and Olivia (Campbell) DeWitt, b. Dec. 22, 1787, at New Braintree, Mass.; died Nov. 29, 1848, at Oxford; m. Dec. 24, 1815, Hannah, dau. of Anthony Sigourney Butler of Rutland, Vt.† Children: Mary, who was married to Capt. Freeman Freeland of Sutton, March 5, 1862. He was son of James Freeland of Sutton, and grandson of Dr. James Freeland. Elizabeth, who died Sept. 27, 1856.

Mr. DeWitt was a gentleman of much influence, but did not aspire to public office, was extensively known in the county and was quite noted for his fondness for fine horses. He was much esteemed in his life and for his many benefactions. In his person he was of medium height, stout, of a florid countenance, with blue eyes, dark brown hair, quite

* Reference, New Braintree Town Records.

† See Campbell, Butler, Davie, Sigourney and Germaine records.

like an English gentleman; possessed of affable and agreeable manners, with a pleasing address. He was distinguished in commerce, manufactures and banks.

NOTE. William Makepeace, b. 1763, was from Norton, being the son of the fifth in lineal descent of that name. When he was but fourteen years of age he served as a soldier for the defence of Rhode Island. He afterwards served in several campaigns in the Revolution; subsequently he went a voyage to Aux Cayes on the Island of St. Domingo in the West Indies; on his return he was married to Mary, daughter of Peter Whiting of Franklin. Mr. Makepeace then purchased a large landed estate and mills in Franklin. He was engaged in all objects of public utility in town and parish, he was often selected to fill important offices of trust, and from his wealth and position had much influence. He was a justice of the peace for the County of Norfolk. At one time he was captain of the celebrated artillery company raised in the towns of Franklin, Bellingham, Medway, Wrentham and Walpole. Mr. Makepeace died at Oxford, March, 1855, age 91.

ANCESTRY OF WILLIAM MAKEPEACE.

In 1637, in a book of "Boston Possessions," it was agreed that Mr. Thomas Makepeace should have a house plot and garden place. "The 25 of the seventh month Sept. 1637 the Court direct that Thomas Makepeace have one house and garden bounded with Jeremy Hutchin southeast, William Wilson south the street westerly and the lane northerly." This house and garden were in Hanover Street near Court Street. Thomas Makepeace was a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, being one of the original members. "He was a gentleman of consequence and of wealth." He had resided in Dorchester. "The 25 day of ye 5 month 1641, Record, Mrs. Elizabeth Melloses, but now ye wife of Mr. Makepeace of Dorchester, was granted lre of Recommendation in Dorchester. Thomas Makepeace had the title of 'Mr.' in the church." "The 25 day of the 1st month called March, 1639. Further at this meeting it appeared by a writing dated the first day of August, 1638, that Mr. John Underhill hath surrendered unto Mr. Thomas Makepeace of Dorchester his house in Boston with an hundred acres of upland ground at Muddy River and ten acres of meadow or marsh ground there; his share of woodlands in the islands with a garden at the house and another behind Mr. Parker's house to the quantity of half an acre and somewhat more; and also near half an acre upon the Fort Hill, for sum of one hundred pounds."

1641, June 14, Thomas Makepeace being one of the proprietors of two patents of large tracts of land. "The Dover and the Swampscot Patents embracing in them from the Sea-side (near where Portsmouth now is) and covering the said land by the ryver unto the Falls of Quamscot," which includes what is now Dover, N. H.; was one of the five patentees who petitioned the "General Court" to have patents and the jurisdiction over the people dwelling within the limits come under the government of Massachusetts which was granted.

THOMAS MAKEPEACE.
ROBERT SALTONSTALL.
GEORGE WILLYS.
WILLIAM WHITING.
EDWARD HOLYOKE.

In 1654 Thomas Makepeace was in the Narragansett expedition against the Indians, for which he received pay from the treasury of the Massachusetts Bay.

Thomas, the oldest son, returned to England, as appears by the will of Thomas Makepeace: "I give and bequeath unto Thomas Makepeace my eldest sonn beyond the seas vizt. the house and land in England he being the heir to it which he hath long possessed." His estate in Boston was given to his son William, who afterwards became a resident of Norton.

In the Makepeace ancestry it states Lawrence Washington of Gray's Inn, the Mayor of Northampton 1532-1545, had granted to him Sulgrave Manor in 1538 by Henry VIII. Lawrence, the son of Lawrence Washington, was knighted, whose only daughter, Elizabeth, married Robert Shirley, Earl of Ferrers. Robert, an uncle to Elizabeth, inherited Sulgrave Manor and sold it to his nephew, Lawrence Makepeace.

Coat of Arms of Thomas Makepeace: Az on a sesse, betw. two Leopards pass or. Three crosses crosslet fitchée Crest, a Leopard pass reguard, or, reposing his foot on a shield gee charged with a cross crosslet fitchée. Motto, Spero.

William Earle, born March 24, 1787, married Sophia, daughter of Benjamin and Olivia (Campbell) DeWitt, was the son of Col. Robert⁵ Earle of New Braintree, Mass., William,⁴ John,³ William,² Ralph.¹ Col. Robert Earle was born at Dartmouth, now Westport, Mass., Sept., 1757. He married Mary, daughter of Thomas and Abigail Corey. Col. Earle removed to New Braintree in 1814, and died in 1833. He was commissioned a captain in 1781, afterward major in the regiment in which George Claghorn was colonel and lieutenant-colonel about 1799. He was a justice of the peace and deputy sheriff of Bristol County, a gentleman of wealth and a man of marked energy. He was a grand juror and town treasurer of Westport. It is said he was a gentleman of fine appearance with agreeable and courtly manners.

Col. Earle was the lineal descendant of Ralph Earle¹ of Portsmouth, R. I., who died in 1698. His name is found at Newport in 1638. There is a record of him as having joined a "troope" of cavalry. He was afterwards captain of the troop. Ralph Earle¹ claimed the lands of the "Dutch House of Good Hope" (now Hartford, Ct.), and commenced a lawsuit therefor against Richard Lord and James Richards of Hartford, possessors of the Dutch land, about 1667. "Earle affirmed he had purchased the land of one Underhill in 1653 and paid him twenty pounds sterling for it." There are many papers upon the subject in the archives of Connecticut.

The family of Earle is very ancient, it can be traced to a Saxon ancestry. "In the time of Henry II., who was crowned 1154, Henry de Erle was Lord of Newton of Beckington in the County of Somerset. See Dictionary of Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland."

"John de Erlegh then paid five marks for the sentage of his lands at Beekington."

"In the time of Edward II., who was crowned 1307, they were Lords of the Manor of Somerton Parva, also called Somerton Erleigh in the County of Somerset which they held by grand Sergeancy, a King's Chamberlain—and in the reign of Edward III., who was crowned 1327, they held lands in the same

County by service of pouring water on the King's hands on Easter or Christmas-day."

The three counties, Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, adjoin each other and Exeter is the chief city of Devonshire. In these counties were many branches of the Earles. There are monuments of persons of the name in Exeter Cathedral. Ralph Earle¹ came from Exeter to New England. There is mention made in the ancestry of Ralph Earle of a coat of arms. "I remember the horse's head only," said an ancient branch of the family. Several branches of the Earle family in England had on their coat of arms the crest a "nag's head" erased sable maned or. The ancient coat of arms in the possession of Ralph Earle¹ had the same crest.

"A branch of the Somerset Erles settled in the County of Devon in the time of Edward III., John Erle holding lands of Ashburton twenty miles from Exeter. From the elder son of John Erle, who first settled at Ashburton, County of Devon, there are many lines of the Erles, all springing from a common ancestry with him.

FREELAND.

Mr. James Freeland in March, 1766, became a resident of Oxford. He was chosen a town warden in 1769 of Oxford.

Mr. James Freeland married in Hopkinton, January, 1741, Sarah, daughter of Oliver Watson of Leicester. Mr. Freeland was a resident of Brimfield in 1751. Mrs. Freeland died May, 1760, leaving a daughter Mary, baptized at Hopkinton in July, 1742. She married Gideon Smith, in September, 1772. Sept., 1765, Mr. Freeland, still residing in Brimfield, married Elizabeth, the widow of John Thomas of Worcester and daughter of Joseph Wiley of Oxford. In March, 1766, he purchased an estate in a part of Oxford called Prospect, at the junction of the Worcester and Leicester roads, known for many years as the Dr. Jonathan Learned estate.*

Capt. Jeremiah Learned removed the house erected by James Freeland and built a house as a home for Dr. Learned, his son, who had married Annis, the daughter of Dr. Alexander Campbell of Oxford.

The Freeland and McFreeland† families were of the same Scotch extraction, both branches having the same coat of arms, having, from political motives and their Christian faith, retired from Scotland to Londonderry, Ireland, afterwards to Dublin, previously to their coming to America. In 1725, or about that period of time, James Freeland, Sen., left Dublin and was accompanied to this country by two daughters, Anna (or Jaue) and Rachel, and by two sons, James (afterwards of

*The view from the summit of Prospect Hill of the surrounding country, is very extensive.

†The ancient name of Freeland was a Saxon word "Vree landt," or "Vree land."

Oxford), an undergraduate of "Dublin University," and Thomas, the youngest of his family, a child of some seven years of age. Joseph, the eldest son, a young barrister, remained in Dublin; he never came to America.

Mr. James Freeland was of Scotch parentage, a gentleman of polished manners, very quiet in his address and extremely fastidious in his toilet. The daughter of his nephew, Dr. James Freeland of Sutton, Mass., recalled him readily to her mind in extreme age as the gentleman who was often the guest of her father, whose delicate hands were shaded with deep ruffles.

Mr. Freeland in 1770 married Mrs. Martha Smith of Springfield. He removed from Oxford July, 1778, and in 1790 he was a resident of Westfield. A church record of Oxford, August 28, 1771: "Baptized John, son of Aaron Parker and Abigail his wife. Col. Learned and wife, Mr. James Freeland and others were present."

James Freeland, Sen., was a member of the established church of Scotland, and consulted Rev. Mr. McClenathan, the clergyman of his church, in reference to his proposed settlement in the new world. Mr. McClenathan decided to accompany Mr. Freeland to America, and subsequently became the clergyman of Blandford, Mass. His church was formed of many Scotch families.

Anna (or Jane) a daughter of James Freeland, Sen., married a Mr. Black and resided in Blandford. Her sister Rachel married in Hopkinton Mr. Knox, Sept., 1741, and became a resident of Blandford.

James Freeland, Sen., from Dublin and Londonderry, on his arrival in this country was first located at Lexington, subsequently at Hopkinton; his farm was situated about one-half mile north of "Hopkinton Springs."

From the "Church Records," Hopkinton. A copy:

"Oct. 13, 1743. James Freeland, Sen., and his wife were admitted to full communion with this church, having been recommended from the Rev. Mr. Hancock, as partaking with ye church of X in Lexington, by virtue of a certificate from Ireland."

James Freeland resided in Lexington until 1740, when the family removed to Hopkinton.

Dr. James Freeland, son of Thomas Freeland, who accompanied his father to America, was the first of his family who became a resident of Sutton. Previously to coming to Sutton, at the early age of sixteen years, in 1759, he was in the "French and Indian war," having entered the provincial army by enlisting in one of the colonial regiments under the command of Col. Thomas Mellen of Hopkinton, as one of his aids. He was in the expedition to capture Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and attack Quebec. The French, with their Indian allies, far outnumbered

the English and colonial forces. As a ruse de guerre to cause the French to believe that large reinforcements from England were being landed under the command of the "Prince of Wales" in person (the "Prince of Wales," afterward George III., King of England, being at this time in the bloom of youth, affable and engaging in his manners), Col. Mellen and other officers appointed James Freeland to personate the young Prince, splendidly mounted, and uniformed in his royal red regimentals. He appears, with an escort, at the scene of war, as if just arrived from England by the way of the St. Lawrence, and now holding a review of English and colonial troops. The ruse itself and its execution were so well planned by Colonel Mellen that the soldiers in his own regiment were in full belief they were forming in the review of the "Prince of Wales."

It was well calculated to arouse the courage of soldiers, disheartened from the lack of numbers and ill provided for in their long and perilous march. It is said Col. Mellen divided his forces to make an appearance of a large number of troops. History states the French could not hope to make a successful resistance, and deserted their fortifications to the English.

On the thirty-first of October, 1770, Dr. James Freeland was united in marriage to Mehetabel, daughter of Colonel Thomas Mellen of Hopkinton, born 1752, and soon came to Sutton and established himself as a physician, in what was then the North Parish. His residence was upon what is now known as "Millbury Common."

Early in the commencement of the war of the Revolution, he received the appointment of Surgeon in the United States Army, in which he served with distinction. He used often to refer to his practice as a surgeon in different engagements during the war. In the battle of White Plains, which occurred October 28, 1776, during the night following the engagement, he amputated thirteen limbs from the wounded.

After his retirement from the army he resumed the practice of his profession in Sutton, and occupied a high position as a physician and surgeon. He had, under his instruction, many medical students. He usually made his visits to his patients on horseback, and would at times be seen accompanied by a large number of his students, on horseback, forming quite a noticeable cavalcade.

Doctor James Freeland died October, 1796, aged 52 years. Mrs. Freeland died March 23, 1792, aged 40 years.

Dr. Freeland was a gentleman, well educated and extremely well bred. It is said he was an agreeable and most pleasing companion, very fastidious in his dress and general appearance; he would call often on his hair-dresser in Worcester to arrange his toilet and adjust his queue in court style. His dress, previous to the revolutionary war, consisted of

a dress coat of fine broadcloth of a brilliant red color, velvet small-clothes, long hose with silver knee and shoe buckles, deep ruffled linen and a three-cornered hat. A physician (Dr. Borden of Charlton), observing Dr. Freeland bow in salutation to some friend, remarked aside, that "such a salutation was a priceless accomplishment."

CAMPBELL.

From the Boston News-Letter, No. 2971.

OXFORD, May 28, 1761.—"On the 25 Instant died here the Rev. John Campbell, in the 71st year of his Age, a Gentleman greatly beloved and esteemed. He was born in the North of Scotland, educated at Edinburgh, where he had the Benefit and Honours of that University. He came over to New England Anno 1717, was ordained Pastor of the church here Anno 1721, where with great Wisdom and Fidelity he continued to execute the several Parts of his Office for more than 40 years. In his Preaching he was strictly Orthodox, much improved in Ecclesiastical Councils, and Happy in the Peace and Harmony of the Church here. In his last sickness he sustained the Prospect of his approaching Death with great serenity, as knowing Him in whom he had believed. His remains were decently interred Yesterday; the Funeral was attended not only by this Town, but by great Numbers from the adjacent Towns, formed an unusually long and orderly Procession. He hath left a sorrowful Widow, four Sons, and two Daughters. His Death is a general Loss; but especially so to this Town, who well may be supposed to tremble when such a Pillar fell. Zeck. 1, 5: 'Your Fathers, where are they, and the Prophets, do they live forever?'"

The following epitaph is inscribed upon the Rev. John Campbell's tomb-stone in the old church-yard, near the south common in Oxford:

"Intoom'd here lieth y^e body of y^e Rev'd Mr. John Campbell who died May 25, 1761, in y^e 71 yr. of his Age. he was born in y^e north of Scotland. Educated at Edinburgh & had y^e benefit & Honors of y^e University came to N. England A. D. 1717 & was Ordain'd Pastor of y^e Church in Oxford A. D. 1721 where with great wisdom & fidelity he continued to Execute y^e several parts of his office for more than 40 years. in his last sickness he sustained y^e prospect of his approaching death with great serenity as knowing him in whom he had believed.

"The sweet remembrance of the just
Shall flourish when they sleep in dust."

Rev. John Campbell's decease. On 25 May, 1761, the day of Mr. Campbell's decease, the town authorities issued precepts to both north and south constables ordering the warning of a town meeting to be held

on the 26th to make preparations for the funeral. The meeting was holden but no recorded action appears excepting a vote appropriating £10 to pay expenses. The funeral was on the 27th.

The following is in the town archives:—

“Received in full by the hands of Josiah Wolcott Town Treasurer the sum of Sixty Pounds Salary and also the sum of Thirty Seven Pounds nine Shillings for Bearers, Preaching, and also for a ten pound grant by said Town for Funeral Charges, it being in full of all Demands the Heirs of Rev. Mr. Campbell has against the Town.

Subscribitures

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL	} Executors to s ^d Will.”
WILLIAM CAMPBELL	

The same account was given by Mrs. Kingsbury, widow of Capt. Jeremiah Kingsbury, and a communicant of Rev. Mr. Campbell's church. Mrs. Kingsbury at her decease was more than 90 years of age.

There is an error in regard to the birth of Rev. John Campbell, and of his age at the time of his decease. He must have been born about the year 1681, as is shown by the University Records at Edinburgh of his graduation in 1698-1700.

Rev. John Campbell was the author of a work. The following is from the title-page:

“A Treatise on Conversion, Truth, and Justification, etc.; being Extracts from Sundry Discourses delivered at Oxford, in the latter end of the year 1741, and beginning of 1742.”

The volume is a 12mo, of 300 pages, printed at Boston, 1743, “dedicated to my well beloved congregation, and much desired in our Lord Jesus Christ.” †

In record of the publishment of Rev. John Campbell, “Mr. John Campbell and Ester Whetly,” that of his marriage John Campbell and Ester Whittle ‡ by Wm. Waldron, 6 Feb., 1722, Boston, Brick Church.

Mrs. Rachel Blackman of Charlton, a lineal descendant of Mary, a daughter of Rev. John Campbell, narrated that his eldest daughter, Mary (Campbell) Towne, stated that Madame Esther Campbell, her mother, before her marriage to Mr. Campbell, was engaged to be married to a gentleman in England (Mr. William Skepper), whose name she gave to one of her sons—all the other names of her children were given by Mr. Campbell to remind him of his friends in Scotland.

*Reminiscences of Mrs. Duncan Campbell, daughter-in-law to Rev. John Campbell, who died in 1821, aged 91 years, viz.: “Rev. John Campbell was an older person than was stated at his decease.”

†A volume is still preserved as a relic by M. de W. Freeland, a lineal descendant.

‡The name was Wheatly or Whately.

The original portrait of Madame Esther Campbell, painted when 17 years of age, was in the possession of her son, Capt. William Campbell, whose home was ever with his mother. Mrs. Campbell died of the smallpox, March 11, 1777. At his decease it was presented by him to his daughter Sarah, who married Dr. Shaw of Putney, Vt., and at her decease, to her son, Hon. Henry Shaw of Lanesboro, Mass. Through the kindness of Mrs. Shaw a copy was permitted, the only one ever taken. In Madame Campbell's portrait she is represented in the character of Proserpina, a goddess of harvesting, as was the fashion for ladies in her time to assume a character. It was painted by Cooper, a famed artist in Edinburgh, 1717.

All the original branches of Rev. John Campbell's family agree in the following statement, viz.: that Rev. John Campbell came to America to avoid proscription for some political offence. It is said that he was in the Rebellion of 1715, being in favor of the House of Stuart.

The Children of Rev. John and Esther (Wheatly) Campbell:

Mary, b. Feb. 11, 1723; John, b. Feb. 7, 1724; Isabella, b. March 27, 1726, d. March 21, 1728; Duncan, b. March 27, 1727; Isabella, b. July 26, 1728; Elizabeth, b. August 14, 1730, d. July 12, 1732; Alexander, b. Feb. 12, 1732; William, b. April 2, 1734; Archibald, b. August 6, 1736.

From Mary Campbell, the eldest daughter, who married Jacob Town, were descended: Hon. General Salem Towne of Charlton, and his son, late Hon. General Salem Towne of Charlton, both distinguished gentlemen of their time; and from John Campbell, the eldest son, are descended the Campbells of Otsego County, New York.

From Duncan and Elizabeth (Sterne) Campbell are descended: Captain Sternes and Hon. Alexander DeWitt of Oxford, and their brothers, Hollis and Capt. Archibald DeWitt, and also the late Maj. Archibald Campbell of Oxford, and his descendants.

Isabella married Josiah Wolcott, Esq., of Salem, Mass., who became a resident of Oxford. Capt. William Campbell was distinguished in the War of the Revolution. Dr. Alexander Campbell married Lydia, a daughter of Capt. Thomas Sterne of Worcester, whose sister had married his brother Duncan Campbell. Dr. Alexander Campbell was the first physician of Oxford. Rev. Archibald Campbell was a chaplain in the army of the Revolutionary War.

Children of Duncan and Elizabeth (Sterne) Campbell who were published Dec., 1749: Elizabeth, b. Nov., 1750; Samuel, b. August, 1752; John, b. August, 1754; Mary, b. March, 1757; Thomas, b. April, 1759, d. in Putney, Vt., June, 1844, aged 84 years; Lucretia, b. Dec., 1762; Patty (Martha), b. Feb., 1765; Olivia and Sophia (twins), b. Dec., 1767; Alexander, b. Dec., 1769; Archibald, b. August, 1776.*

* Reference to the town of Dudley, records with Oxford.

Elizabeth, daughter of Duncan Campbell, was married to Ezra Bowman, then a resident of Dudley, April 4, 1770. Ezra Bowman in 1773 purchased in Oxford of Dr. Alexander Campbell the centre tavern on the great plain. Children: Rufus, Thomas, Sophia, Nathaniel, Elizabeth, Polly, Alexander. The estate which Mr. Bowman purchased of Dr. Alexander Campbell was known as the Benjamin Chamberlain estate, an original proprietor, afterward as the Samuel Davis estate, and conveyed by him to William Davis in 1724, and by him in 1760 to Dr. Alexander Campbell.

Duncan Campbell, Esq., died January, 1795. At the time of his decease he was residing in a house situated on the site of the Sigourney brick mansion, corner of Main street and Sutton road; he died very suddenly, while walking upon the street, being just in front of the old red tavern; his friend, Mr. Nathan Thurston (accompanied by his son Alexander, a child), hastened to his assistance.

Mrs. Elizabeth Sterne Campbell died Nov. 18, 1821, aged 91 years. She was residing at the mansion of the late Israel Sibley on Main street, occupying the northwest parlor. The funeral services were at the house of her grandson, the late Sternes DeWitt.

Elizabeth, daughter of Duncan Campbell, was married to Ezra Bowman, Esq., of Oxford.

Dec. 15, 1774, Samuel Campbell was married to Ruth Nichols. Children: John, Samuel, Henry, Abijah, William, Rufus, Sternes, Alexander and Elizabeth.

John Campbell, son of Duncan, was educated for a physician, married Martha Stevens, was first established in Ward, now Auburn, but soon removed to Putney, Vt., where he received great patronage, and died in Putney, Dec., 1820, aged 67 years. Children: John, Archibald, Sophia, Charles, Betsey, Polly, Patty, Laura.

The last five children see Putney Records.*

Alexander Campbell, son of Duncan Campbell, was educated for a physician and resided in Putney, Vt. In 1790 he married Jerusha Wilder of Putney. She died in 1818. He died 1839, aged 70 years.

Children, John, who became a distinguished physician of Putney, he died 1866, aged 74 years.

Dr. Alexander and his son, Dr. John Campbell, were honored in public life. Nancy married David Crawford of Putney. Martha was married to Mr. Seth Washburn of Putney. Benjamin Franklin, a resident of Boston, Mass. George was a resident of Gouverneur, N. Y. Clark Brown and Alexander Sterne of Putney. Eliza M. was married to

*Samuel, son of Samuel and Ruth (Nichols) Campbell, died Jan. 19, 1796, aged 18 years.

Theophilus Crawford, who was a brother to Judge Crawford. Dr. Alexander Campbell was remarried to Achsah Richardson. Children: Emma and Helen. Lucretia, daughter of Duncan and Elizabeth Sterne Campbell, married John T. Hurley and resided in Boston. She remarried.

Martha was married to Capt. William Moore, distinguished in the war of the Revolution. He died in Oxford.

Mrs. Moore died in Beloit, Wis. Children: three daughters, Sophia, Mrs. Russell, and Clarisa, Mrs. Col. Mixter, both of New Braintree, Betsey, Mrs. Goodhue, and one son, Tyler Moore of Beloit, Wis.

Mary, a daughter of Duncan Campbell, born 1757, was married to John Walker, an English gentleman. Mrs. Walker died in Oxford. Children: John died in childhood; Sophia and Olivia (twins), Sophia died in childhood; Olivia married (1) Benjamin DeWitt of New Braintree, (2) Daniel Bacon of Charlton.

Major Archibald Campbell of Oxford was the youngest son of Duncan Campbell, Esq. He married Celia, the daughter of James and Mary Sigourney Butler of Oxford. Children: Mary, died at two years of age; B. Franklin died in infancy; Archibald, B. Franklin, James, Mary, and Celia, who married Rev. Samuel H. Higgins, Oct. 4, 1849.

Major Campbell was a gentleman distinguished in his time, and at his decease his death was viewed as a public loss to the entire community. He was possessed of great natural endowments of mind. He died at Oxford, Oct. 5, 1818. Mrs. Celia Campbell died May 20, 1851.

Archibald Campbell, Jr., married Artimesia Wheelock, a granddaughter of General Salem Towne of Charlton and of Campbell ancestry.

Mr. Campbell resided several years in California; died in Oxford. B. Franklin Campbell, a merchant, resided in Boston, married Mary, daughter of David Lilley of Oxford. James B. Campbell, a lawyer, resided in Charleston, S. C., married Margaret, a daughter of Gov. Bennett of South Carolina. He fitted for college at Nichols Academy (Dudley), completed 1826 a course of study at Brown University, went to Edisto Island, S. C., taught four years, in the meantime reading law, and began study in 1830 with Hon. Hugh S. Legare at Charleston, in 1832 established himself in practice in that city, and for many years stood in the front rank in the State in his profession. As a lawyer "he had no peer in breadth and subtilty of intelligence, and his dialectic skill was conspicuous on all occasions. . . . A man of power, of energy, of tenacity, he enjoyed the controversies in which quarter is neither asked nor given." He was a debater of great eloquence, sarcasm and ingenuity. His practice became extensive, and the most important causes were committed to his management.*

* He in one instance received a retaining fee of fifty thousand dollars.

Dr. Alexander Campbell of Oxford, son of Rev. John Campbell, was married May, 1759, to Lydia, daughter of Captain Thomas Sterne of Worcester. Children: Edward Raymond, Lydia, who married Dr. Wright of Putney, Vt., Alexander, born Dec., 1762, Sally, born June, 1769, married Nathan Thurston of Oxford, Polly Sterne, born October, 1771, married — Simmons and resided at Rockingham, Vt.; in second marriage Mr. Stratton; Mirriam, born April, 1774, married a Mr. Wilcox of Stockbridge, Vt., Esther, born March, 1765, married Dr. Day of Rockingham, Vt., Annise, born December, 1766, married Dr. Jonathan H. Learned of Oxford.

Dr. Alexander Campbell died in Oxford, Dec. 28, 1782. Lydia, widow of Dr. Alexander Campbell, died March 19, 1816.

Edward Raymond, a physician, resided in Westminster, Vt. Inscription upon tombstone: "Dr. Edward R. Campbell died Nov. 1830, æ. 72 yrs." Anne, wife of Edward R. Campbell, died Sept., 1827, æ. 58 years.

Children: Edward R. Campbell, died Sept. 3, 1850, æ. 60, John, Frazer, Sidney, Eunice and Matilda. Alexander, son of Dr. Alexander Campbell of Oxford, and brother of Dr. Edward Raymond Campbell, was a physician, and resided and died in Rockingham, Vt.

Children: Edward of Rockingham, afterward Grafton and Windsor, Vt.; Alexander, a lawyer of Bellows Falls, Vt.; Henry and John resided in Boston, afterward Saxton's River, Vt.; Harriet married Dr. Mann; Rhoda married Dr. Jarvis Chase. The youngest daughter married a Mr. Wheaton.

"Nov. 1, 1771. This day about 10 o'clock A. M. the dwelling-house of Dr. Alexander Campbell at Oxford took fire, his books and all his accounts were entirely consumed, as also a fine assortment of drugs newly imported from England. This house was finished to the doctor's mind, which he enjoyed but a few weeks, and then the account says, this cruel master deprived him thereof. The loss is computed at least to be one thousand pounds lawful money. The house was near the bridge on the Sutton road."

A copy from a biographical note of Rev. Archibald Campbell, youngest son of Rev. John Campbell, by Dr. Daniel Huntington (now deceased) of Stockbridge, Vt.: Archibald Campbell was born at Oxford, Massachusetts, 17 August, 1736; entered Harvard College when he was 21 years old and graduated in 1761.

He was ordained at Easton, Mass., 17 Aug., 1763, where he continued as a clergyman till January 1, 1783. He was resettled at Charlton, Mass., January 8, 1783, where he remained till April 9, 1793. After this he preached at Cornish, N. H., at Putney, Vt., and Stockbridge, Vt., without having any settlement, and died at Stockbridge, Vt., July 15, 1818, aged 82 years. He is buried on Stockbridge Common. He was

appointed by the court one of the first Trustees of the Academy at Leicester, Mass.

Rev. Archibald Campbell was married to Hannah, daughter of Isaac Barnard, Esq., Nov. 15, 1762, of the North Parish. In Sutton Town Records.*

His daughter, Mrs. Sophia (Campbell) Pollard, stated her father, Rev. A. Campbell, was at one time a chaplain in the U. S. service, stationed in Rhode Island, but that he was at heart a loyalist. Mrs. Pollard died in Stockbridge, July, 1857.

Archibald, born 1765, a son of Rev. Archibald Campbell, married in 1788 Martha (McLaughlin) Laffin of Charlton, where she died in 1792, aged 24.

A letter from Mr. G. Gregory, P. M., of Locke, N. Y., dated Feb. 26, 1842, to Mrs. Sophia Pollard of Stockbridge, Vt., respecting obtaining a pension for Mrs. Demmon, her niece, of Locke, whose father, Archibald Campbell, Jr. (son of Rev. Archibald Campbell), was in the war of U. S. service; he is supposed to have died at Detroit in 1803, of a "sweeping sickness" of which many soldiers died:

"Government has now on record the fact your brother was in service under General Wayne, and he is credited on the records for his services and nothing on record to appear he ever had pay."

Archibald Campbell, Jr., wrote home in 1799, from Detroit, that his first term of service had expired and that he had enlisted again for five years. The last letter received from him was in 1803. He left his two children, Barnard and Martha, with his father, Rev. Archibald Campbell of Stockbridge. Martha married Wm. Demmon; a daughter, Mrs. Jane L. Cropsey, and a sister, Mrs. Caroline Maltbey, reside at Locke, N. Y.; a third daughter, Mrs. Martha Minturn, resides at Cortland, N. Y.

Capt. William Campbell, son of Rev. John Campbell, resided with his father on the landed estate now known as belonging to the descendants of Nathan Hall. In 1778, Capt. Campbell removed from Oxford to Brookline, Mass. (it is said Rev. John Campbell owned an estate in Brookline). Subsequently Capt. Campbell purchased an estate in Putney, Vt. The house on the estate was a few years since in fine preservation. Leaving Putney he resided in Castleton, Vt., where he died Feb. 11, 1808. Mrs. Campbell died Sept. 21, 1802. Their tomb-

*Extracts from a letter of Rev. T. S. Hubbard, Rochester, Vt., dated February 1, 1871 (Rev. Mr. Hubbard was formerly of Stockbridge, Vt.): "The library of Rev. Archibald Campbell is said to have been sold to Dr. Huntington, and was destroyed when the doctor's office, including medicine and much of his library, was burned." Rev. John Campbell gave his library to his son Archibald.

stones are in Castleton burying-ground. Capt. Campbell was distinguished in the Revolution.*

Capt. William Campbell married Mary, the daughter of Uriah and Mary (Blount) Stone of Oxford, Oct. 25, 1759.†

Children: Sarah, William, Daniel, Mary, Josiah, Sarah, Lucy, Isabella, William, Abbie and William.

John Campbell, son of John Campbell, Jr., and grandson of Rev. John Campbell, was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Uriah and Mary (Blount) Stone.

John Campbell, son of John and the grandson of Rev. John Campbell, purchased a large tract of land in Otsego County, N. Y., when it was mostly a wilderness. He was ever spoken of as an intelligent and honorable gentleman. At the time of his settlement at Milford in that county there were no schools within ten miles of his landed estate, but his children all received a home education from private masters. The sons became useful and noticeable citizens. The daughters were eligible and became the heads of good families. Children of John and Elizabeth (Stone) Campbell: Jeremiah, John Abijah died in Oxford, Abijah, William, Samuel, Sylvanus, Elizabeth and Ruth.

Gilbert E., son of Sylvanus and Martha (Marsh) Campbell, was born in 1809 in Milford. He married Mary, daughter of Dr. Joseph Lindsay, also of Scotch ancestry, of Oneonta, Otsego Co. Mr. Campbell became a resident of Oneonta, and his ancient mansion-house is the home of Dudley M. Campbell, Esq., a retired lawyer, and his brother, L. J. Campbell, the historian.‡

It was voted that Israel Town should entertain Rev. John Campbell on his arrival in Oxford. Mr. Town's residence was on Town's Plain, the estate opposite Town's Pond.

The only sermon extant of Rev. John Campbell in his own handwriting is from Gen. ix. 9, 10, which he closes with the "tokens of the covenant." "Rainbow hues never appear so beautiful as when set upon a dark cloud."

From a sermon preached at his funeral, Lam. ii. 13, Rev. William

* The house and landed estate in Putney, of Capt. William Campbell, adjoined or was very near that of his nephew, Dr. John Campbell, once of Oxford.

† Uriah Stone was the son of John Stone of Sudbury and Framingham and Anne Tileston of Dorchester, in ancestry he was descended from Gregory Stone of Cambridge and a proprietor at Watertown, who was distinguished in his time.

‡ Tradition states that Rev. Mr. Campbell in his youth was taught to weave silk. It is also a tradition that his father on his estate had a large herd of cattle, including sixty cows. Mr. Campbell was often named as Col. Campbell and that he was a Colonel of the Scots Greys in Scotland.

Phips of Douglas gives a sketch of Mr. Campbell. It is stated he "was a gentleman of extraordinary endowments and was well furnished with embellishing acquirements and more especially for his acquaintance with the affairs of history and State policy."

"Surely I conceive God has made a wide Breach upon the Churches of this vicinity, but more immediately upon this church and Town. O Oxford, Oxford! What thing shall I take to witness for thee? What thing shall I liken to thee? or what shall I equal to thee that I may comfort thee? for thy Breach is great like the sea, who can heal thee?"

In these days Mr. Campbell, like other clergymen of colonial times, visited the schools and catechised the children, was attentive to the sick and distressed, rode about town on horseback with his cocked hat and flowing wig. From an old record of an English trading-house in Oxford, 1753, there is this charge to Rev. Mr. Campbell: "2 wiggs of (Giles, Boston) £28-0-0."

Rev. Mr. Phips states that Mr. Campbell from his army life had acquired a knowledge in the art of physic, and that he frequently administered to his people as a physician in their sickness and charitably gave them both his medicines and advice. "When was the day, when was the night, what was the weather, what were the storms, or what the way which hindered him from being quickly with you in your distresses, when his strength and health allowed."

Mr. Campbell in his will, after making a settlement upon Madam Esther Campbell, his wife, he gives her his silver spoons and his gold rings, to be equally divided at her decease between his two daughters, Mary and Isabella. He names with others, his youngest son Archibald, "to be paid one thousand pounds, old tenor, at my decease. I bequeath unto said Archibald my apparel of every description, my entire library, my watch, my gold wrist buttons, my knee and shoe buckles, and my young black mare, to be well kept and supported on my said farm summer and winter cost free when said Archibald has no occasion to use her, and make my house his home in ye same manner he used in my life time, and I do enjoyn my Ex^r. to pay all just demands that are or may become due at Cambridge for his support, education and clothing till after the next commencement." Mr. Campbell bequeathed to his two grandsons, John Campbell, son of Duncan, and Edward Raymond, son of Alexander Campbell, a portion of his estate known as the Campbell Grant, lying on the south-east side of the Roxbury School Farm, and east of the great pond called Chaubunagungamang pond, extending south more than a mile on the lake shore. "I enjoyn on my Executors to sell this estate and keep the proceeds on good security towards the education of my two grandsons, John and Edward Raymond." After mentioning his son William, he gives to him his negro servant Will, to be

kindly used, improved and supported by him during his natural life and at the expiration thereof to give him a decent Christian burial. Will became quite a character in the family, enrolled as a soldier in the army of 1775 and furnished with a horse and arms to accompany his master, Capt. William Campbell, at the siege of Boston.

Mr. Campbell was a gentleman very efficient in all business negotiations, his name is often found in the court records. He was the proprietor of 1,000 acres of landed estate. When the Papillon estate of 8,000 acres of land, in 1736, was divided among the heirs he was one of three gentlemen to whom the division was entrusted.

Mr. Campbell's memorial to the authorities in the matter of his executorship of the will of Richard Williams.

John Ballard of Boston married Martha (Papillon), the widow of Williams, and was the guardian of the minor children. He objected in the Probate Court to Mr. Campbell's account, the judge having allowed him £40 for his services, and he appealed to the State executive in Boston.

"Whereas his Excellency William Shirley, Governor, and the Honorable His Majestie's Council upon the 27 of February, 1755, were pleased to accept the report of the Committee of this honorable board upon the appeal of John Ballard from the decree of the Judge of Probate of Worcester County, expressing their opinion upon the several reasons of said appeal; and, whereas, the honorable Committee have candidly and justly considered and pronounced the groundlessness of the first, second, third, fourth and fifth of the said reasons, I thankfully acquiesce therein; but inasmuch as the committee in my humble comprehension have not so determinately and particularly expressed themselves on the last reason of the said appeal as I would wish, and expected, viz., the article of allowance for trouble, toil and expenses in settling the estate of said Williams which occasions this address. Wherefore, I beseech the honorable the Lieut.-Governor and this honorable board in your great clemency to hear me in a few words, shewing wherein my grievance lies.

"And may it please your honors to observe, 1. That my original account amounted to £791. 3s. 1d., also an additional account of £33. 6s. 8d. which I sold the real estate for more than the appraisement. These two sums amount to £824. 9s. 9d. lawful money as appears by my account settled by the judge of probate. 2. That there was not one farthing of cash that I could find belonging to the said estate and but one bond containing about nine pounds beside Madam Mary Wolcott's land [bond?] conditioned for 140 acres of rough and uncultivated land in Killingly, in Connecticut, which could not procure a title to said land, both which appears by the inventory and that part of my apology for-

mally forwarded to his Excellency the Governor and your Honors relative to them; that therefore this large sum must be made of the real estate and a few moveables; accordingly the effects were sold, the several considerations secured, the money in a great measure collected, the debts paid to the creditors, dispersed almost all over the province and part of Connecticut, receipts and other vouchers obtained in order to settle with the judge of probate, and all at large expense of time and money, and the risk of the whole estate to be borne by me from the beginning of my administration until all is paid and the time of my servitude expired. The deliberate and just consideration of the premised reasons induced the judge of probate to make me the allowance of 40 Pounds, as may be seen in the settlement. Add to these that I was obliged in the months of February and March last to travel to Boston, first, to answer the reasons of said appeal, and next to answer two writs served on me by Messrs. John Ballard and his Attorney, at the great expense of my health, which was then much impaired, and my purse which was not very heavy; but nevertheless I must bear all charges in this affair. Now may it please the Lieut.-Governor and your Honors to permit me to persuade myself that after so clear a representation made of facts and so well supported, you will be pleased to explain that part of the honorable Committee's report which relates to the article of allowances to the better understanding of yourselves and your most humble memorialist.

"Surely your honors will not think that a loose receipt dated Sept. 26, 1743, containing £4. 6d. old tenor with depreciation and interest can be satisfaction proportionable to such extensive and expensive services and sufferings as I have been obliged to undergo in discharging my trust. But if, after all I have most humbly offered, your Honors should remain of the opinion that the loose receipt as above delineated is sufficient satisfaction for the trouble and expense I have been and am still exposed to in the administration of said Williams' estate; and as it is said in the report of the Honorable Committee that the saving has been to my pupil Mr. Josiah Wolcott and that therefore the greater part of the allowance should lie upon him, I beseech your Honors that said Wolcott be expressly subjected to the payment thereof, since he utterly refuseth to pay or allow any part thereof on my account with him, although he received in cash what saving there was some time before the appeal. Doubtless, your Honors will easily see how much I stand in need of your relief in this dilemma.

"In fine, I most humbly beg your Honors favorable consideration and direction respecting the payment of two dividends of the residue of my Testator's estate that it be deferred to some distant period, since the debts and legacies are already discharged — for these reasons: 1.

Because it is the express will of the Testator that the two said dividends be kept on interest till his only son arrives at a lawful age. 2. Because it is almost impossible for your memorialist to collect so large a sum in so short a time as Mr. John Ballard, Guardian, has set him; considering that several debtors to the estate have been and some are yet in his Majesty's service, who owe at least to the amount of 1,000 pounds old tenor. 3. Because the present almost universal distress of New England makes it very difficult for most men to make speedy payment of a large sum in silver and gold, and Mr. Ballard seems unwilling to take anything else of me.

"Your Honor's resolution and determination upon the premises (as in your great wisdom and goodness you think reasonable) is earnestly solicited by your most humble memorialist, which will oblige him as in duty bound ever to pray.

(Signed) JOHN CAMPBELL."

[This petition was dismissed on the ground that the case was out of the jurisdiction of the Lieut.-Governor and Council.]

Daniel Campbell was a physician, married Lucina Hurlburt, and resided in Middlebury, Vt., four children: Daniel Lucius, Mary Julia, Sarah Lucina, William.

Dr. Daniel Campbell was re-married to Elizabeth Sedgwick of Stockbridge, Mass., and resided in Canton, N. Y. Children: Eliza, Gratia, Benjamin, George W.

Dr. Daniel died in Canton, N. Y., April 10, 1820. Elizabeth Sedgwick Campbell died in Canton, 1854.

William, youngest son of Capt. William Campbell, left Vermont and resided in Virginia.

A letter from William Campbell, a son of Dr. Daniel Campbell, describes a visit that he made to his uncle William in Virginia. He traveled on horseback and arrived at his uncle's home on Christmas day in time for dinner. He left January 17, after dinner. He dates his letter Woodstock, Shenandoah Co., Virginia, Jan. 17, 1822. He speaks of his uncle in eligible circumstances and residing on a plantation, and of Mrs. Campbell and the children, viz.: Fitz Oscar, Blanche, Minerva and Bruce.

Mr. Campbell left Virginia to visit his sister Julia, residing at Edgefield, S. C.

Nothing has been heard from William Campbell of Virginia, or his family, since his nephew took his leave of him.

"The Sedgwick Papers."

Dr. Daniel Campbell's second marriage was with Elizabeth Sedgwick, a niece of Judge Sedgwick of Stockbridge, and whose home was in this family at the old Sedgwick mansion-house. The correspondence of the

Sedgwick family with Mrs. Campbell on the death of Dr. Campbell gave manifestations of friendship and deep sympathy.*

Extracts from Sedgwick Papers.

In a letter from Miss Catharine, the daughter of Judge Sedgwick, to Mrs. Campbell, dated from Woodbourne, June 27, 1847, Miss Sedgwick writes:

"I have lived long enough to feel the ties of blood and early association strain closer over my heart than any other; and as our ranks are dreadfully thinned we must look and see that the new generation do not fall apart.

"Our old place at Stockbridge, my dear cousin, though it has undergone some few changes to keep up with the progress of civilization which you know contracts fire-places and makes shrunken the ample dimensions of the old kitchen.

"Blinds are before the ever-open windows of olden time, an embowered porch and bay-window now take the place of the old 'stoop' and there is a general air of good taste and precise cultivation combined with a filial reverence 'for the place' that my sister has in a degree that is unusual for one who has been married into a family instead of being her birthplace.

"My eyes, my dear cousin, have given me much trouble and I suffer from writing this, but I could not forego answering your kind letter and giving details of old friends."

A letter written by Mrs. E. G. Miner, a daughter of Dr. Daniel Campbell, in October, 1861, to Miss C. M. Sedgwick and forwarded to her through Miss Sedgwick's friend, Hon. Josiah Quincy of Boston, Mass., who writes to Mrs. Miner, Nov. 6, 1861: "I have just received yours of the 28th. My removal to town prevented my going to the Quincy post-office at an earlier period.

"Miss Sedgwick is at Lenox. I have written to her and enclosed your letter, which I have no doubt will give her great pleasure. She is the sole survivor of her immediate family and will derive great satisfaction from your sympathetic remembrance of the departed."

"Nov. 24, 1861.

"MY DEAR COUSIN:—So I am happy to call you, and happy in feeling that you have given the value and permanency to the tie of blood which affection can alone give it. I feel richer since I have received your letter—richer by the discovery of a treasure (not perishing). My father's house is occupied by the widow of my eldest brother, and that and his

* The Sedgwick papers were forwarded by Mrs. E. G. Miner of Canton, N. Y. Mrs. Miner is the daughter of Dr. Daniel Campbell, a son of Capt. William Campbell, born in Oxford; grandson of Rev. John Campbell.

place (every foot of which is dear—sacred in my eyes) is preserved in exact order, and embellished by the cultivated taste of my sister, and I may add consecrated by her virtues and hospitality. I am sitting in the room in which I was born, in the room once joyous with the sound of many voices long since silent. The ‘tender grace’ of those days gone from me forever. It is my melancholy part to be the survivor of my family. I cannot forget the blessing God gave me in them, nor the unspeakable faith in our reunion.

“Your mother, my dear Mrs. Miner, was for many years a member of that family, and tho’ she was the cotemporary of my sisters who were married when I was yet a child, I have a perfect recollection of those days, made more vivid by her repeated visits after she ceased to be a member of the family. It was a great satisfaction to me to hear from you, of her affectionate remembrance of us, of the tranquillity of her latter years and of the peace of her departure.

“I trust that if you or your children ever come to Berkshire you will let me, if my eyes are not too dim, see you, and if they are there is yet that cordial grasp of the hand that has the magnetism of the heart in it.

“Thank you my dear Mrs. Miner for inspiring your children with a kindly affection for me.”

REMINISCENCES OF MRS. MARY B. CAMPBELL, CHARLESTON, S. C.

“*March 26, 1860.*

“MY DEAR CELIA:—The greatest difficulty, however, is the meagerness of what in past times I have been able to gather of our ancestor. I would gladly aid you, and our kind friend, Dr. Bardwell, in a research that had interested me from a child. The more I have examined the more convinced have I become that there is scarcely anything remaining that deserves to be called historic details of the first minister of Oxford. I am more and more inclined to think he did not intend there should be anything to gratify curiosity respecting his early life and the causes of his coming to this country. He intended the mists of oblivion, with which increasing years enshrouds the past, should settle upon events that saddened his whole life.

“I remember several intelligent persons who had received his teachings, who delighted to repeat the little traditions of his sayings and doings.

“The most profound veneration for his memory lingered about the scene of his ministerial labors, and I was taught to look with reverent affection upon his tomb, but in all there are no answers to the questions one naturally asks respecting him.

“My grandmother could give little anecdotes of his gentle but firm sway over his household, his constant affection to her as his daughter-

in-law, his tender rebuke, when once she expressed pleasure that an act of justice, that bore heavily upon her husband came from him and not her father, as he said 'Betty, have I ever failed in a father's love to you or my son? It was not kind to make that distinction.'

"On one occasion he was rendered almost unfit for pulpit effort by hearing of the boyish indiscretion and fault of one of his sons.

"She told me, in person he was large, not very tall, but portly, with a heavy brow and penetrating black eyes; his deportment was usually grave but cheerful."

Of his ancestry and early years very little is known. It is the belief of his descendants that it was his firm purpose that they should remain a mystery. It is said on the best authority, that on a certain time his son John wished to visit Scotland to get information concerning the family but was decidedly opposed by his father, who refused to give letters when asked. "The North of Scotland" was the nearest his best friends could attain to a knowledge of the place of his birth. Doubtless he studied at the University of Edinburgh, but there is mystery even here, for the catalogue of that institution embraces no graduate of the name between 1700 and the time of his coming to America. The date of his arrival at Boston, given on his tombstone, was 1717. The generally accepted opinion among his descendants was that he was a political refugee, having espoused the failing cause of the Stuarts in the contest of 1715—that he was a relative of Lord Loudoun who, when in authority in America, made an official visit to Boston and on his way from New York stopped at Worcester and with a single attendant made a friendly visit at Oxford, spending the night with Mr. Campbell and passing on the next day to Boston. It is said on good authority that Loudoun on that occasion declared his kinship with Mr. Campbell.* Circumstances indicate that he was educated at the Edinburgh University. The sadness almost any allusion to his early life threw over him, had taught his family to avoid the remotest reference to it. He seemed to inspire all who came under his influence with awe, but with a degree of confiding love that forbade suspicion that his silence could come from any cause but the feeling that it was unmanly and unchristian to dwell upon crushed hopes and disappointed ambition, that could not stimulate to the life-work of his retirement.

It was no secret that he loved the fallen Stuarts, and the date of his coming to this country renders it probable that he took a part in the rising of 1715, that made him too obnoxious to the House of Hanover

*The people of the town seem to have been aware that their minister was a proscribed man, watched all movements with solicitude, and were prepared to resist by force any attempt at his arrest.

to be safe at home. He became an exile for that love, and sought happiness and usefulness by devoting himself to the best interests of the rural people in a widespread parish, to whom for many years he was medical and legal as well as spiritual adviser. (It was a common impression and very likely true, that he devoted himself to the ministry after his coming to this country, and with a special direction of education to the profession.)

Some said Campbell was his mother's name, not his father's. Of that I know nothing; and yet as a preacher he was popular. A very aged lady delighted to talk of his eloquence and the crowds that were wont to fill the "new church" to listen to him. The printed volume of his sermons does not give the impression of a preacher that would attract the young for ten or fifteen miles around, though sound in theology, I believe.

When it was known Lord Loudoun was to pass through Oxford for the purpose of making Mr. Campbell a visit, the fears of the people were excited lest there was a secret purpose to carry him off, or in some way to visit upon him the displeasure of his sovereign, and they made preparations for his defense. Mr. Campbell assured them there was no ground for their fears from Lord Loudoun; that he was bound to him by ties of kindred and friendship too close to admit of hostile intentions. Still the people were secretly prepared, but, as the event proved, for no use but to show their attachment to their pastor. Lord Loudoun with a single attendant was the guest of "Squire Wolcott," Mr. Campbell's son-in-law and neighbor, and as my informant said, the damask curtains were put up and the room was put in state to receive the guest.

Mr. Campbell's house stood where Mr. Hall's now stands. He could see what passed at the Wolcott house. He left his house "in full dress, his wig carefully arranged," to welcome Lord Loudoun. . . . He went to meet him. The little stone bridge between the two houses over which the railroad now passes was pointed out as the spot where the two friends embraced and wept, and held each other with that cordial grasp which such affection and such a life-long separation would call out. They supped and passed the night together uninterrupted by the presence of others, and the next morning they parted. Lord Loudoun went to his duties. Mr. Campbell's spirits were much depressed, though he evidently made a great effort to rally and to continue his usual routine of labor cheerfully. This visit is a historical fact and occurred, I think, on the occasion of Lord Loudoun's visit to Boston to confer with the governors of the New England provinces and of Nova Scotia. It can be easily ascertained by referring to the papers in the Antiquarian rooms at Worcester. These few traditions and facts are all I can give you.

In 1757, during the month of January, a military council composed of Lord Loudoun and the governors of the New England provinces and of Nova Scotia was held at Boston.

I remember the new church of which Mrs. Kingsbury spoke as the "old church,"* standing where the town-house now stands. A curious old sounding-board, suspended over the pulpit, excited my childish fears and interest not a little.

The high square pews were surrounded by a kind of paling that tempted the fingers to twist them and make a squeaking noise to the annoyance of their elders. When the congregation rose in prayer, the seats turned up on hinges and were too often let fall with a most disagreeable noise. Your Uncle James and I delighted in hunting bats from the high old pews in the gallery intended for the few negroes then held in Oxford as servants.

NOTE.—"January 17, 1757, Lord Loudoun passed through Worcester on his way to Boston." He was accompanied by an escort. He arrived in Virginia, July, 1756, having sailed from England, May 17. He returned to England at the close of the following year.

Lord Loudoun having served in various departments of army life in Scotland, previous to the year 1755, was appointed Colonel of the 60th, or Royal American regiment, in December of that year, which was to be raised in Virginia, over which province he was appointed Governor in 1756, where, also, he became commander-in-chief of all his Majesty's forces in North America. He sailed in May for America and arrived in July, 1756. Lord Loudoun was advanced to the position of a Lieutenant-General in January, 1758, and recalled to England, which gave general satisfaction to the colonies.

In 1763 he was appointed Governor of Edinburgh Castle, and in April, 1770, became Colonel of the Third Regiment of Scotch Guards, and General in the army. He died unmarried at Loudoun Castle, Ayrshire, April 27, 1782, aged eighty-seven.

"Mr. Boswell and Dr. Johnson, Saturday, 30th October, 1773, set out toward Ayrshire. I sent Joseph on to Loudoun with a message, that if the earl was at home, Dr. Johnson and I would have the honor to dine with him. Joseph met us on the road and reported that the earl 'jumped with joy,' and said, 'I shall be very happy to see them.'

"We were received with a most pleasing courtesy by his lordship, and by the countess his mother, who in her ninety-fifth year had all her faculties quite unimpaired. This was a very cheering sight to Dr. Johnson, who had an extraordinary desire for a long life. Her ladyship was sensible and well informed, and had seen a great deal of the world.

* In 1860 the old town-house was located on the north common.

The lord had held several high offices, and she was sister to the great Earl of Stair.”*

John Campbell, Earl of Loudoun, was much interested in the work of the Reformation in Scotland; he had many fears that he might be on this account accused of treason and executed, but he died from disease in a most Christian manner at Edinburgh, March 15, 1652. His son, Sir James Campbell, who succeeded him was in sympathy with his father in the Reformation. He was the father of Hugh, Earl of Loudoun, Col. John Campbell of Shankston and of James of Lawers. After his father's death he suffered much for the Reformation and was obliged to leave Scotland, and died an exile in Leyden.

“TREESBANK HOUSE, Kilmarnock, 16 *January*, 1876.

“MADAM :

“On receipt of yours of the 23rd August, 1875, my father, Col. Campbell, at once wrote to me and requested me to give you any information in my power. Absence from home, however, not being able to have access to my books and other reasons quite beyond my control have rendered it impossible for me to answer your enquiries sooner. I hope that this will account for my apparent lack of courtesy.

“The Rev'd John Campbell, to whom you refer as mentioned in Boswell's ‘Life of Johnson,’ was brother to my great-grandfather James Campbell of Cessnock. The said John Campbell was ‘Minister’ of Riccartown and died there in 1761. The following is an extract from his brother's (elder) pocketbook (in my possession) recording it: ‘Rev'd. Mr. John Campbell Minr of Riccartown my Broyr Died very suddenly of a' plethory upon yr morning early (as supposed being found dead in bed) of the third day of Aprile 1761 and buried upon the 6th yr after. Marked James Campbell.’ It is a curious coincidence that he should have died the same year as your ancestor, but they could not possibly have been identical as the one never left the country and lies at Riccartown in the family vault. The interest attached by Dr. Johnson to his collection of books arose merely from the fact that it was a large and most valuable and in those days almost unequalled one. He left them all to his elder brother (my direct ancestor). Many were afterwards destroyed by fire, but those that escaped are still in my father's library here. I am writing these lines in the room in which Dr. Johnson slept when on his way here.

“I believe your ancestor to have been Colonel John Campbell of Shankston. If, however, this is the case he must have been more than 71 years of age at the time of his death I should suppose, and this

*The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D., by James Boswell, vol. 1, p. 454.

is not improbable as the family is very long lived. My reason for believing in this identity is the disappearance of said John Campbell from a family history where the minutest details of all the other members are chronicled. I believe he must have got into political troubles and have been obliged to fly the country. The visit of the Earl Loudoun (his nephew?), a proud and austere man who was unlikely to have visited a private individual merely because his name was Campbell, would thus also be accounted for. But the most cogent reason of all is that Sir John Campbell of Lawers (afterwards 1st Earl of Loudoun) had only *two* descendants named 'John,' viz.: John 4th Earl of Loudoun and John Campbell of Shankston. All you write of the relations of Glenlyon, Lawers and Loudoun is quite correct and shows that your traditions are true. If your ancestor was John Campbell of Shankston his heirs of line can claim the Earldom of Loudoun and all the baronies granted in 1633 to Sir John of Lawers, but the estates are 'proscribed,' *i. e.*, having been held without challenge for upwards of 40 years the right of the present possessor can no longer be disputed. They are held by the present Earl of Loudoun of the Hastings family to which they went by the marriage of Flora Campbell, only child of the 5th Earl, to the Earl of Moira, afterwards Marquess of Hastings. If you can follow up the clue I have given you and prove the identity of your ancestor there can be no doubt of the claim of his heirs of line, for although your ancestor dying *before* John, 4th Earl, could of course, never have claimed the titles and estates, and having no exact account of who he was, his descendants never did so when the succession opened to them. Yet the fact remains that they must succeed before the heirs of their ancestor's younger brother. I think you will understand it by referring to the annexed pedigrees.

"My father is the representative of the original house of Loudoun, for although the estate went to the granddaughter of the first baron by marriage to Sir John of Lawers yet the chieftainship of the house remained with the heir male of the family, the first baron's cousin, Sir Hugh Campbell of Cessnock, my direct ancestor. All branches acknowledge my father as chief of the House of Loudoun, as you will find by referring to Burke's 'Armory County Families' and 'Robertson's History of Ayrshire,' wherein he is styled 'Chief of the Campbells of Loudoun and Cessnock.' I annex pedigrees and will be very glad to hear that this reaches you in safety. A century ago there seems to have been no stigma attaching to illegitimate branches of great houses (in many cases peerages being granted to them), so you will have thoroughly to sift all the evidence. The House of Loudoun has several branches of this kind *here* possessing large estates. You will understand, Madam, that I find

it necessary to caution you on this point, disagreeable though it is to me to do so. I am, Madam,

“Your obedient servant,

“W. H. CAMPBELL, Captain.”

“MRS. M. DE W. FREELAND.”

PEDIGREES.

In 1620 Sir John Campbell of Lawers, eldest son and heir of Sir James Campbell of Lawers, married Margaret Campbell, co-heiress of Hugh, 1st Baron Campbell of Loudoun. They had (with daughters) two sons, James, who succeeded, and George died unmarried.

James, 2nd Earl (his father having been created Earl of Loudoun, Baron Faryman, etc., in 1633), married Lady Margaret Montgomery. They had three sons: 1st, Hugh, who succeeded; 2nd, Col. JOHN of Shankston; 3rd, James, afterward Sir, and to whom his father left the estate of Lawers.

Hugh, 3rd Earl, married Lady Margaret Dalrymple and died in 1731. They had one son, John, who succeeded (and two daughters).

John, 4th Earl, a distinguished military commander. [Visited Rev. John Campbell at Oxford]. He died unmarried in 1782, when his estate and titles devolved upon James Mure Campbell (son of his Uncle Sir James). He succeeded as 5th Earl and had an only child, Flora, who took the estates by marriage into the “Hastings Family,” where they still remain.

A LETTER FROM THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

A letter from the Duke of Argyle to Dudley M. Campbell, Esq., of Oneonta, N. Y., in respect to the lineage of Rev. John Campbell:

“ONEONTA, Oct. 4, 1890.

“MRS. FREELAND:

“Regarding the Duke of Argyll's letter, I received a very kind reply. It was written in the Isle of Skye, where he was on a yachting cruise. Among the things he says regarding such a work as yours, ‘I am always glad to hear of such steps being taken, especially at this time. When cadets or younger sons of our elder families went to the colonies in the last century little record was kept of them here, and they generally *kept but little record of themselves.*’

“He closed by saying that ‘Douglas’ Peerage of Scotland’ is an authority and a work full of historic interest. He says the family traditions which you have are undoubtedly true.”

According to Sir Robert Douglas this family of Campbell descends from Sir Duncan Campbell, Lord of Lochow, progenitor of the Dukes

of Argyll. Sir Duncan of Lochow was the first of his family who assumed the title of Argyll. He left two sons, the younger of whom was Sir Colin of Glenorchy, created 2nd Lord Campbell and Earl of Argyll by James II. in 1453.

Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy was ancestor of the house of Bredalbaue in Perthshire.

NOTE. "In the twelfth century Sir Gillespick le Camile, a Norman knight, accompanied William the Conqueror to England and made his way north and wedded Eva, heiress of Macaillan or MacCallum More, the representative of a long line of Highland chieftains who owned Lochoy and other fair spots in the western Highlands. The next in direct descent from Gillespick was his son Duncan, who attained the title of Lord Campbell, which form the old Norman name Camile, pronounced by the Scotch lowlanders 'Cawmil,' had by that time assumed, and his grandson Colin was created Earl of Argyll in 1457. Fifty-four years afterwards his son Archibald was killed at Flodden's fatal field,

" 'Where shiver'd was fair Scotland's spear,
And broken was her shield.'

"Gillespick Campbell of Norman descent, Lord of Lochow, Sir Colin, a chief of considerable prowess, termed 'More,' *i. e.*, great, was knighted in 1280. He had five sons, the second, Sir Donald, ancestor of the Earls of Loudoun, and the eldest, Sir Niel of Lochow, a staunch adherent of King Robert Bruce, and after the battle of Bannockburn he was a commissioner to negotiate a peace with the English. He was one of the great barons of parliament that met at Ayr, April, 1315, to determine the successor to the crown of Scotland."

Rev. John Campbell appears to have allied to the Lochnell branch of Campbell. Archibald Campbell of Lochnell, known as Laird of Lochnell, 11th in descent, is descended from Alexander Campbell, who was a son of Hon. John Campbell, who was 2d son of Colin, 3d duke of Argyll, who married Lady Jane Gordon, daughter of Alexander, 3d Earl of Huntley and Duke of Gordon. The name of Alexander is now first used in Campbell ancestry. Coat of arms of Lochnell: Boarshead couped with Gordon, supporters Lion and Swan.

JURA BRANCH OF CAMPBELL.

The Campbells of Jura are a junior branch of Lochnell, descended from Duncan Campbell, 2nd son of Alexander. Duncan Campbell was grandson of Hon. John Campbell, 2nd son of Colin, 3d duke of Argyll.

The Campbells of Jura are heritable keepers of Craignish Castle, a view of which is seen by tourists off the coast of Scotland. The coat of arms the same as Lochnell.

John Cameron of Lochiel, Inverness Co., he is called John McEwen, joined Earl Marr 1715, for which he suffered attainder and forfeiture. He married Isabella, the sister of Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell. Archibald, his son, joined in the Rebellion of 1745 and was executed.

The above Duncan had three sons, John his successor, Archibald and Alexander who died unmarried. Above Duncan born in 1596, died 1695. John

married 1st a daughter of Donald Campbell, 2nd, Mary, daughter of Hector McLean. The McLeans were in the Rebellion of 1715. John his son by last marriage married his cousin, the daughter of Colin Campbell of Lochnell, by whom he had an only son Archibald. The father, John, died 1736, aged 95 years. Archibald died in 1764. He had four sons, Duncan, Archibald, who succeeded him, Alexander and John Cameron.

The present Duke of Argyll failing of lineal heirs, John of Lochnell branch of Campbell is his successor to titles and entailed estates.

BRANCH OF GLENLYON CAMPBELL.

Archibald Campbell, 2nd son of Sir Duncan Campbell, of Glenorchy, the ancestor to the house of Bredalbaue, was of Glenlyon, and from him Campbells of Glenlyon are descended. The Campbells of Glenlyon failing of a male heir the estate was in female line, a daughter married Peter Garden, who took the name of Garden Campbell. The history of the family may be found under the name of Gordon. The Campbells of Glenlyon were noted in the Rebellion of 1715.—Russell's Modern Europe.

The Campbells of Glendawrl were distinguished in the Rebellion of 1745. Dr. Archibald Campbell of the house of Glenlyon was executed for treason. The Campbells of Kinlock, Perthshire, were descended from John Campbell, 3d son of Alexander Campbell from Hon. John Campbell, 2nd son of Colin, 3d Duke of Argyll. Taymouth Castle in Perthshire is held by Earl of Bredalbaue.

LILLEY.

“Dr. Ebenezer, son of John and Abigail, of Dudley, b. 25 Aug., 1734, studied with Dr. Alexander Campbell. [In Nov., 1767, Dr. Campbell brought a suit against him, he being then of Dudley, declaring that ‘for three years previous to 1 April, last, he boarded the defendant and taught him the profession, art and practice of medicine,’ etc.] He m. (1) 12 Nov., 1762, Abigail Morris of Dudley, resided at Woodstock in 1784 and 1790, came when past middle age to Oxford, having bought in 1799 a house near the North Common.”

Dr. Lilley was esteemed a skillful physician, but he mostly devoted himself to his estate. In the olden time his ancient house, fronting on the county road, was very noticeable, being separated by an orchard, which added to its attractions. Mrs. Lilley died Dec. 9, 1806. Dr. Lilley removed to the southern part of Oxford and died 1812. Of modern date it was the home of the late Dr. Holman.

“Theophilus, merchant of Boston, bought in 1770 the Moore estate, formerly Hagburn's, on the east side of the main street, where he was a trader, exceptionally entitled ‘Mr.’ on the tax list, sold in 1772, soon returned to Boston. In 1774 he bought a farm in Brookfield. In court at Worcester, Sept., 1781, a complaint was made against him as an ‘absentee,’ that he had fled to Halifax and adhered to the King of

Great Britain, etc., and the fact stated that he had died at Halifax on the previous first day of Jan., owning said farm at Brookfield and shop for merchandise. The charges were sustained and said property confiscated to the State. August term of court, 1790, at Worcester, John Lillie of Boston, administrator of estate of Theophilus, late of Boston, had a case. In Dec., 1790, his widow Anne, of Halifax, executrix of his will, had also a case in court."

Mary, daughter of David and Mary (Stockwell) Lilley, was married Sept. 27, 1831, to B. Franklin, son of Maj. Archibald Campbell of Oxford, in ancestry from Duncan Campbell, Esq., of Oxford, son of Rev. John Campbell of Scotland.—See Campbell ancestry.

David³ [David,² David¹], of Sutton, b. Oct. 17, 1773, m. June 10, 1795, Mary, daughter of Amos and Phobe (Wright) Stockwell of Sutton. It is said Mr. Lilley was a gentleman of more than ordinary endowments of mind and of superior personal appearance. At one period of his life he was associated with the late James Freeland of Sutton in commerce with Canada. Mr. Freeland chartered vessels and crews on the St. Lawrence river for transportation with very favorable success. Mr. Lilley resided on the estate that in 1801 he received from his father, which included a large tract of land, once the estate of Samuel Davis of Roxbury, who had purchased a part of this French plantation of Gabriel Bernon in Oxford. Mr. Lilley's estate was wholly in the Bernon purchase. He died Jan. 10, 1815, aged 41. Mrs. Mary (Stockwell) Lilley died in Boston, Sept. 9, 1862. A lady much respected by her friends and the community in which she resided.

David Lilley (2) m. Sept. 23, 1762, Elizabeth, born Jan. 11, 1745, dau. of John and Abbie (Chase) Gibbs. Mrs. Elizabeth (Gibbs) Lilley lived to a very advanced age. The residence of Mr. John Gibbs in Sutton was an ancient house on the Worcester road near Major Daniel Tenney's estate, it continued to be known for very many years as the Gibbs house.

Joseph Sibley married 16 April, 1761, Abbie, daughter of John and Abbie (Chase) Gibbs, who was born Oct. 24, 1742. Gibbs, a son of Joseph Sibley, married Hannah, daughter of Asahel and Mary (Brownell) Rice. Tradition states the daughters of the Gibbs family were very beautiful. Martha, a daughter, born in 1791, was placed at Miss Thayer's boarding-school in Oxford, Miss Thayer being a celebrated educator of young ladies—she married Charles Sabin.

Jane Walton, born in March, 1810, married Sir Curtis Miranda Lampson, Bart., a son of Mr. Wm. Lampson of New Haven, Vermont. They were married in 1827 in New York, to which place Mr. Gibbs Sibley had removed. In 1866, when the Atlantic Cable was completed, Sir Curtis was offered and accepted a baronetcy in acknowledgment of his great service in that enterprise through to completion.

Sir Curtis Lampson has two sons and two daughters, one of the latter, a lady of culture, was married to Mr. Frederic Lockyer, a well known English gentleman of letters and of the world, whose "Vers de Society" have been republished in this country. Mr. Lockyer is also a writer of prose, as a contributor to Blackwood's Magazine and other English literature. Sir Curtis and Lady Lampson have a seat at Rawfant in Sussex, England. He is a naturalized British subject.—*New York World*, History of Sutton.

David Lilley (1) of Sutton, m. May 25, 1736, Anna, dau. of Daniel and Sarah (March) Chase. Anna was born at Newbury, Nov. 13, 1713. Daniel Chase of Newbury became a resident of Sutton, the date of which cannot be ascertained, married Sarah, a daughter of Geo. March, March 26, 1733. He resided at Pleasant Falls. Mr. Chase's mill is in the town records as the first mill at the Falls. This settlement in the town appears to have been a part of his father's estate at Pleasant Falls, and that he was "a proprietor to one-half of the mill and privilege of y^e water," etc. "This was the farm, mill and privilege of Pleasant Falls." A most beautiful residence with lovely views which added to its quiet scenery. In Dec., 1740, Samuel Chase and other gentlemen purchased of Benjamin Gowing a tract on Half-Way river "with y^e privilege of y^e river for building dams and flowing as they shall see fit." This was "y^e water privilege" at the Amory Village in Sutton, now Millbury, and its first occupancy.

Samuel Chase continued in Sutton till the close of the war with France. In 1776 or 1777 Daniel Chase and his son Samuel and grandson Dudley became almost exclusive proprietors of the town of Cornish on the Connecticut river, New Hampshire. Samuel Chase married Mary Dudley. He was commissioned as a magistrate and was "judge of y^e court for y^e County of Cheshire." He died at a very advanced age. A part of Dudley's family were born at Cornish. Dr. Hall of Sutton states that in August, 1768, Dudley Chase received a letter from the church in Sutton to the church in Cornish. His family was distinguished. Salmon became a lawyer in Portland, Me.; Baruch became captain, lawyer and judge; Dudley a lawyer and U. S. Senator; Philander a bishop of the Episcopal Church in the State of Ohio.

STERNES.

Isaac Sternes came to America it is said with Gov. Wiuthrop and Sir Richard Saltonstall in 1630, and became a resident of Watertown, Mass., near Mount Auburn. He came from the parish of Nayland in Suffolk, England.

Capt. Thomas Sternes of Worcester was the son of John and Judith Sternes and the grandson of Charles Sternes, 1654, of Watertown, Mass., who married Rebecca, daughter of John and Rebecca Gibson of Cambridge. Thomas, the

son of John Sternes, was baptized May 11, 1701. Isaac Sternes of Watertown calls Charles Sternes his kinsman and leaves him a legacy.

Captain Thomas Sternes was the executor of the will of his father-in-law, Hon. William Jennison. In his own will, dated Feb. 20, 1770, he mentions his wife Mary, his sons William and Thomas, daughters Eunice, Abigail Fullerton, Sarah Warland, Lucy Hubbard, Mary Raymond, Lydia Campbell and Martha Stevens.

William, son of Thomas Sternes, married Sarah Adams.

Capt. Thomas Sterns of Watertown m. Sarah ——. Children: Sarah m. Warland; Lucy m. Elisha Hubbard of Hatfield. In a second marriage, Dec. 29, 1729, Mary, daughter of Hon. William Jennison of Worcester. Children: Elizabeth, m. January, 1749, Duncan Campbell, Esq., of Oxford; Mary m. Edward Raymond, resided in Oxford; Lydia m. Dr. Alexander Campbell of Oxford; Abigail d. April, 1746; Samuel; Martha m. 1761, Capt. Simon Stevens of Charlestown, N. H.; Abigail m. Nov., 1766, Nathan Fullerton, the son of Captain Edward Fullerton of Boston, Mass. In a second marriage, July, 1781, Captain John Stowers, son of Richard Stowers of Malden, Mass. Eunice, b. 1750, m. — Follausbee. She was remarried to General Samuel McClellan of Woodstock, Ct.

In October, 1728, a grant of land in Worcester was made to Thos. Sterne.

In 1732 an additional grant was made to him of "3 tens acres of land."

From an old record: "Thomas Sternes be one of a Comtee to Consider upon y^e Petition of Danl Gookin Esqr. and view y^e undivided land in the south part to se when the said Petitioners can be accomodated with a building place and return to the next meeting."

Arms of the Sterne family. Or, a chevron between three crosses flory sable. Crest, a cock starling proper. This ancient coat of arms formerly belonged to the Sterne family when residents of the old Sterne mansion at Watertown. It is the same as that borne by families of the name of Sterne in the counties of Bucks, Cambridge, Hertford and Suffolk, England, and also by Richard Sterne, Archbishop of York, descended from the Sterne family of Nottinghamshire.

Capt. Sterne's landed estate in Worcester was situated on Main and Elm streets, including land lying westerly of Main street, known as recently the estate of Gov. Lincoln, where he had erected an antique, rich mansion on the site of what is now known as the Lincoln House. In olden time this house of the Sterne family was known as the "King's Arms Tavern." As early as 1732 this tavern was kept by Capt. Thomas Sterne, and after his death, in 1772, by his widow, Mary Sterne, who remained there till her death, in 1784. Before the Declaration of Inde-

pendence was passed it was the resort of loyalists of the town, and the place where they prepared and signed the famous protest of 1774. July 22, 1776, a select company of the inhabitants of Worcester repaired to this tavern and demanded the sign on which was emblazoned the royal arms should be taken down and burned in the street, all of which the proprietor cheerfully complied with. In 1786 the "Sun Tavern," near Elm street, where the Lincoln House now stands, and was kept by Capt. John Stowers. Before the Revolution it was called the King's Arms. Capt. Stowers had married Mrs. Abigail Fullerton, a widow lady, the daughter of Capt. Thomas Sterne.

Inscription on a tombstone in the cemetery on Worcester Common :

"Capt. Thomas Sterne; died Jan. 16, 1772, aged 76 years."

His epitaph :

"The grave is mine house. I have made my bed in the darkness. I have said—Corruption, thou art my father—to the worm, thou art my mother and sister. Job xvii. 13, 14."

Epitaph :

"Mary Sterne, wife of Capt. Thomas Sterne, died July 19, 1784, aged 77 yrs."

Epitaph :

"Beneath this stone Death's prisoner lies,
The stone shall move, the prisoner rise,
When Jesus with Almighty word,
Calls his dead saints to meet their Lord."

Cemetery on Worcester Common. Epitaph :

MRS. MARTHA STEVENS.

"Let the green leaf press gently o'er her dust,
There rest in hope till Christ shall bid it rise
At the great resurrection of the just
To meet the Saviour from the opening skies."

Abigail, b. Oct., 1747; m. Nov. 17, 1766, Nathan Fullerton, the son of Captain Edward Fullerton of Boston, Mass. Nathan Fullerton d. Feb., 1776. Children, b. in Worcester: Edward, b. Sept., 1767; Thomas Sterne, b. August, 1770; Nathaniel, b. Sept., 1775. The last named resided in Chester, Vt.; lived to an advanced age; in 1870 he was the president of the bank at Bellows Falls at 95 years of age. Eunice, b. 1750, m. when quite young — Follansbee of Worcester. Child: one daughter, Mary, who died aged 2 years. In a second marriage to General Samuel McClellan of Woodstock, Ct. Mrs. McClellan died at Putney, Vt., Nov. 7, 1839, aged 89 years. A portrait of Mrs. McClellan and little Mary Follansbee is still retained by her family friends. It is said to have been painted by Copley. It is a most beautiful picture of a

beautiful woman. The portrait is two-thirds in length, life size. Mrs. McClellan is dressed in rose colored brocaded silk with sundry little loops of black velvet ribbon, her lovely brown hair is profusely powdered, and a soft, fairy-like white lace veil shadows her figure; little Mary is clasped in her arms, dressed in white, but her face is hidden from view, for Mary had died, and the mother, being inconsolable, endeavored to assuage her grief by having the picture taken in memoriam of her child. In all her travels the picture was her companion, with two immense travelling trunks, painted black, very long and narrow, filled with linen, composed her luggage, with a case lined with velvet containing her silver plate. One of the travelling trunks a few years since was lodged in the garret of her residence in Putney, as well preserved as when laid aside by her housekeeper, for rummaging was in those days forbidden to children. Her parlor for many years after her death retained its rich, high-backed chairs and stately old mirror, with various other articles of antique furniture.

Nathaniel Fullerton d. in Worcester, Feb. 16, 1777, aged 38 years. Below the inscription on his tombstone is the name of "Mary Raymond." Nathaniel may have been the brother of Nathan Fullerton. Mrs. Abigail (Sterne) Fullerton in a second marriage, July 20, 1781, to Captain John Stowers, son of Richard Stowers of Malden, Mass. Captain John Stowers died in Putney, Vt., 1821, aged 71 years. Mrs. Stowers died Feb., 1832, aged 86 years. Mary, daughter of Capt. John and Abigail Stowers, born Feb. 7, 1793, married Mr. — Ryan, residence, the ancient house of Mrs. McClellan.

HON. WILLIAM JENNISON.

Hon. William Jennison of Worcester was the son of Ensign Samuel and Judith (Macomber) Jennison of Watertown. Mr. Jennison died in 1701, and a grandson of Robert Jennison, who was a native of Colchester, England, and died in Watertown in 1690. Hon. William Jennison was a resident of Sudbury, married Oct., 1673, Elizabeth, daughter of Peter Goulding, Esq., of Boston, subsequently of Worcester and Sudbury. Children: one son and five daughters. Mary, daughter of William and Elizabeth (Goulding) Jennison, married Capt. Thomas Sterne of Worcester. Elizabeth, daughter of Capt. Thomas Sterne of Worcester, was married to Duncan Campbell, Esq., of Oxford. Lydia, daughter of Capt. Thomas Sterne, was married to Dr. Alexander Campbell of Oxford. Mary, daughter of Capt. Thomas Sterne, married Edward Raymond of Oxford.

In 1732, at the August term of the court of General Sessions of the Peace, measures were taken for the erection of a court-house in Worcester. Judge Jennison gave the land for the site of the court-house, and

the first court-house was erected in 1733 near the site of one of the present court-houses. The location has ever been styled "Court Hill," and if any other use were made of the land the title should revert to his heirs. An old record states, one item: "To keep the brush cut leading on Court House Hill."

Judge Jennison's residence was near the court-house in Worcester. His landed estate being in this part of the town, his ancient house was located nearly on the site of the present residence of Hon. J. Wolcott Wetherell. Judge Jennison was one of the first judges of the "Court of Common Pleas" in Worcester. This court was a county court and was composed of four judges appointed by King George I.

Epitaphs from the cemetery on Worcester Common. Inscription on the tombstone of William Jennison, his epitaph reads as follows:

"Here lies buried y^e body of William Jenison, Esq^r. He was born at Watertown, April y^e 17th, 1676, who died Sep^{im} y^e 19th, 1741, in y^e 66 year of his age.

"He was one of y^e Judges of y^e Inferiour Court for y^e county of Worcester."

Epitaph: "Elizabeth Jenison wife of William Jenison, Esqr. died December 2, 1756, aged 86 years."

NOTE. This burying-ground was formerly at the east end of the Common and in use from 1730 to 1795.

In the first settlement of Watertown were the two brothers William and Robert Jenison (by later usage written Jennison). The prefix of "Mr." was placed to the name of William Jenison. He was a member of the Artillery Co. in 1637 and also a captain of the "Train band."

It appears by Winthrop Capt. Jenison had been a resident of Bermuda. For a view of the character and worth of Capt. Jenison see Winthrop ii., 176.

About 1645 Capt. Jenison returned to England. In his will Robert Jenison of Watertown mentions son Samuel and his grandsons William and Robert. His brother is styled William Jenison of Colchester, Co. Essex, Old England, in 1657 by his brother Robert.

William Jenison, when a resident of Watertown, in 1636 commanded one of the companies to avenge the murder of Mr. John Oldham by the Pequot Indians of Block Island.

Thoresby, in his Diary, speaks of Sir Ralph Jennison of Newcastle, in 1681, and of Walworth Hall, "a delicate seat of the Jennisons," near Peirce Bridge.

The niece and heiress of Sir Matthew Jennison married Sir Samuel Gorden, who was created a baronet in 1764.

The following is an extract from a History printed in London, 1682: "We must not forget how Mr. Thomas Jennison, a Jesuite, and then in Newgate (though dead since), endeavored to frighten his brother, Mr. Robert Jennison, for prosecuting his discovery by charging him in a letter he wrote to him with the blood of an innocent man, and a kinsman."

This Robert Jennison it appears was a Gentleman of "Gray's Inn," who bore testimony in 1678 in concurrence to the existence of a plot to murder King Charles II., set fire to London and elevate the Duke of York to the throne.

Thomas Ward in the sixteenth century published a poem entitled, "England's Reformation," recounting the persecutions, as he regarded them, suffered by the Catholics and the secularization of the abbeys and other religious houses under Henry VIII. In this connection he says, "The learned abbot Farrington, and Commissary Peterson, John Beek, abbot of Colchester, and Jennison renowned in war, were put to death," etc. This last gentleman he adds "was a Knight of Malta."

GOULDING.

The name of Goulding occurs frequently in the annals of the colonies, and is not without some distinction in English history. "The death of Captain Goulding, commander of the ship *Diamond*, on board which he was killed April 10th, 1665, in a victorious engagement with the Dutch, qualified the joy felt at the victory in the frivolous court of Charles the Second."

"Capt. Roger Goulding of Rhode Island, master of a vessel, rendered such eminent services in Philip's war as to receive recognition and substantial reward from the authorities of Plymouth Colony."

Coat of arms of the Goulding family: Az, a cross voided betw. four lions pass-qu. Crest, A lion sejant sa supporting with the dexter foot an escutcheon or. North, New her bar, Co. Kent, confirmed 1772.

PETER GOULDING, ESQ.

Peter Goulding, Esq., came from England and resided in Boston in 1665. "He acted as an attorney in the court of sessions. He was prosecuted and fined for charges that he had divulged against the court and clerk of Suffolk County." The occurrence not improbably disgusted him into a resolve to remove from Boston. He subsequently resided in Sudbury and Worcester. In 1694, when the settlement of Worcester was abandoned, he removed to Sudbury and died in 1703.

Elizabeth, a daughter of Peter Goulding, was married to Judge William Jennison of Worcester.

From a record: "This lot Resigned by Crane and Satisfaction given him and is now granted to peter Golding of Boston." This grant of land resigned by Benjamin Crane to Peter Goulding was made in 1675. Peter Goulding besides his town right, which he had purchased of Thomas Hall, he owned 3,020 acres in Hassanamessit, now Grafton.

From Records of the Proprietors of Worcester. In 1665 the General Court ordered that a committee should explore the country and report concerning the advantages for a settlement. May 15, 1667, a new committee was appointed.

"A place about 10 miles westward of Marlborough . . . called Quansicamond ponds and to make rreport . . . if the place was capable to make a [plant] ation." Answer was returned October, 1668. "For a plantation Quansikamud now called wocester." "lieing nearre midway beetwene Boston and Springfield about one [days] ioyrny from either." In 1668 the Court directed "That due carre be taken by the Said comittee, that a good ministerr [of] God's word be placed therre, as Soone as may bee, that Such people [as may] therre bee planted may not lue like lambs in a large place." It was not until the year 1673 that the proprietors effected a settlement. The claim of the Indians was now to be settled. A tract of land eight miles square was to be purchased of the Indians, the consideration being twelve pounds lawful money. The deed bears date July 13, 1674. "That land for a cittadel of about half a mile Square Shal be layd out on the fort Rlver for house lotts to those who shall at their (thir) first Setling build & dwel theron and make it their certyne place of abode for their families: to the end the inhabitants may Settle in a way of defence as inioyned by law. Boston April 24 1684. By the Committee for the plantation of Quansickamon [worsterr]."

In 1686, "Granted & laid to Peter Goulding of . . . Six planting lotts c[ontaining] ten accers each lot; scituate & lying in the village [Worcester] afforsaid: vst one of the Said lotts being ten accers . . . the otherr five being fifty [acres] formerly granted . . . of medow also 5 accers of land for a pasture lot lying [near] his house lot in the cittadel. And also his due proportion [of lands] for farme lotts in the Said plantation." In 1694 this settlement of Worcester was abandoned.

The city of Worcester is thus described as a village called Quonsigamog in the middle way between Marlborough and Quaboag, Brookfield [frontier towns], consisting of about six or seven houses.

The natives who inhabited Quinsigamond (now Worcester) were of the Nipmuck tribe. The principal settlement of these Indians was on a hill in the south part of the town, extending into Auburn, and called by them Bocachoag or Pakachoag. Sagamore John's wigwam stood on the borders of a lake, the site of which is still pointed out in Ward (now Auburn). Wigwam Hill on the eastern shore of Quinsigamond was a favorite resort of the Indians on account of wild game and fish abounding in this vicinity.

Records of Worcester: "Worcester feb 7 1714 By order of Hon^d Comitte & pursuant to a Grant; laid out to the Heirs of Peter Goulding and renewed the bounds of five Ten acre Lotts in Worcester near Quinsicamag pond bounded & . . ."

In 1714 there was granted "to Peter and Palmer Goldin 5-10 acre lotts."

1733, "that the remainder of the third Division Due to Mr. Petter Goulding's right be recorded."

Goulding is an English name and pronounced Goulding in distinction from Golding, a name common to the Celtic Irish. It was originally local, and borrowed from Goulding on the borders of Wales.

"Peter Goulding, Esqr. and his son Captain Palmer Goulding were gentlemen of strong character, and evidently held a conspicuous position in the communities in which they lived."

Inscription from the cemetery on Worcester Common: "In memory of Capt. Palmer Goulding Senior who died at Holden Feb'y y^e 11th A. D. 1770 in y^e 75 year of his age.

"He commanded a Company at y^e Reduction of Louisburg June y^e 17 A. D. 1745."

Abigail Goulding, wife of Capt. Palmer Goulding, died at Holden, 1770.

TOWNE.

Braceby, England, Records: In the church of St. Nicholas, founded in 1123 (in 1251 dedicated to St. Nicholas), were married, March 25, 1620, William Towne and Joanna Blessing, and in this church their first six children were baptized. Ann, the widow of Richard Towne of Braceby and the mother of William, in her last will, bearing date December 10, 1629, directs "my bodye to be buried in y^e meane time in y^e Chapell of Bracebie aforesaid."

Braceby, Lincoln Co., England, is situated 120 miles northeast from London. "A greate store of Seafaringe men resorted thither but especiallie the fishermen of this Land and also greate numbers of the Fishermen of Fraunce, Flaunders and of Holland Zealande and all the lowe Countryes and in the tyme [1087] of the Reigne of Kynge William Rufus Kinge of the Realme one Herbertus Bishopp of the See of Norwich perceyvenge greate resorte and concourse of people to be daylie and yearlie upon the said Lande and intendinge to provide for their sowles healthe did founde and buylde upon the Lande a certen Chappell for the devotion of the people resorting thither and therein did place a Chappell ayne of his owne."

The name of Towne is not common. In the reign of Henry IV. upon the widows in the church in Kennington, Kent Co., impaled with that of Ellis of the same place is the name of Towne.

The coat of arms of a branch of the Towne family being: Argent, on a chevron, sable three cross crosslets, ermine.

Thomas Towne, who possessed much land about Charing and who bore the same coat of arms, by his marriage inherited a manor which he named Towne's Place.

The name of Towne is found as early in English records as A. D. 1274, viz.: William de la Toune of Alvely a village in Shropshire about twenty miles southeast from Shrewsbury. William de la Towne is supposed to have accompanied Prince Edward on his return from the Holy Land, or on his arrival at Sicily to England in 1272.

William Towne, a son of Richard and Ann Towne, born in Braceby, England, and his family came to New England in the year 1637. They

resided first at Northfield and Salem. In 1652 William Towne purchased a tract of land in Topsfield, Mass., and removed to that place. Children: John, Susanna, Edmund, Jacob, Mary, Sarah and Joseph are named as the children of William Towne.

Edmund Towne, born in England, accompanied his parents to this country when he was eighteen years of age, he became a resident of Topsfield and was married to Mary, a daughter of Thomas Browning. He died in 1678. Edmund Towne was one of a committee from the town of Topsfield who in 1675 presented a petition to the General Court for leave to form a military company to protect the inhabitants while at work during Philips War.

Jacob, a son of William and a brother of Edmund Towne, married, June 20, 1657, Catharine, a daughter of John Symonds of Salem. John, the son of Jacob and Catharine Towne, born 1658, was married to Mary Smith in 1700. He removed to Framingham, Mass.; while a resident of that place he occupied positions of honor in the affairs of the town from 1700 to 1712; in 1708 he had resided at Charlestown; in 1713 he became a proprietor in the plantation of Oxford.

Jonathan and Ephraim, sons of John Towne, were the proprietors of a plantation in Oxford on the west side of the Worcester road opposite the old North Common. In 1731 Jonathan received a deed of his father's plantation. Jacob, son of Jonathan by his first marriage, was born Oct., 1720, was married in June, 1743, to Mary, daughter of Rev. John Campbell. He resided on Rocky Hill [Mount Pleasant], north of the old Charlton road. He was a soldier in the French War, enlisting at Sutton, 1755, and died at Fort Edward, Oct. 18, 1755, and was buried in the woods by his brother Josiah.

Jacob Towne in 1742 purchased this estate of 60 acres of land of Richard and Martha (Papillon) Williams, it was bounded east on a town road over Rocky Hill. The road was accepted from Jacob Towne's into the old Charlton road north of Towne's Pond. The house on this estate was on the east side, fronting on the road over Rocky Hill.

Jacob, son of Jacob and Mary (Campbell) Town, born Oct. 20, 1755.

October 25, 1746, the date of the birth of Salem, the son of Jacob and Mary (Campbell) Towne of Oxford, a messenger was despatched to announce his birth to Rev. John Campbell, while the workmen were engaged in erecting the walls of the new church on the North Common. Mr. Campbell at once informed the people assembled that his grandson should receive the name of Salem, as an omen of peace.

Hon. Salem Towne of Charlton married Elizabeth, daughter of John Mayo of Oxford, July, 1771. She died March, 1772. Gen. Salem Towne was a soldier, a quartermaster in the Revolutionary War, Major-General

of militia, a gentleman who was for many years distinguished in Charlton and in the county. He was remarried to Ruth, daughter of Richard Moore, Jr., of Oxford, 1774. She died Sept. 7, 1790. He died July 22, 1825. Children: Mary, b. Nov., 1774, m. William Weld; Ruth m. March, 1777, Aaron Wheelock, in a second marriage Ebenezer Phillips, M.D.; Elizabeth, b. Sept., 1778, m. Wm. Ryder; Salem, b. March, 1780, m. Sally, dau. of Gen. John Spurr of Charlton; Pamela, b. Aug., 1781, m. Isalah Ryder of Charlton; Augusta, b. 1784, m. Dr. Dan Lamb of Charlton; Lucy Moore, b. Nov., 1787, m. Col. John Fitts.

Hon. Salem Towne, son of Gen. Towne, was distinguished in his time, and his name was held in great honor in the county. Late William A. Wheelock of Oxford was a lineal descendant of the first Hon. Salem Towne of Charlton. Mary (Campbell) Towne, remarried in 1758, Joseph Twiss, a landholder of Charlton. Samuel, b. 1760, made a settlement on Lamoille river, Lamoille Co., Vt.; Prudence m. Francis Blandine; Lucretia m. Sibley Barton of Charlton.

Esther, dau. of Jacob Towne and Mary Campbell, was m. to David Twiss. Isabella, dau. of Jacob and Mary (Campbell) Towne, was m. to Israel Houghton or Holten of Charlton. Children: Mary, m. — Howe of Medway; Relief, m. — Miller of Franklin, a brother of Dr. Miller; Sewall a son; Isabella was m. June, 1801, to Henry B. Morgan of Whitestown, N. Y., b. 1774, came to Oxford in 1800, was connected in trade with Samuel Campbell.

Isabella Towne in a second marriage to Ebenezer Rich of Sutton. Children: Ebenezer, b. June, 1786; Jacob, Elisha, William, who resided on the old road from Sutton to Oxford, about a mile westerly of the James Freeland farm. A part of an old orchard is still to be seen and the outline of an old well.

Near the old North Common on the west side of the Worcester road in Oxford there is a lake called "Towne's Pond," in honor of the Towne family as adjoining their landed estates as a boundary. There was a tradition of the Indians at the time of the first English settlement in Oxford that the site of the lake was once a high hill, but that an earthquake produced a very singular phenomenon, the hill sank leaving a deep chasm which gradually filled with water. This lake has an area of several acres, its shores are shelving and clear but terminate in a great depth of water.

Sylvanus, a son of Jacob Towne, was a gentleman distinguished in his time, he held many important offices, a Revolutionary soldier, marched in Crafts' Cav. Co. on Lexington Alarm, in Saratoga battles, colonel of militia and a government officer in "Shays' Rebellion." He died in Oxford, April, 1818. March, 1775, he m. Margaret, dau. of Wm. Watson; was remarried to Ruth, dau. of Daniel and Elizabeth (Green)

Hovey; on the decease of Mr. Hovey his widow was married to Rev. Benjamin Foster.

William, son of Sylvanus Towne, b. Feb., 1777, was a physician, resided at Thompson, Ct., and Westminster, Vt., and died in Worcester. Sylvanus, son of Sylvanus Towne, enlisted in the U. S. army, continued in service 20 years, returned home before his decease, Sept. 4, 1823, aged 44 years. Charles, son of Sylvanus, m. Sarah, dau. of Jonathan Harris, resided in Oxford. Benjamin F., a son of Sylvanus Towne, m. Mary, dau. of Capt. Andrew Sigourney, and resided in Oxford.

The descendants of Jonathan Harris, Esq., on the maternal side, trace their ancestry to Richard Towne of Braceby, England. Timothy Harris was of Scotch ancestry, as would appear. The name is found among the Border Clans in Scotland with its orthography of Hereis or Harries. The Harris family trace more remotely to French ancestry. Timothy, son of Robert Harris of Roxbury, 1643, m. Mary, a dau. of Samuel Sterne of Dedham. Samuel, son of Timothy, m. Margaret, dau. of Joseph and Elizabeth Robbins, August, 1752. He died August, 1798. Mrs. Harris died Dec., 1807. Samuel Harris was the town clerk of Oxford for years 1776 to 1798; twelve years town treasurer, 1777 to 1780, 1787 to 1795, and was honored with other offices of trust. Jonathan Harris, Esq., was town clerk of Oxford for years 1800 to 1812 inclusive. Town offices of trust and honor in olden time were very carefully bestowed. Jonathan, son of Samuel, a revolutionary soldier, in 1781, m. Huldah, dau. of Isaac Towne. Mr. Harris was a collector of State taxes; he died in 1830. Mrs. Harris died in 1834.

The widow of Isaac Towne m. Samuel Bixby. She removed to Bethel, Maine, died aged 104 years. Isaac Towne was the son of John Towne, who came to Oxford with his father, who was one of the first proprietors in the plantation. Abijah, son of Timothy, m. Sarah, dau. of Abial Lamb, resided on a large landed estate in the southern part of Oxford. He was a Revolutionary soldier, marched on Lexington Alarm, a lieutenant of militia. He was succeeded on his estate by his son Asa Harris.

WOLCOTT.

Josiah Wolcott, son of John and Elizabeth (Papillon) Wolcott, a grandson of Judge Josiah Wolcott, of Salem, Mass., became a resident of Oxford in 1750 or previously. He married Isabella, the daughter of Rev. John Campbell of Oxford. It is said he was a pupil of Rev. John Campbell previous to his marriage. His residence was on a border of the South Common. Josiah Wolcott was the heir to a landed estate in Oxford once belonging to Thomas Freake of County of Wiltshire, England, and also the heir of his grandmother, Elizabeth (Papillon) Wol-

cott, who was the daughter of Peter Papillon of Boston, and one of the heirs to his estate in Oxford. Children of Josiah and Isabella (Campbell) Wolcott: John died Sept. 28, 1825, unmarried; Edward Kitchen resided in Boston; Thomas F.; Freake married Josiah Shumway; Elizabeth married Andrew Sigourney; Peter died unmarried; Mary married John Dana, resided at Orford, N. H.; William died young in Oxford; Joshua; Mehetable married Phinehas Dana, resided in Orford, N. H., and in Woolwich, Me.; Henry resided near Boston, was of Oxford 1803, died young at his father's residence. He died Dec. 9, 1796, aged 63; Isabella died June 27, 1786. Josiah Wolcott remarried Naomi, widow of Samuel Jennison.

Peter Papillon left Oxford in 1801 for Woolwich, Me., to take a supervision of his father's estate in woodlands in that vicinity; he never returned and not any intelligence of him reached his friends. His travelling dress was a deep green broadcloth trimmed with silver buttons. He was supposed to have been robbed and murdered.

Josiah Wolcott on an old account-book has a charge from 1785 to 1791 against his son, Peter Papillon Wolcott, viz.: "To a venture I p^d Edw^d for you to Carolina £5."

In 1788 Josiah Wolcott gave to his daughter Freake a part of Kitchen's land, 65 acres and buildings, bounded west on Elizabeth's land. Josiah Shumway married Freake Wolcott. He resided and died at this place. Josiah Wolcott also gave a part of the Kitchen land to his daughter Elizabeth, who married Andrew Sigourney.

Edward Kitchen was a son of Josiah and Isabella (Campbell) Wolcott of Oxford, born April, 1754. He was a merchant of Boston, being educated by his uncle, Edward Kitchen of Salem, who married an aunt of his father. Mr. Kitchen at his decease left to him his large fortune. Edward K. Wolcott married Hannah, a daughter of Henry Sewall, Esq., of Brookline, whose mother was Rebecca, born 1681, a daughter of Governor Joseph Dudley, who had married in 1702 Samuel Sewall, Jr., Esq., and died 1761. Ann, a daughter of Edward K. Wolcott, married Philip Ridgeway. Her daughter, Mrs. Ann (Ridgeway) Gilbert, widow of Dr. Daniel Gilbert of Boston, had in her possession a portrait of Gov. Dudley. There was another portrait of Gov. Dudley given by Mrs. Pedy (Whitney) Dudley to the City of Boston. Mrs. Dudley was the widow of Col. Joseph Dudley of Roxbury.

From a memorandum: "Salem the 8th month called Octo 6 1635 I John Wolcott of Salem have bartered and sould vnto William Lord of Salem all and every part of my house and . . . in Salem formerly in the occupation of Mr Roger Williams and from him by order from Mrs Higanson sould vnto, as by a quittance vnder Mrs Wms. hand doth appear In witness whereof I have

hear vnto put my hand and Seals this 25th of the 9th mo: called Novembr anno 1635 Jno. Wolcott."

The Roger Williams house was an elegant old mansion that dates back to the early settlement of Salem (Mr. Williams leaving Salem in 1635). It was a large mansion of two stories in height, with a heavy low chimney; it had three gables in front, the centre gable projecting several feet, giving a stately entrance from a wide arched door with a huge knocker. The door was reached by several stone steps, ascending from a narrow lawn enclosed with a heavy stone wall. All the gables were surmounted by small turrets. The windows were tall, narrow, double casement windows, of diamond glass set in lead, the casement forming in its setting a Roman cross.

Judge Wolcott of Salem was a son of Henry and Sarah (Newbury) Wolcott of Windsor, Ct., a brother of Henry Wolcott, who inherited Galdon Manor in England. He was born in Windsor, Ct., July, 1659. He married Penelope, a daughter of Capt. George Curwin, Feb., 168 $\frac{1}{2}$. She died Dec., 1690.

Her father was born in England at the family seat, Workington, County Cumberland, and it is the seat of the ancient knightly family of the Curwens. Northumberland, who took that by covenant from Culwen, a family of Galloway, the heir whereof he had married, descended from Gospatrik, Earl of Northumberland. They have a stately castle-like seat, and from this family ("increaseth vanity").

Judge Wolcott in his second marriage to Mary, daughter of John Freake of Boston, had issue, a son and daughter only survived him. The daughter married Edward Kitchen of Salem. His son, John Wolcott of Salem, received his education at Harvard University, Cambridge, graduated in 1721. He married Elizabeth, the daughter of Capt. Peter Papillon of Boston.

John Wolcott of Salem inherited a large fortune from his father, a part of his estate was Scarlett's Wharf, Boston, valued at £6,500. He was High Sheriff of Essex County in 1737. He died in 1747. Mrs. Elizabeth (Papillon) Wolcott married John Higginson, Esq., of Salem.

LETTER FROM JUDGE WOLCOTT.

"CHARLESTOWN: 9: 5th: 1679.

"MOST DEAR BRO. R.

"I hope in a seven night after this kisses your hand [to be with you]. I intimated some w^t to my father about Mr. Russells motive, and I think he has now gotten incurajm^t enough from our Sister M. to write to F—. I shall without persuasion leave it to your Prudentiall Judicatures to in- or dis-Courage, as far as may be-come

causes by Councill, I know not to add, but wishing you Much prosperity & longevite,

“Subscribe

“St. yo^r very Lo^v Bro^r

“Jos: WOLCOTT

“Pray present my harty Love to my good Sister.”

JUDGE WOLCOTT TO HIS BROTHER HENRY.

“SALEM Decem^r primo 1693.

“I have sent herewith a gold hat band for your selfe, and a lawt handkercher for my Good sister, wch I request her to accept as a Remembrance of her that boath made and wore it.*

“I firmly purpose to See you in the Spring.

“Dei Gratia

“I am

“Yo^r assured Lo Bro^r & Servant

“J. WOLCOTT.”

The Wolcott family is of great antiquity. Its coat of arms: Shield; Argent a cheveron ermined between three chess Rooks. Crest A Bull's Head erased argent, armed or, ducally gorged, lined and ringed of the last. Motto: “Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri.” “To think and decide for one's self.” Bearing the name of Wolcott. There is a record of Henry y^e fifth king of England playing a game of chess with one of the Wolcott family.

Henry Wolcott, who came to New Engiand in 1628, was the second son of John Wolcott of Tolland, Somersetshire, England. “Henry y^e son of John Wolcott was baptized in Lydiard, St. Lawrence, the VI of December 1578.” Henry Wolcott was the ancestor of the Wolcott family of Connecticut and of Salem and of Oxford, Mass. The family records of this branch of the Wolcott family are traced back to 1505.

He married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Saunders of Lydiard, St. Lawrence. As the record states “this happie pair were married Jan'y 1606.” He came to New England in 1628, and in the year 1630 brought over his family to avoid the persecutions against dissenters during the reign of Charles I. He remained at Dorchester until 1635. “No sooner were buds, leaves and grass so green that cattle could live in the woods,” when Henry Wolcott removed with his family, Rev. John Maverick and many of the members of the church of Dorchester, to Connecticut, and founded the town of Windsor. He was a gentleman of education and wealth; here he became a magistrate and assisted in

*Penelope (Curwen) Wolcott.

originating the plan for the government of the Colony of Connecticut. He died May, 1655.

Henry Wolcott, by the decease of his eldest brother, Christopher Wolcott of England, became heir to the family estates in England, including Galdon Manor and the ancient mills belonging to the estates. In 1640 he visited England. Extract from a letter of John Wolcott, his brother: "Christopher Wolcott of Galdon Manor is dead—and that he died without any will and Galdon Manor and the Mill is (yours). He writes my son has not returned from the Indins [Indias]. To my loving brother Hennary Walcott dwelling in Windsor."

Galdon Manor (the mill belonged to the Wolcott estate) is a curious specimen of ancient architecture, it is in a dilapidated condition. Henry Wolcott died May, 1655. In his will he gives his estates in England to his eldest son Henry, who is styled a planter at Windsor, Ct. Mrs. Elizabeth Wolcott died July, 1655. Over the graves of Henry and Elizabeth Wolcott of Windsor there is an arched monument of brown sandstone: "These both dyed in hope." Extract from his will: "I give unto my son Henry all that is due unto me from him on accompt on my booke, my ring that I seale with & my best sword, pistolls, & brass gunn." For two and a half centuries the identified signet ring (H. W.) has come down to the family as a legacy from the successive Henrys.

Henry Wolcott, who accompanied his father from England, made a settlement at Dorchester and afterward at Windsor, Ct., 1635, was heir to Galden Manor. He married Sarah, daughter of Thomas Newbury. He received many offices of honor. He died July, 1680. He left his estate in England to his son Henry, who died without male issue. It afterwards reverted to his two daughters, Mrs. Allyn and Mrs. Chauncey, at his decease. It is said the mill belonged to the Wolcott estate more than three hundred years ago, and the house belonging to the mill.

On a silver tankard and cup of Governor Roger Wolcott of Windsor, Ct., which are still in the family, on each there are etched copies of the shield of the Wolcott arms, and the same etched shield is engraved on a tombstone. On two valuable communion cups of silver which Gov. Wolcott ordered from England and presented to the church in South Windsor, Ct., there are engraved only the initials of his own name and his wife, R. W. 1756, S. W. 1756.

Governor Roger Wolcott of the Colony of Connecticut was born in 1702. He was a nephew of Judge Wolcott of Salem; gained great distinction in the Connecticut Colony; was Lieut.-Governor and afterward Governor for several years, and was at the conquest of Louisburg in 1745 in command of the Col. force.

New London, Ct., April 1. Gen. Wolcott arrived and was welcomed

with salutes from the fort and sloop *Defence*. His tent was pitched on the hill, at the northeast corner of the burial-place. On Sunday the 7th Mr. Adams preached to the General and soldiers, drawn up on the meeting-house green. On the 9th the commissions were published with imposing ceremonies. The eight companies were arranged in close order on the green, and the throng of spectators around the hill. Through them Gen. Wolcott, supported right and left by Col. Andrew Burr and Lieut.-Col. Simon Lothrop, marched bareheaded from his tent to the door of the Custom House, where the commissions were read. The troops embarked Saturday, April 13th. The next day the fleet sailed. The *Defence* carried Gen. Wolcott and 100 men, he arrived April 30. June 17 the city of Louisburg capitulated. Gen. Wolcott was in the Revolutionary War at the battle of Saratoga.

A description of the dress of an officer of his rank under the royal government may not be uninteresting. He frequently rode on horseback and never appeared in public only in full dress. "He wore a suit of scarlet broadcloth. The coat was made long, with wide skirts, and trimmed down the full length in front with gilt buttons, and broad gilt vellum button-holes two or three inches in length. The cuffs were large and deep reaching nearly to the elbows and were ornamented like the sides of the coat, as were also the pocket lids, with gilt vellum button-holes and buttons. The waistcoat had skirts and was richly embroidered. Ruffles at the bosom and over the hands were of lace. He had a flowing wig with a three-cornered hat with a cockade, and rode slowly and stately a large black horse whose tail swept the ground. A set of gold buttons of Gov. Wolcott are still in the family."

Among the tomb-stones in the Granary Burial Ground, Tremont Street, Boston, there is found one at the tomb of John Freake, on which is engraved the coat of arms of the Freake family, who resided at Courtney, County Dorset. Mr. Freake, an English gentleman, was a merchant of Boston, Mass. He was a brother of Thomas Freake of Hannington, Wiltshire, England. He was known in Boston as early as 1670. He died on board a ship in Boston harbor from an explosion of powder, it being a part of the cargo. The vessel had just arrived from Virginia. Mr. Freake with several gentlemen were on board inspecting the merchandise when the explosion took place, May 4, 1675. The vessel was destroyed. Mr. Freake was less than forty years of age at the time of his death. Family tradition states that he was the owner of the ill-fated ship. Mr. Freake was permitted the prefix of "Mr." as a title of respect, not being in general use. Mr. Freake was married to Elizabeth, the daughter of Col. Thomas Clarke, an English gentleman, May 28, 1661. Their children were: Mary, Elizabeth, Clarke, John,

Jane Mehetael, Thomas, and Mary, born May 26, 1674, married Judge Josiah Wolcott of Salem.

There are portraits of Mr. John and Madam Elizabeth Freake, three-fourths length, painted in oil, still in the possession of lineal descendants.* Madam Freake is very beautiful in her person, she is dressed in a brocaded silk with stomacher bertha, and a white pinner as a head-dress. She has in her arms the infant Mary, who was one year old when her father died, she was the grandmother of Josiah Wolcott, Esq., of Oxford. The dress of Mr. Freake is in the fashion of a court dress in Charles II.'s reign. The portraits were painted some time during 1674-75. They are in rich Florentine frames. Mrs. Freake remarried Hon. Elisha Hutchinson of Boston.

Edward Hutchinson, Esq., of Boston, died at Oxford, May, 1806, aged 76 years, his remains were entombed in the family vault of Josiah Wolcott. He died unmarried. Edward Hutchinson left Boston for a retired life in the country. He gave his fortune to his nephew, Lieut.-Governor Robbins. Mr. Hutchinson was born in Boston, Dec., 1729, he was educated at Harvard University, where he graduated in 1748. It is related that Mr. Hutchinson wrote the English language with great purity and was not without a taste for poetry. On the margins and blank leaves of some of the volumes of his library there were elegant translations from Latin into English, a proof of his superior scholarship.

While a resident at Oxford he occupied apartments, during his last years, at the ancient Jonathan Pratt mansion, and with his gentle horse and square canvas top chaise with its large round window in the back of the top, a most clumsy affair of an ancient carriage, he would be seen taking his drives all about the country making collections of wild flowers, as he was fond of botany, and also gathering specimens of birds and insects as a naturalist.

The ancient Pratt mansion house is situated near the North Oxford railroad station and is a relic of the past of great interest.

Mr. Hutchinson in his choice of Oxford as a home was influenced by his relative and friend, Josiah Wolcott, Esq., whose father was his cousin. Hon. Elisha Hutchinson of Boston, a most distinguished gentleman, in a second marriage was united to Mrs. Elizabeth Freake, the widow of Mr. John Freake of Boston; his son Edward by this marriage was the father of Edward Hutchinson of Oxford; Sarah unmarried, and Elizabeth who was educated in England and married Rev. Nathaniel Robbins of Milton. Elisha Hutchinson's son Thomas, by his first mar-

* Col. J. Wolcott Wetherell of Worcester.

riage, was the father of Thomas Hutchinson, Royal Governor of Massachusetts.

Edward Kitchen, Esq., of Salem, Mass., was a merchant of great wealth. The Town Records of Oxford name him as a land proprietor, though he was a non-resident. The land he held was a part of the land of Thomas Freake of England, as Mrs. Kitchen was a daughter of Hon. Josiah and Mary Freake of Salem, the sister of John Wolcott and aunt of Josiah Wolcott of Oxford. The portrait of Mr. Kitchen appears to have been painted in extreme early youth, with brown natural hair, he is richly dressed in a blue silk coat with a muslin neck band with a wide hem carelessly fastened at the neck. John Kitchen of Salem came from England in 1640. His son of Robert, the father of Edward, was a merchant and ship-owner of Salem. Robert, a brother of Edward, died while a student at Harvard University, Cambridge, Sept. 20, 1716.

There is a grace and refinement in the portrait of Mrs. Kitchen as well as of great beauty of person. She is taken life-size, one-half length, holding on her hand a pet bird. She was the mother of two children, Robert, who died in infancy, and of Mary, who died at the age of seven years, Oct. 28, 1738. The grief of the disconsolate mother was so intense that she faded and died of consumption. "Here lyeth interred the body of Mrs. Freake Kitchen, wife of Edward Kitchen, Esq. and daughter of Hon. Josiah Wolcott Esq. who departed this life Jan. 27 1746 A. E. 34 years." Epitaph: "Here lies buried the body of Edward Kitchen, Esq., who departed this life August 17 1766 A. E. 66 yrs."—A copy from his tomb-stone in the old North burying-ground on the hill Salem, Mass. The portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Kitchen are in the possession of Andrew Wolcott Sigourney of Oxford, Mass.

PETER PAPILLON.

Peter Papillon was a resident of Boston, in 1679 removed to Bristol, R. I., where he died. Mary, born in Bristol, R. I., 1680, a daughter of Peter and Joan Papillon, and a son Peter, born in 1681, who became a resident of Boston. In 1723 £100 was ordered by the State authorities to be paid to Peter Papillon, captain of the ship "*Flying Horse*," to be distributed to seamen who enlisted under him to pursue the pirate [Low] off the coast, 9 June, 1722. [Gen. Court Rec.]

1720, April 25. Vol. 35, pp. 18-19. "J. Blackwell to Peter Papillon a tract which fell by lot to John Blackwell, the father (late of Boston), in the town of Oxford, within the Nipmuck country, containing 6,000 acres, also a lot near the above cont. 1,714 acres, or in all 7,714 acres, the latter formerly belonged to Dan. Cox, London, further title to same tract Blackwell to Papillon, consideration £300."

THE PAPILLON FAMILY.

Dr. Baird thought them descended from the Huguenot family of the name in Avrauches, Normandy, which had suffered severely from persecution. Whitmore, in "Sewall's Diary," refers to Mr. Papillon of London, a distinguished person in his day, of great wealth. Peter, the emigrant, of Boston in 1679, supposed to have been his descendant, removed about 1681 to Bristol, where he died; date of inventory 26 Nov., 1697. His widow Joan, 23 March, 1700, was granted by a special act of legislature leave to sell real estate for her support, she having "several small children." Judicial Courts had then no power to authorize the sale of lands of minors. [Prov. Laws, VI., 73.] Peter, Jr., known as Captain, was a Boston merchant and held a high social position. He died 1733 and was buried "under arms." His widow Katherine and son-in-law John Wolcott, Esq., of Salem, were appointed administrators 10 May, 1733. Among his effects were "a farm in the Huguenot settlement at Oxford," and a mansion house on Bennet Street, Salem. His widow died a few months later.

Capt. Richard Williams of Boston married, Dec., 1735, Martha, daughter of Capt. Peter Papillon. Subsequently they became residents of Oxford on a part of the Papillon estate, located in the southwest part of the town. The mansion house was large and roomy, with a long roof in the rear, lean-to style, descending to one story; the house went to decay long ago. Capt. Williams died in 1751. One son, Jeffrey Bedgood, born 1748, and two daughters survived him. Mrs. Williams married John Ballard of Boston, who was the guardian of her children,

An inventory of the estate of Capt. Peter Papillon, late of Boston. merchant, deceased. These papers were presented by Prof. Raphael Pumpelly of Newport, R. I., who is a lineal descendant of Peter Papillon of Bristol, R. I.

1735, Sept. 18. John Wolcott, surviving adminst. (the personal estate of Peter Papillon not sufficing by £1760. 9. 9½ to pay debts and being empowered to sell real estate to pay debts) sells to Joseph Williams, shopkeeper, for £350 the lot on Bennet St. (Boston).

1736, Aug. 19. J. Wolcott of Salem, surviv. administ. of Peter Papillon to Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., sells for £1000 the lot and house bounded on North end by Moon St. and on N. E. by passageway leading to Mr. Hutchinson's garden, 58 x 66.

MS. received from Prof. Pumpelly.

The mansion house of Peter Papillon in Boston appears to have been in plain English style of that time. One entered the house by a large apartment, the door from the street opening into this room which was styled "y^e Hall." The walls of which were ornamented with pictures

and an eight-day clock and case. A large fire-place with its brass-headed dogs and with fire shovel and tongs gave an air of cheerfulness to the apartment, with a chimney glass and pair of small sconces, rich cane chairs with a small tea table and its furniture. A punch bowl and 2 china bowls with 2 decanters and "a walnut oval table."

"In the House there is named a Hall & its furniture with the Hall chamber, parlor, parlor chamber, y^e Long Kitchen or Breakfast room with its chamber and in this room were kept the Sunday books Excepting a large Bible for the Familys use and in this room was exhibited all the pewter ware and six brass candlesticks with snuffers, 1 warming pan, 1 oak oval table & 1 looking glass & y^e Back Kitchen & Garret (the servants and slaves lodged in the garret).

"In y^e back Kitchen were many articles of brass ware also of copper & Belmettle, Brass Kettles of 3 sizes value £18. 1. 6.
 1 Brass porridge pot 1. 6. 0.
 Bel mettle skillit do small 3. 3. 0.
 1 Wind up Jack & Spit 9. 0. 0.
 1 old pull up Jack &c. &c. 10. 0.
 The wrought Plate amounting to £212. 12. 6.
 & y^e Rest of y^e Goods & Furniture were equally divided among the Four Daughters except 2 Silver Porrengers & 2 Spoons & some small Beding & Cloathing w^{ch} Mad^m desired might be given to her Relations Storey & Alsop families."

"HIS LINNEN & CLOATHS."

Among the linen are the items:

4 Muslin necks & 2 Caps, included in all,	£10. 10. 0.
10 thin Jackitts & 13 p ^r britches	4. 0. 0.
1 Black suit, £3. 1 Light Silk Jackit	£2 0. 0.
6 p ^r Silk Stockings	£3 0. 0.
2 pr. new silk stockings	£5. 0. 0.

With many coats & cloaks added to the inventory with other numerous articles.

1 Silver watch & chain	£16 0. 0.
1 Sea Chest	1. 0. 0.
1 Fuzee * (short gun)	£3. 10. 0.

* Peter Papillon's short gun was used by him on board the government ships against piratical vessels.

There is the following item in the will of Rev. John Campbell of Oxford, who died in 1761, viz.: "I give and bequeath to my grandson John Wolcott my gun which was his great-grandfather Papillon's gun, and which I purchased out of y^e estate of Capt. Richard Williams, to be kept for him in the hands of my executors till he arrives at lawful age, then to be delivered to him

1 Saddle, Bridle & Portmanteau	£3. 10. 0.
1 leath ^r Chaise for y ^e Family use not apprizd.	
A Lott of Land in Bennet Street 40 foot front	£280. 0. 0.
The Mansion house & Land thereto belonging	£1200. 0. 0.

An extract from "Memoirs of Thomas Papillon of England," by A. F. W. Papillon, Major, 1887: "Peter Papillon, a younger paternal uncle of Thomas Papillon of England, it is worthy to mention that in 1670 a namesake resided in Boston, United States, who was ancestor of a family of good position now in New England named Pumpelly, to a member of which the author is indebted for the fact. The corruption of the name began (in England) . . . being found in the Harleian MSS. as 'Pampelion and Pompelion.'"

David, the son of Thomas Papillon, Captain of the Royal Guards, born in France, 1581, was brought with two sisters, Anne, born 1573, and Esther, born 1576, to England in 1588 by his mother (Jeane viene de Pierre). The vessel which brought them was wrecked on the coast of Kent, near Hythe; the mother was drowned. The father was still living in France, as was Thomas the eldest son, also a daughter Elizabeth, who married Monsieur Breton of Havre de Grace.

Peter, a third son, the date of whose birth is not given, came to England and was educated by his brother David, and became a French silk merchant, whether in France or England does not appear. He married Susanna, daughter of John Hersent of Southampton. At this date Peter disappears from the history of the English branch of the Papillon family.

ENGLISH BRANCH OF PAPILLON FAMILY.

David Papillon, who was taken to England by his mother in his childhood, was a military engineer and architect. From 1642 to 1646 he was treasurer of Leicestershire. At one time he resided at Putney (Roe-hampton House), and afterwards at Lubenham, Leicestershire, he built a mansion house, "Papillon Hall," which was suited for defence, not long since it was surrounded by a moat. It is still called "Papillon Hall." He translated several works from English into French.

"The family tradition of the Papillon family of England claims connection with Antoine Papillon."—Memoirs of Thomas Papillon.

Autoine [Anthony] Papillon of Papillon, a gentleman of France, was of a highly cultivated mind, an elegant scholar of his time, the protégé of Marguerite d'Angoulême, friend of Aimet Maigret and Erasmus.

or to his order." This short gun, worth £3. 10. 0., is the same gun named in the inventory of Capt. Peter Papillon's estate. Mrs. Richard Williams and Mrs. John Wolcott were daughters of Peter Papillon, Jr.

Antoine Papillon, was joint almoner with Michel d'Aranch to Marguerite d'Angoulême, the sister of Francis I., under whose protection he and others did much to extend the Reformation in Dauphiné and Lyonnais, and through the influence of Marguerite Francis I. appointed him Maître de Requêtes to the Dauphin. Marguerite's influence was lessened by the captivity of Francis I. His friend, Aimet Maigret, the Dominican friar, had influenced him to translate from the German into French "Monastic Vows," by Martin Luther. Antoine Papillon was exiled and not long after was found dead, as was supposed from poison.

"Almaque Papillon of Dijon, France, was born in 1487 and died in 1559. He was the intimate friend of Clément Marot, who with Beza, composed the metrical version of the Psalms, which was set to music by Claude Goudinel, and had much influence in promoting the Reformation in France."*

"At Papillon's request, Marot sought and obtained for him the post of Valet de Chambre to Francis I., which he himself already held. Both Marot and Papillon were with Francis at the battle of Pavia (1525) and were taken prisoners with him."

Marot wrote of Papillon :

"Voilà les pleurs et regret que je fais
Pour mon ami, les parfait de parfaits."

"Behold my tears and regrets made
For my friend, the perfect of perfect."

Thomas Papillon of Dijon, France, was the Valet de Chambre and Captain of the Royal Guard to Henry IV. of France and thrice his ambassador to Venice. He died in Paris in 1608. He was descended from an old French family of Tours, but the family was established at Dijon in 1321. The father of Thomas Papillon was a victim of the massacre in Paris, August 24, 1572, that memorable anniversary of St. Bartholomew's Day. It appears that Papillon was in Paris in honor of the marriage of King Henry IV. and that he was in his suite.

The Papillon family was one of the most distinguished in France, tracing their ancestry to a very remote date.

Thomas, born in 1723 at Roehampton House, the son of David Papillon of England, was a merchant of London. He joined the East India Company. In 1673 he was elected a member of Parliament for Dover. He received a second election. He was also twice elected a member of Parliament for London, 1695 and 1698. In Oct., 1689, he was chosen Alderman of London, which honor he declined though the

* Baird's History of the Rise of the Huguenots.

Common Cryer brought a gown with the Lord Mayor's orders to invest him. In 1666 Thomas Papillon had purchased Acrise Place in Kent, it was some twelve miles from Canterbury and very near Wingham, the seat of his friend, Sir Henry Oxenden, Bart., whose brother, Sir George, was Governor of Bombay. Acrise Place is situated in a lovely shaded vale, made extremely beautiful by its quietude and natural scenery. This ancestral hall was the home of the descendants of Thomas Papillon for many generations.

In August, 1689, Papillon was placed on a commission of five by the King for the disbursement of £1,000 a month in the relief of French refugees, the other commissioners being the Bishops of London and Salisbury, Mr. Hampden (a Commissioner of the Treasury and afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer), and Sir John Mordent. The King first ordered the outlay and Parliament confirmed it.—Memoirs of Thomas Papillon.

Thomas Papillon died in London, May 5, 1702, he was buried in the family vault at Acrise, May 21, "and though none were invited to his burial, yet his own children and grandchildren attended him with twelve coaches to Greenwich, when only four continued the journey, designing it to be private; but on Broughton Hill they were met by a number of horse, and some gentlemen's coaches, and conducted to Canterbury; the next day the same company attended with them, and at Barham Downs they were met by a greater from Dover."

"Above three hundred rings were distributed and nearly as many pairs of gloves; and five shillings a piece were sent to all the Freeman of Dover." Thus passed from earth Thomas Papillon, the christian gentleman, greatly admired for his excellence.—Memoirs of Thomas Papillon.

LEARNED.

William Learned's name is found in the Church Records of Bermondsey parish, England, from 1612 to 1623, as his children here received baptism and died; Isaac, the son, only survived, he accompanied his parents to America.

William Learned and his son Isaac, the first of the name in this country, are identified with the William and Isaac of Bermondsey parish. There are no other entries of the name in the records of Bermondsey parish than those which are given above. The late Col. Joseph L. Chester of London spoke of the name as what he called the mystery, and hoped some day to find a solution. The name is not found in the directories of the present day, either of London or of the counties in England; or in the poll lists, or indexes to county histories.

In the parish records of Bermondsey, County of Surrey, England, are found the following:

A marriage license was granted by the Bishop of London, June 4, 1612, for James Hull, of the city of London, gentleman, and Ann Larned, spinster, daughter of — Larned, deceased. This Ann may have been a sister of William.

These are the only traces of the name which have thus far been found in England, either of an earlier or of a later date. Col. Joseph L. Chester has examined his own MSS. collections from Parish Registers (some 110 folio volumes containing about 400 pages each); the calendars of wills in the General Registry, from 1383 to 1700; the various lists of names at the Public Record office, the British Museum and Herald College, without finding the name. The name does not appear in the army lists of the civil war period, though that of Learner does. Col. Chester has also examined, with the same want of success, the lists of wills in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, the calendars of the local registries covering Essex, Hertfordshire, Surrey, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Wiltshire, and the portion of Kent included in the diocese of Rochester, and the parish registers of Ware and the indexes at the Public Record office; the registers of the oldest Dissenting churches, and of the old French churches, now deposited in the office of the Registrar General, and many other lists of names.

In the lists of the French emigrants who were naturalized the name is not found; nor is any found which is like it. Nor was there any French name in England, at the date of the Bermondsey records, which could be translated into Learned.

In the "Early Suffolk Deeds," by John T. Hassam, there is found a long list of Huguenot names, included with them is that of Lernoult. Some have supposed it to be the French name of Learned. The name of Learned in many instances anciently terminated differently, as in some instances Learner, Lerne, Learn and Larned. The name of Learned, with all its varied orthography, is traced to the French words of *Savoir*, *Savant*, *Sn* (*Sue*). "*Un Savant*, a learned man." The English name of Learned in the French language is "*Sue*."

Isaac² (William¹), was born Feb. 25, 1623, in Bermondsey parish, County Surrey, England, and accompanied his parents to New England. He married in Woburn, July 9, 1656, Mary, daughter of Isaac Sternes of Watertown. In April, 1652, he removed to Chelmsford.

From the records of the First church of Charlestown, Mass. "1632, 10 mo., day 6, William Learned and Goodith, his wife were admitted." This name Goodith is said by Rev. Samuel Sewall not to be a corrupt spelling of Judith, but an old English name from the Saxon, Goditha.

But in the Charlestown Records there is a list of such as were inhabitants of the town in 1630 "unto whom planting lots were given," and among them his name is in the record.

In 1640 William Learned (spelled by the clerk Lernetd) with others formed the first church in Woburn. Here he received six acres and a half for a house lot and farm in meadow, and the residence, being sixty acres, "the one halfe in forest field and the other halfe in playne field." He died March 1, 1646; he was born 1590.

Isaac,³ Isaac,² William,¹ was born Sept., 1655, married July, 1679, Sarah, daughter of John and Sarah Warren Bigelow of Watertown. He resided in Framingham near a beautiful lake of 36 acres, still called for him Learned's pond. He was a soldier in Capt. Davenport's company at the Narragansett fight and was wounded in 1679.

Lient. Isaac⁴ Larned was a gentleman of good estate, he was a land surveyor and much in public life, receiving the respect of the inhabitants and the several offices offered for his acceptance. He resided on Jansen's plain, near the ruins of the Jansen house in the French settlement.

Isaac⁴ of Framingham married, Nov., 1706, Sarah, daughter of John and Elizabeth Woolson How. His home lot was the plantation subsequently so long in the possession of the Peter Shumway family; here Isaac Larned resided and died May 20, 1753. In 1752 he had given a deed of his farm to his son Isaac,⁵ Jr., who in 1755 exchanged farms with his brother-in-law, Jeremiah Shumway, who at that time was the owner of the Josiah Russell place, so called. In April, 1756, Isaac Larned sold the estate to Lient. James Griffin.

Isaac⁴ Larned had purchased in May, 1718, of William Dudley 250 acres of land "near the south boundary of Oxford Village." The southwest corner thereof being at the entrance of the stream from the Great Pond into the river. In Dec., 1735, he gave a deed to his son Isaac⁵ of 120 acres "in the south part of Oxford." This embraced the farm occupied by Isaac,⁵ John,⁶ John,⁷ and his descendants successively to the present time.

John⁶ Larned, son of Capt. John Larned, was John L. 3d while Capt. John Senior lived, until he died, April, 1796. After that time another John is called 3d on Oxford records. He was then known as "Over the River John."

Lient. Isaac Larned and his brother, Col. Ebenezer Larned, were in the first English settlement of Oxford, 1713. They were both gentlemen of French ancestry. The names of their descendants are found in the Inter-Colonial wars as well as in the war of the Revolution.—See Army Records.

Col. Ebenezer Larned also purchased 300 acres of land in the County Gore. He bequeathed to his eldest son, Ebenezer, 400 acres upon

Stony river, now known as the French river. His homestead estate contained some 1,000 acres. He was the largest landholder in Oxford. He built mills on his estate previously to 1728, the ancient mills have long since disappeared and flourishing manufactories occupy their sites. His wife was designated as Madam Learned and tradition speaks of her as a woman of superior endowments. Col. Learned died March, 1772.

Gen. Ebenezer,⁵ Ebenezer,⁴ Isaac,³ Isaac,² William.¹ He married Jerusha Baker of Oxford. The first residence of Gen. Ebenezer Learned was about one mile north of his father's, situated on the brow of Prospect hill range, known at the present time as the Turner place. On his return home from the northern army he erected a mansion house on the Leicester road about three-fourths of a mile southwest from this residence, his son Col. Sylvanus Learned succeeded him and it subsequently became the residence of Abishaí Learned, Esq., a son of Col. Sylvanus Learned.

From the Oxford records: Lady Jerusha, the consort of General Ebenezer Learned, died Feb. 22, 1799. He married second, Eliphaz Putnam of Worcester. Gen. Ebenezer Learned died April 1, 1801.

Haynes Learned, son of General Ebenezer Learned, in 1807 received an appointment from the United States government to superintend fortifications at St. Mary's, Georgia.

Col. Sylvanus Learned was a son of Gen. Ebenezer Learned and in 1776, at the age of sixteen, went as an aid to his father in the Revolutionary army.

David Learned, son of Gen. Ebenezer Learned, was a resident of Livermore, Me., married, March 16, 1788, to Mary Heard of Oxford. He was high sheriff of the County of Oxford at its organization in 1805, and through his influence it was named after his native town. He afterwards rose to be a brigadier general. He went to New Orleans; his health became impaired and he died on his return passage to Boston, May 11, 1811. He was of medium height, compact, symmetrical figure, manly countenance, a deep toned voice and winning manner.

In 1759 George Alverson was with the soldiers in Oxford who were enlisted in the expedition against Crown Point. Rufus Alverson, son of George,¹ was a young gentleman of superior endowments, removed from Oxford to Montreal, where he found many friends and by whom he was much esteemed and caressed for his education, accomplishments and moral excellence of character. He died suddenly Nov. 17, 1809. Among the relics found preserved by the father of this son were the following: For attendant during days of sickness. For expenses previous to interment, medical attendance. For sexton's bill for chaplain. Fees recording interment, &c. To printer's bill for funeral cards.

The letter announcing the decease of young Alverson was addressed to his father, Worcester, the nearest post-office, to be forwarded by a private mail carrier to Oxford.

Rufus Learned, son of Gen. Ebenezer Learned, married, May 3, 1791, Mary, daughter of Ebenezer Humphrey; resided on his father's landed estate in Oxford; died Jan. 17, 1803. His widow married his brother, Col. Sylvanus Learned. Children: Ruth, born Oct. 12, 1793, married, Oct. 12, 1815, George Alverson, Jr., of Oxford.

Jeremiah⁵ (Ebenezer,⁴ Isaac,³ Isaac,² William¹), born Jan., 1733, married Elizabeth Hunt of Littleton, Dec., 1756; he married second, Mary, widow of Dr. Green of Thompson, Ct., who died Sept. 2, 1793; he married third, Oct. 7, 1793, Dorothy, daughter of Dr. Stephen and Dorothy (Moore) Barton, and he married fourth, Esther, widow of Dr. Weaver of Thompson, Ct. Capt. Learned died June, 1812, aged 79 years. Capt. Learned was a lieutenant and captain in a company of rangers in the French and Indian war. He was at Fort Edward and Fort William Henry, with his brother, Major Ebenezer Learned.

"Mr. Jeremiah Learned has presented the town of Oxford a powder horn worn by his grandfather, Jeremiah Larned, in the old French war. It is inscribed 'Jeremiah Larned his horn, Lake George, July 4, 1756.'"

Hannah, daughter of Isaac³ and Sarah (Bigelow) Learned of Framingham, married Obediah Walker of Marlborough, son of Thomas and Martha (How) Walker, and grandson of Thomas and Mary Walker of Sudbury.—Barry, p. 430.

Obediah Walker became a resident of Sutton; a large landed estate. His son Asa married Abigail —. They had twelve children and his estate at his decease was inherited by his son Asa. Mrs. Walker was remarried to Rev. William Phipps of Douglas and resided in Oxford. Mrs. Phipps died July 31, 1820, aged 92 years.

DAVIS.

William Davis, son of William of Roxbury, born June, 1704, purchased land in Oxford, 1724. In 1739 and for several years after he was an innholder, owned the Benjamin Chamberlain plantation on the west side of Main street, extending from Quaboag lane (a road to Sturbridge) which bounded the late Abijah Davis estate, northerly, including the ancient tavern property, to Nathaniel Chamberlain's estate, or what was since known as the James Gleason land. It is now impossible to state whether the present Dr. Cushman place or the site of the old red tavern, corner of Main street and Charlton road, was the site of his residence.

Samuel Davis, born June, 1681 at Roxbury, descended from William Davis of Roxbury, the lineage being John, son of William and Elizabeth

H., married, 1669, Mary, daughter of Edward Devotion of Roxbury John, born October, 1643, died March, 1705. She died February, 1683. William Davis, the ancestor of Samuel of Roxbury and subsequently of Oxford, is said to have been of Welch extraction, born 1617, and that he left Wales in the year 1635 and died August, 1683. He resided in Roxbury from 1642 until his decease. A seal representative of the coat of arms of the Davis family of Caermarthon, South Wales, establishes the identity of the two families in ancestry. Samuel Davis became a resident of Oxford in 1729, where he died, April, 1760. He married, June, 1709, Mary, daughter of Jacob and Mary (Child) Chamberlain, of Roxbury. She died, February, 1731, at Oxford.

Samuel Davis was remarried, October 13, 1731, at Roxbury, to Mary, daughter of Thomas and Sarah (Faxton) Weld. He died August 9, 1786, at Oxford, aged 91. Her mother was the daughter of Thomas and Deborah (Thayer) Faxton, and was born at Braintree.

Child of Mary Weld born at Oxford: John, born November 30, 1732, succeeded his father to his estate.

In 1720 Samuel Davis, with his brother-in-law Thomas Mayo, and Joseph Weld, whose sister he afterward married, purchased of Gabriel Bernon, then of Kingston, R. I., his French plantation in Oxford village, then in Suffolk county, for the sum of twelve hundred pounds. Mr. Samuel Davis on becoming a resident of Oxford was much esteemed as a gentleman and held many offices of honor from the town. His residence was on the highlands east of the village street.

SHUMWAY.

Peter Shumway, born in 1678, who made a settlement in Oxford 1713, was the son of Peter and Frances Shumway of Topsfield, Mass. The first record we have of Peter Shumway of Topsfield is in 1675, when he enlisted on Dedham Common as a soldier in the great Narragansett fight, and with others was told "if he would play the man" that he should have a "land bounty."

From Topsfield Town Records: "Peter Shumway and Mariah Smith both of Boxford* were married on y^e 11th day of February 1700-1."

"She was daughter of Robert and Mary B. Smith, 1677, Dec. 18."—Church Records, Topsfield.

Baptisms: "Peter Shumway, his Oliver, May 10, 1702; Jeremiah, Mar. 21, 1703; David, Dec. 23, 1705; Mary, May 9, 1708; Samuel, April 22, 1711; John, Aug. 15, 1713."

[These children probably came to Oxford with their parents in 1713. Three others, Jacob, Hepzibah and Amos, were born in Oxford.]

* Boxford joins Topsfield on the west, and while they lived in Boxford they still continued their connection with the Topsfield church.

"TO THE HONORABLE SPENCER PHIPS ESQ LIEUT GOVERNOR AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF IN AND OVER HIS MAJESTIE'S PROVINCE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY IN NEW ENGLAND: THE HONORABLE COUNCIL AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN GENERAL COURT ASSEMBLED :

"The Memorial of Peter Shumway of Oxford most humbly sheweth that whereas your humble memorialist did many years ago prefer a petition to the Honorable General Court of this Province praying that as he is the legal heir and representative of Peter Shumway of Topsfield who was a long time in the service of this Country and particularly in the Narragansett war, and taking the Indian fort there which he in said petition proved by living testimonies and which he believes the Honorable John Chandler and others worthy members of this Honorable Court do yet remember,

"And whereas your aged, decrepid and poor memorialist hath never yet received any gratuity, or reward in land or otherwise for his father's services and sufferings as many others have done, your most humble memorialist again most humbly prayeth this Honorable Court in their wonted goodness and compassion would make him a grant of some piece of Country land for said services, or otherwise as in their great wisdom they [see] fit: which will oblige your most humble memorialist—as in duty bound will ever pray.

"(Signed)

PETER SHUMWAY.

"March 23, 1749-50."

—Mass. Arch., XLVI., 212.

This paper is in the handwriting of Rev. John Campbell of Oxford.

The first vote recorded on the proprietors' books of Oxford is dated, "September 13 1713; voted: That Peter Shumway shall come in as an inhabitant of Oxford on the rights of Joshua Chandler."

Peter Shumway was a surveyor of highways March 5, 1716.

"January 25 1716-17 voted in y^e affirmative that Peter Shumway shall be an associat with y^e Grantees in oxford village upon y^e Right of Joshua Chandler as it was voted Sept^{ber} y^e 13 1713."

Peter Shumway kept a garrison house.

It would appear that Peter Shumway came to this country in 1662.

"To the honoured Governor, deputy Governor and Maiistrates of the Massachusetts Colonie—the petition of John Tonton of Rochell in France, Doctor Chirurgion, in behalfe of himselfe and others. Humbly shewing, that whereas your petitioner with many other protestants, who are inhabitants in the said Rotchell, (a list of whose names was given to the said honoured Govnr) who are for their religion sake, outted and expelled from their habitations and dwellings in Rotchell

France* aforesaid, he, your said petitioner humbly craveth, for himselfe and others as aforesd, that they may have liberty to come heather, here to inhabit and abide amongst the English in this Jurisdiction, and to follow such honest indeavours & ymploymts, as providence hath or shall direct them unto, whereby they may get a livelihood and that they might have so much favour from the Govmt. here, as in some measure to be certayne of their residence here before they undertake the voyage, and what priviledges they may expect here to have, that so accordingly as they find incoridgmt for further progress herein, they may dispose of their estates of Rotchell, where they may not have any longer continuance. Thus humbly craveing you would be pleased to consider of the premisses, and your petitioner shall forever pray for your happinesse."

"15(8) 1662 The Deputyes thinke meete to graunt this pet, our honble magistes consenting thereto. William Torrey."

"Consented to by y^e magists. Edw. Rawson Secret. cleric."

Massachusetts, Archives, Vol. X. p. 208.

In 1661 an old provision of the royal decree for the reduction of the city of La Rochelle, after the siege, hitherto unexecuted, was brought to notice, and carried into effect. This article prohibited all persons professing the "Pretended Reformed Religion" from being admitted as inhabitants of La Rochelle, unless they had resided there previously, and before the landing of Buckingham from England, sent to relieve the city in July, 1627.

The article was now confirmed by a civil ordinance, and in the month of November it was proclaimed with sound of trumpet through the streets of La Rochelle. Fifteen days were allowed to those whom it might concern for their removal from within the city limits, and warning was given that in case of disobedience they would assess a heavy fine, to be enforced, if necessary, by means of distraint and public sale of their effects.

Peter⁴ Shumway of Oxford, born in 1735, stated to Rev. Abial Holmes, D.D., in 1825, that his great-grandfather, Peter Shumway, came from France and was a Huguenot. All persons who bore the name of Shumway in Oxford, into the present century, were known by the name of Jermer, the orthography of the name of "Germaine." W. T. Shumway of Webster recalls that his father was known by the name of Jermer, and so received the daily salutations of his friends. In the Huguenot settlement of Oxford, in 1687, Capt. Germaine and his sons are known on the records of the French settlement of Oxford as Germou, Jermon or Jermer, with the exception of Charles, who removed from Oxford to New Rochelle, N. Y., he retained the name of Germaine.

* The list of names is not found with this record.

In regard to the French extraction of the Shumway family there has been much interest for the last half century as to the origin of the present form of the name, as Shumway is not a French name, neither can it be identified as English or German. The name has evidently been transformed as have been many names of the Huguenots in this country and in Europe. The name of Germaine is known only in Parisian French while the name in Provincial French is Germon, Jermon or Jermer, as in Canada. The name of Shumway is not found in lists of Huguenot exiles copied from Boston Suffolk Records, South Carolina and New York Records, in Agnew's French Protestant Exiles, London, 1871. The author of that book introduces lists of Huguenot refugees during the reigns of Charles II., James II., William and Mary, and William III. Copies from the Patent Rolls. The Camden Society Lists are from copies belonging to the late Mr. Peter Levesque. The Camden Society volume, entitled Lists of Foreign Protestants and Aliens Resident in England, 1618-1688, edited by William Durant Cooper, London, 1862.

Amos Shumway, the youngest son of Peter, who came from Topsfield to Oxford in 1713, and grandson of Peter the Huguenot, resided on Long Hill, near the farm of William Hudson, in Oxford. Mr. Shumway died May, 1818, aged 96. In conversation with the family of the late Rodolphus Edson he stated to them the original French name of Shumway was Germaine.—A reminiscence of the late Bradford G. Edson, who recently deceased, aged 91 years.

The landed estate of Peter Shumway, the son of Peter the Huguenot, included the Josiah Russell place. He married second, Feb., 1740, Mary Dana.

Jeremiah, son of Peter¹ of Oxford, married Experience, the daughter of Isaac Larned. His residence was with his father, in 1755 he exchanged his estate with his brother-in-law, Isaac Larned, Jr., and resided on Jansen plain, near the site of the Jansen house. His son Peter succeeded him on his estate and subsequently it became the residence of his grandson, Peter Shumway. Jeremiah Shumway removed to Long Hill and there died.

Solomon, son of Jeremiah,⁵ born Feb. 19, 1747, married, Nov., 1768, Dorothy Howard of Killingly, Conn., and became a resident of that place. Jeremiah, a son, born 1780, married, 1803, Huldah, a daughter of Luke Upham of Thompson, Conn. Hammond, their son, married Roby T. Newall; resided at Thompson. William T. Shumway, their son, of Webster, merchant; and Solomon, deputy sheriff of Webster.

David, son of Peter¹ of Oxford, in 1733 purchased one-fiftieth of the grant for the town of Sturbridge, where he resided and became a gentleman of influence. He was baptized Dec., 1705; died May, 1796, aged 91 years.

Lieut. Samuel Shumway, son of Peter¹ of Oxford, baptized April, 1711, became a resident of Sturbridge, married Sarah, daughter of Isaac Larned of Oxford. He died Sept., 1800, aged 89 years.

Oliver Shumway, a son of Peter¹ of Oxford, received from his father an estate on Long Hill, married Sarah Pratt, daughter of Jonathan Pratt, married second Elizabeth Holman of Sutton. Mrs. Elizabeth (Holman) Shumway taught a dame school.

Jacob Shumway, son of Peter,¹ resided on Long Hill.

John, son of Peter¹ of Oxford, married Mary Dana, made a settlement in Oxford, southwest of the North Common, on a plantation of 50 acres presented to him by his father. The original house was west of an ancient house, still to be seen (1893), opposite to the late Josiah Russell estate. This landed estate was once the residence of Phineas Dana, subsequently the home of Rev. William Phipps, where he died, long known as the Solomon Walker farm. John Shumway died Jan., 1810, aged 96.

Lieut. Jonathan Davis of Oxford married, May 7, 1815, Elizabeth, daughter of Benjamin and Betsey Gilbert of Brooklyn, Ct. Benjamin Gilbert was a lineal descendant of Jonathan Gilbert of Hartford, Ct. Jonathan Gilbert, "a brave and honest gentleman," "a Devonshire man," a bachelor landholder, was a resident of Hartford, Ct., in 1645. He married Mary, a daughter of John White. In a second marriage to Mary, a daughter of Francis Colman, by her first marriage to Hugh Welles, one of the founders of Hartford. Mrs. Gilbert was the niece of Rev. and Hon. Thomas Welles, Governor of Connecticut, who died at Hartford, January, 1660, aged 62 years. This Welles family was a branch of the noble family of Welles in Lincolnshire, who were barons of the realm.

About 1640 Mr. Gilbert arrived from England and was a resident of Dorchester, Mass. The Dorchester, Taunton and Connecticut Gilberts were of one ancestry. Both families had intermarried with the Rossiter family, distinguished in England and in the colonies.

Mr. Gilbert by grants of the General Court and by purchase had acquired large tracts of land. In 1653 he received a grant of land "at the common landing place in the little meadow [at Hartford] to set up a warehouse," which afterward became a station for considerable commerce, in which Mr. Pyncheon, of "up the river," Springfield, was largely interested, and imported many goods from abroad, as associated with Mr. Gilbert.

In March, 1653, a special warrant was granted to him as marshal "with power to rayse such considerable forces as he sees meete" for the arrest of parties. He was engaged in the trade and coasting busi-

ness of the young colonies and was collector of the customs at Hartford.

In 1654 the Commissioners of the English colonies appointed Jonathan Gilbert a messenger to Ninigrete, the chief of the Narragansetts. Mr. Gilbert being familiar with the Indian language was an interpreter between the Indians and the English government. He rendered important service in the subsequent Indian wars and difficulties, by his facility in their language and his resolute bravery. Gookin states that, "Uncas, a principal Sachem, lived at or about Pequot, now called New London, he was hostile to his neighbors the Narragansetts." Gilbert was engaged in these perilous negotiations.

In August, 1661, "The Court granted to Mr. Gilbert a farm in Hartford to y^e number of 300 acres of vpland and 50 Acres of meadow provided it be not preiuditiall to any other plantation." After this period he was for several years elected to the office of "Marshall" and was occasionally a representative to the legislature, but his chief attention was given to the improvement of his estate and the care of his family.

In Nov., 1659, Mr. Gilbert was appointed to compel the payment from the Farmington Indians of the annual sum which was due from the two years past, "amounting to the full summe of eighty faddome of wam pum," "well strunged and merchantable." This was in satisfaction for damages from a fire occasioned by them.

Jonathan Gilbert died Dec. 10, 1682, aged 64. Mrs. Mary (Welles) Gilbert died July 3, 1700, aged 74. Their gravestones are in the old burying-ground at Hartford. Mr. Gilbert in his will gives ten pounds to his grandchild, John Rossiter (his daughter Mary married John Rossiter, the eldest son of Dr. Brayen Rossiter), and also his grandson, Andrew Belcher. Andrew Belcher of Boston, "the most oppulent merchant of his time," had married Sarah, a daughter of Jonathan Gilbert of Hartford, Ct., July, 1670. Mr. Belcher was born in Cambridge, Mass., 1647, was of Boston 1677, died 1717, aged 70 years.

Hon. Jonathan, a son, was born 1681, graduated at Harvard University 1699, was Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire 1730-1741, Governor of New Jersey 1747-1757, died in August, 1759.

Captain Blackwell of England, a member of Parliament, who was a large proprietor of land in Oxford, Mass., obtained a separate grant (date 1686) of land which afterwards became a part of the town of Pomfret, Ct., when incorporated 1713. This large estate Blackwell had named Mortlake, the name of the place a few miles out of London, where Gen. Lambert of Cromwell's army had resided, the father-in-law of Blackwell. Capt. Blackwell's heirs conveyed this valuable estate of Mortlake to Gov. Jonathan Belcher.

From the "*Independent Advertiser*," Boston: "We hear from Burlington in New Jersey, that his Excellency Jonathan Belcher, Esq., Governor of the

Province, was married there on the 9th day of this month (October, 1748) to Mrs. Teal, a lady of great merit and a handsome fortune."

Thomas, a son of Jonathan Gilbert by his second marriage to Mary Welles, chose a maritime life, influenced by his brother-in-law, Andrew Belcher, who frequently visited the Connecticut river with his vessels for trade. Gilbert soon commanded one of his ships. The remains of Capt. and Mrs. Mary (Trowbridge) Gilbert rest in the Granary burial-ground in Boston.

Note. In an old record, 1693, is found the marriage of Jonathan Dowse and Elizabeth Gilbert.

Note. The Dows or Dowse family in America, descendants of Lawrence Dows [of Charlestown, Mass., 1640].

"In 1608 the worshipful Sir John Gilbert, ended his life July 5, and was brought from London to his mansion house at Compton the 16th of the same month and buried in Marldon church July 19. He practiced arms agreeably to the brave spirit of his ancestors. Was held an Expert and soldier even in his younger years wherein he expired and was taken away when he gave not only hope but full assurance of great sufficiency to do his prince and country service."

"Sir John and his younger brother, Capt. Rawley Gilbert, were nephews to Sir Humphrey."

The family of Gilbert is very ancient, "It is written on the Roll of Battle Abbey, T. Gilbard." [Thomas Gilbert.] "The name is found in the conqueror's book of survey among the Tenures of Devon." Greenway, the ancient seat of the Gilberts or Jilberts of knightly rank. "The county of Devons says at Marledon on the river Darte is a chapel built by the ancestors of the Gilberts," "who have an ancient monument there; one of them lieth in the church with his wife, their proportions cut into stone."

It is said this family of Gilbert were remotely of the same ancestry of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. "From Thomas Gilbert of Compton many stems of the old stock branched off." About 1604 John Gilbert left Compton and settled at Bleehington, County of Essex. In 1609 to John Gilbert of Woodford, Essex were confirmed these arms: Ar. on a chev, betw. three leopards faces sa, as many roses or.

Coat of arms of the Gilbert family of Devonshire: Ar on a chev sa three roses of the first. Crest a dolphin, naivant embowed.

Col. Thomas Gilbert, born 1715, at Taunton, son of Nathaniel and Hiannah (Bradford) Gilbert, descended from John Gilbert of Dorchester, then Taunton, the lineage being Thomas of Taunton married Jane Rossiter; Thomas, Jr., of Taunton, married Anna Black; Nathaniel, born 1683, at Taunton. John Gilbert was from Devonshire, Eng. He was in New England previously to 1636, though his name is not mentioned by Hottou in his book of arrivals. He represented Taunton to

the Great and General Court in 1639. Winnifred, his wife, survived him.

Col. Gilbert on the maternal side was in lineal descent from William Bradford, the second Governor of Plymouth Colony, from Austerfield, England.

In the first settlement of Taunton, with other gentlemen, is included the name of John Gilbert, Senior, with his two sons, John and Thomas, and Hugh Rossiter, whose daughter, Thomas, son of John, Senior, married. This was the first marriage of the Taunton and Connecticut Gilberts with the Rossiter family. Thomas Gilbert in 1651 was elected to the General Court from Taunton, in 1653 he went to England where he died in 1676. Jane, his wife, remained at Taunton, where she received the news of his decease.

Mr. Edward Rossiter sailed from Plymouth, England, March 20, 1630. He had been chosen in London an assistant, Oct. 20, 1629, when Winthrop was first chosen Governor and Johnson, Saltonstall, Dudley, Endicott and thirteen other assistants of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, N. E. He had a good estate in the County of Somerset or Devon. He died in Oct., 1630. "His early removal was a great affliction to the Colony."

Dr. Bray or Bryan Rossiter or Rocester of Guilford, Ct., arrived in Boston in 1630. It would appear he was a brother of Edward. He was for a time a resident of Windsor, Ct., and the first town clerk, 1639.

It is said that the son of Mr. Edward Rossiter, Assistant to the Colony, lived at Combe, England, at the time he came to this country, and his grandson lived at Taunton, S. Somerset.

Thomas Rossiter came to this country 1633, was of Taunton 1643. Hugh of Dorchester Mass. Bay 1635.

Col. Gilbert in 1745 as a captain fought under Sir William Pepperell at the famous siege of Louisburg. He was in the French war of 1755 under Brig.-Gen. Ruggles. Col. Gilbert was with the victorious forces that took possession of Crown Point after Gen. Amherst had subdued Ticonderoga. At Lake George Baron Dieskan led the French army against the English forces, Col. Williams who commanded the regiment of which Gilbert was Lieut.-Col. was slain and the latter became its commanding officer.

Maj. John Burke in his journal while at Lake Sacrament, now Lake George, Sept. 11, 1755, giving an account of the battle of Lake George, he mentions the arrival of several officers, among them the name of Col. Thomas Gilbert.

Previously to the commencement of the Revolutionary war Gen. Gage knowing the services of Col. Gilbert to England in the French war requested him to rally the loyalists of New England to be true to King George the Third. Gilbert knowing his position to be hopeless

repaired to Newport and went on board the *Rose*, an English vessel whose commandant it is said received him most graciously. From Newport he proceeded at once to Boston, where he was received with honor by the English officers. The British Admiral feared for the safety of his vessels; he communicated with Lord Howe the necessity to evacuate. The English troops then boarded the fleet and sailed for Halifax. From his loyalty to George III. Gilbert left his home and a large estate, but his losses were more than restored to him by the mother country. His subsequent home was on the river St. John, New Brunswick. In 1784, Mrs. Mary Gilbert in a letter written to her friends in New England is dated from Gilbert's Point, St. Mary's Bay. His possessions received from the King were mostly in Sunbury and Queen's Counties. Col. Gilbert's sons were in sympathy with him and retired to the British Provinces. Col. Gilbert is named as the father of the distinguished and wealthy family in Nova Scotia. He died in 1796 aged 82 years.

Extract from the will of Col. Thomas Gilbert, dated Oct. 29, 1795, Gagetown, Province of New Brunswick: "2dly. I give and bequeath to my Eldest son Thomas Gilbert of Burton in the county of Sunbury and Province aforesaid Esq. all the Island called Majors Island laying in the River St. John on which he now dwells . . . I also Give and Bequeath to my said son all the Land and Buildings which I have Either by Grant or Purchase which I have and hold in the Province of Nova Scotia, he to have and Hold the same Lands, his heirs and assigns forever.

"Thirdly I give and bequeath to my second son Perez Gilbert of Gagetown in Queens County afore s'd all the Island called Grimos Island with all the lands on Grimos neck with all the high upland."

He also gives to his third son, Bradford, of the City of St. John, all his lands in the township of Sheffield and other tracts of valuable landed estate. Col. Gilbert's possessions received from the King were mostly in Sunbury and Queen's Counties. Several of the descendants of Thomas Gilbert have been members of the English Parliament.

Col. Thomas Gilbert was of a distinguished English family of the County of Devon and was remotely allied to the family of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Tradition states that it was on account of his ancestry as well as for his loyalty that King George III. extended to him so liberally his protection.

There is a letter of Col. Thomas Gilbert bearing date, "Gagetown, Province of New Brunswick, 25th July, 1795, signed your great-grandfather, Thomas Gilbert, in the 81st year of his age." This letter was addressed to Ephraim Gilbert Edson, his great-grandson, and is in the possession of his heirs.

Lemuel Crane, Esq., of Berkley, a landholder and lawyer, became a resident of Oxford in 1780. He was married, Dec., 1759, to Bathsheba, daughter of Col. Thomas Gilbert. Mr. Crane in the Revolution was a loyalist in favor of King George III. In Oxford he purchased the landed estate of Darius Chase of Freetown, who had the estate of Anthony Sigourney, which is situated two miles distant from the old North Common. The mother of Mr. Crane became a resident of Oxford.

Mrs. Hannah (Adams) Crane was a very superior lady and possessed with a refined taste. She was extremely fond of needlework and wrought lace and embroidery with ease, and when quite elderly she would be seen with her needlework passing from window to window of her apartment to avail herself from any ray of the parting sunset. She died in Oxford and was buried in the churchyard near the South Common. Tradition states Mrs. Hannah (Adams) Crane was in lineage of the same ancestry as Henry Adams from England, who became a resident of Braintree, now Quincy.

The Braintree or Quincy branch of the Adams family are descended from John Ap Adam of England, Baron of the Realm, who was from 1296 to 1307 summoned to Parliament. The family is of Welsh origin and the prefix "Ap" signifies the son of Adam. The Welsh form of Ap Adam fell into disuse in the 15th century being anglicized to Adams.

The arms of Henry Adams of Braintree: Argent, on a cross Gules five Mullets or. Crest: Cut of a Ducal Coronet, or a demi Lion affronté gules.

"In the upper part of a Gothic window on the south east side of Tidenham Church near Chopston Eng. The name of Johes Ap Adam 1310 in old English, and Arms as above are still (1851) to be found beautifully executed in stained glass of great thickness and in perfect preservation."—Notes of C. F. Adams, Jr.

AMIDOWN.

It was during the siege of La Rochelle that many of these Huguenots escaped to England, among whom was the ancestor of the family of Aimédoune.

Roger Aimédoune of England, being in sympathy with the Puritans, embarked among the first colonists for a new colony in New England, so found Massachusetts.

He arrived at Salem, then known by its Indian name of Nanmkeag. Roger Aimédoune thus became the ancestor of all of this name in America. He subsequently removed from Salem to Weymouth, then to Boston, where the birth of their daughter Lydia is recorded. Then he

removed to Rehoboth, then in Plymouth colony, where he died in 1673. Then his descendants became, among others, the early planters of Mendon, and from thence to Oxford.

On the Church Records, at its formation, January 18, 1721, Philip Amidown and his wife are included as communicants. He died in Oxford.

Among the early records of Oxford is found the birth of a daughter of Philip and Ithama Amidown, viz.: Hannah, born Feb. 2, 1718, also Henry Amidown married Millatia Cheeny March 31, 1718. There is also the record of the marriage of Benjamin Chamberlin, Jr., one of the first landed proprietors of Oxford, to Mary Amidown, July 8, 1728.

The original name of Amedoune has been changed by the descendants "to Amidon, Amadon and Amidown. However spelled, the name is traced to Roger Amedoune."—Holmes' Amidown.

Philip, a descendant of Roger Amidown, came from Mendon to Oxford, 1717. He was a gentleman of good estate and was much esteemed and interested in public affairs.

Jeremiah Amidown married Elizabeth Martin of Douglas, Feb., 1769. Children of Jeremiah and Elizabeth (Martin) Amidown: Mary Bathsheba, Elizabeth, Lucy, Isaac, Mary, born August 29, 1773, married Elihu Harwood, Lois, Sarah, Jeremlah, born March 31, 1779, Samuel, Lurania, born Feb., 1786; she was married to Lyman Wetherell, April 26, 1807.

Jeremiah, born March 31, 1779, removed to Charlton, married Abigail Harwood, Oct. 7, 1801. Jeremiah Amidown died May 31, 1812.

Elizabeth, widow of Jeremiah Amidown, died Oct. 10, 1826.

Samuel Amidown married Lucy Humphrey Aug. 28, 1809.

Lyman Wetherell was born in Dudley—see Dudley Records. The family trace their ancestry to Rev. William Wetherell of Scituate, who was established there as a clergyman in 1658 and died in 1684.

Elihu Harwood of Sutton married Mary or Molly, daughter of Jeremiah and Elizabeth Amidown, April, 1795, of Oxford. Child, Elihu.

The ancestors of Elihu Harwood of Sutton were from Salem, Mass., some of whom had become land proprietors in Sutton on its first settlement. In 1725, in the Sutton Records, the name of Col. Jonathan Harwood is noticeable as a gentleman of high position. The town of Sutton voted that the school land be all sold, reserving the 30-acre lot, and that the money should be put out for the benefit of a school forever. Colonel Harwood entered his dissent against the school land being sold.

David and Solomon Harwood of Sutton and Oxford were of the same ancestry in Sutton and Salem. Reuben Harwood was the son of Solomon Harwood; he was married to Hannah Hurd.

At the close of the Revolution, in 1783, it became necessary for the confederated States of America to devise plans for a revenue to pay the debt incurred by the war and to meet the current expenses of government (there being then no system by duties or imposts upon the foreign merchandise imported into the country). A resort to direct taxation, or a system of internal revenue, in some respects like the present one following the late Rebellion, was adopted. The records of the Senate in Massachusetts show that on the 10th of February, 1783, it was ordered that Ephraim Starkweather and John Baron, Esqs., be a committee to collect, sort and count the votes for a collector of excise for the county of Worcester, who reported that the whole number of votes was eighteen, and that Caleb Amidown, Esq., of Charlton, was unanimously elected. He was continued in that office until after the revenue system was established by imports under the Constitution, about ten years.

The Hon. Emory Washburn, late Governor of Massachusetts, in a historical sketch of Leicester Academy refers to Caleb Amidown as a benefactor to that institution.

He was engaged by the government in the confiscated estates of the refugees of the Revolution as a surveyor.

"For many years he was a member of the Legislature, and as such was a warm supporter of the government during the 'Shays Rebellion,' as it was called.

"Among other responsible offices he was called to fill was that of an excise master for the County of Worcester, after the close of the Revolution."

The late Hon. Salem Town, of Charlton, ever mentioned Caleb Amidown with great respect.

Gen. Town had served as a surveyor in various towns of Worcester county under Caleb Amidown, who was extensively known in that respect.

Through his services as surveyor and conveyancer a large portion of the most ancient deeds of land in the towns of this vicinity, Charlton, Dudley, Oxford and Sturbridge, are found in his handwriting in clear and concise drafts and fine specimen of penmanship.

Philip Amidown and wife, of Oxford, were the grandparents of Caleb Amidown, Esq., of Charlton, who was grandfather of Holmes Amidown and the late Hon. Ebenezer Amidown, the cousins of Holmes Amidown. Ebenezer Davis, Esq., born in Oxford, Sept. 18, 1737, became a resident of Charlton. He was married, Jan. 10, 1802, to Mrs. Hannah (Sabin), widow of Caleb Amidown of Charlton, now Southbridge. She died March 20, 1820.

Maj. Calvin Amidown, the son of Caleb Amidown, was married to

Deborah, the daughter of Ebenezer Davis, Esq., of Charlton. Mr. Amidown was one of the executors of the estate of Ebenezer Davis, Esq.

Major Amidown was a man of character, intelligence and enterprise; justice of the peace, major of militia; one of the leading men in the management of the Poll parish, at which is now Southbridge, from 1801 to the incorporation of that town in 1816, and was efficient in procuring the act of the Legislature establishing the town; was its representative in the Legislature in 1821.

Of him Hon. Linus Child wrote: "To his energy and enterprise more than to any other single individual was the town of Southbridge indebted for the commencement and vigorous prosecution of the business of the cotton manufacture and other important business enterprises which have contributed so much to the prosperity of the town."

Major Amidown was born in Charlton, June 21, 1768; died Jan. 5, 1825.*

RAWSON.

"At a Generall Court of Elecons held at Boston 22th of May, 1650:—Edward Rawson, gent., was chosen Secretary."

Secretary Rawson removed from Newbury to Boston, his residence was on Rawson's lane, and here he died, August, 1693, aged 78. This lane bore his name until near 1800, and was then changed to Bromfield street. Here he owned some acres of land, which bordered on the common.

Edward Rawson came to New England in the year 1636 or in 1637 and became a resident of Newbury in the colony of Massachusetts Bay. He was a grantee of that town.

Edward Rawson was a communicant in the First Church in Boston. Rev. John Wilson was the clergyman. The record says he was one of twenty-eight members who left the First Church and formed the Old South Church in Boston in May, 1669.

Grindal Rawson, son of Edward Rawson, graduated at Harvard University, 1678. He studied divinity, preached his first sermon at Medfield. He subsequently became the clergyman of Mendon, Mass. He married Susanna, daughter of Rev. John Wilson of Medfield and the granddaughter of Rev. John Wilson, first minister of Boston. He died February, 1715. His son John Rawson³ resided in Uxbridge, Mass. John Rawson⁴ and his son Joseph were residents of Webster. Secretary Edward Rawson's mother was Margaret, the sister of Rev. John Wilson.

* Samuel Davis and his Descendants.

At the Herald's College or College of Arms for several hundred years is the Rawson family. It is composed of an escutcheon, representing an old knightly shield, the lower half sable, the upper half azure; in centre of the shield a castle, with four towers in gold; crest, a raven's head, black; bearing on the neck drops of gold, one and two; erased, on a wreath; in the beak a ring of gold. The motto underneath, "*Laus Virtutis Actio*," "The deed of bravery is its own praise."

The most remote ancestor of Edward Rawson, Secretary of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, who has been traced, is Sir Edward Rawson, who lived in the reign of one of the Henrys, he is said to have been of "great military skill."

Edward Rawson's letter to Lord Arlington:—

"Right Honourable Sir,

"His Majesty's Gracious Letter, directed to the Govourner and Conncil, Dated, yee 22d Day of February 1665, was received and communicated to yee Court 17 of July, 1666.

"We do thankful acknowledge his Grace, in Forwarding of our danger by the French and Dutch Nations, and to be prepared for our defence, while according to our weak ability, we have been endeavoring to fortify the coast of Canida. The Council Genrall of Novis Scotia and St. John's who has concluded it is not at present feazeble as respects our boundry line, I will say however in respect of the difficulty and impossibility of a land mark over the Rocky Mountains and claimed by your Majesty's Government, is about four hundred miles, as the line drawn through straight, as you have expected.

"His Majesty's Declaration of War against France is enclosed. It was Solemnly published through this Land by the Sound of Trumpet. We have been subject to some Loss, also to some advantage by the French and Dutch, about Shipping abroad; and in our smaller vessels upon our coast, and have taken two or three vessels, to a considerable value—Whereupon some of Ours: by Commission from our hands: lately have taken Three or Four, other Fishing Ships upon the coast of the Canidas; for the future we shall endeavor by the assistance of God to Proceed and defend the Honnour and interest of his Majesty's and the English Nation, in these parts, not to give you further trouble at present in protecting us.

"Boston in New England 24 Oct. 1666.

"My

"Lord

"Your very

"Humble Servant

"EDWARD RAWSON."

Edward Rawson was born in Gillingham, Dorsetshire, England, April, 1615. He was married in England to Rachel, daughter of Thomas Perne and granddaughter of John Hooker, who married a sister of Edmund Grindal, "the most worthily renowned Archbishop of Canterbury" in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.*

Edmund Grindal, the first Bishop of London after Queen Elizabeth's succession to the Crown, Bishop of York and the second Archbishop of Canterbury, was born about 1519, in or near the parish of St. Bees, in Cumberland. December 21, 1559, Grindal, B. D., being forty years of age, was consecrated to the see of London and installed the 23rd. "Now did Sir Gilbert Dethick, Kn't, principal King of Arms, honor the Bishop with a blazon of arms, to be made use of in all his sealed letters and instruments."

"Shortly after his elevation we find him preaching at various times before the Queen, and at St. Paul's cross; and on one of these occasions, March 3d, 1560, there was a mighty audience, for the people were greedy to hear the gospel."

Queen Elizabeth was prejudiced against the Puritans. She issued orders for the suppression of their meetings, and expressed her displeasure to Grindal at the number of preachers licensed in his province, "urging that it was good for the world to have few preachers; that three or four might suffice for a county, and that the reading of the homilies to the people was enough."

Against this the venerable prelate remonstrated in decided terms, and, in conclusion, exhorted her to remember that she was a mortal creature, and accountable to God for the exercise of her power. An order of the Star-chamber followed, and the Archbishop was sequestered from the exercise of his jurisdiction, and confined to his house six months.

In 1568 "when the See of York was vacant, Dr. Hutton, the Dean, wrote to Cecil, the Secretary, suggesting the qualifications the occupant should have; that he should be a teacher, because the country was ignorant; a virtuous and godly man, for the country was given to sift such a man's life; a stout and courageous man in God's cause, for the country otherwise would abuse him and yet a sober and discreet man, lest too

* The family relation which existed between Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the earliest ancestors of Edward Rawson may not be uninteresting. Edmund Grindal was the successor of Bonner in the bishopric of London. "Not willing to proceed to extremities against the Puritans, he involved himself in dissensions with Parker, the then Primate of England. His friend and patron Cecil, foreseeing that trouble might ensue, gladly seized the occasion of withdrawing him from the controversy, by transferring him to the bishopric of York, in 1570."

much righteousness should harden the hearts of some that by fair means might be mollified, &c.

"And such a Bishop likewise as was both learned himself and also loved learning; that that rude and blind country might be furnished with learned preachers. And all these qualities he reckoned centred in Grindal for, as he added, 'such a man was the Bishop of London known to be.'"

Archbishop Grindal was buried according to his desire, in the chancel of Croydon Church. On the south side of the communion table, against the wall is his effigy in stone. It is in a recumbent position, vested in his canonical robes with his hands in the posture of prayer. He died in 1583, aged 63.

Archbishop Grindal was revered for the primitive virtues of probity, sincerity and godly zeal. It was these characteristics which caused him to be celebrated in Spenser's "*Shepherd's Calendar*," in which he is designated by the name of "*Algrind*," being a transposition of the syllables of his name.

BONDET.

The Rev. Daniel Bondet was born in 1652; was educated at Geneva. He was descended from a noble family in France, his mother being a daughter of Philippe Nautonnier, *Sieur de Castelfranc*. He espoused a most virtuous lady of a ducal family in France. Of him Quick wrote:

"This gentleman preaches in three languages unto three several nations, 'English, French and Indian.'" Mr. Bondet was a gentleman of education, refinement and great strength of character. — *Agnew's Prot. Exiles from France*, 11, 164.

On the revocation of the Edict of Nantes he fled from France to England in early life, being only thirty-three years of age; here he received holy orders from the Right Rev. Henry Compton, Lord Bishop of London, and soon after accompanied the French emigrants who arrived at Boston in the summer of 1686, and subsequently to New Oxford in 1687.

The French Protestant clergy educated at Geneva were distinguished for their learning. Governor Burnet of New York, the son of Bishop Burnet of England, was much censured for his partiality to the Huguenots. But being a gentleman well educated he could appreciate their merits and their refinement of manners.

Rev. Daniel Bondet in a letter to Lord Cornbury, dated 1702, states that he accompanied these French Protestants to the Oxford settlement from England.

[*D. Bondet to Increase Mather.*]

"NEW YORK, the 10 Jan., 1697-8.

"It is an old and innocent custom to use words of congratulation at the revolution of the year; we are as travellers in the world, and the use * * * to the fellow-travellers * * * *quid ni in curriculo vitæ*. We are well come then so far, and be the Almighty pleased to attend the remaining of your travel with His protection and blessing. Grace be with you, and with peace upon your family, and upon the land which you are serving so graciously.

"Also the same I wish heartily to your fellow laborers in the ministry at Boston, to whom I present my respect, commending my person and labors to their Godly remembrances.

"I have writ to his Honor Mr. Stoughton for to receive the annual subvention assigned to me from the corporation of which your honorable court hath assured the continuation in my need. I shall not repeat here that your * * * reverence hath already heard from me, if I have any kind and comforting word to expect from your reverence, I pray you direct it to the Rev. Mr. Selyns, your worthy friend the minister of York. I remain with a true and sincere respect of your reverence the most humble and obliged servant.

"DANIEL BONDET."

[Addressed, "For the Reverend Master Increase Mather, President of the College and Mr. of Divinity, Boston."]*

[*D. Bondet to Lord Cornbury, 1702.*]

"MY LORD.

"I most humbly pray your Excellency to be pleased to take cognizance of the petitioner's condition. I am a French Refugee Minister, incorporated into the body of the Ministry of the Anglican Church. I removed about fifteen years ago into New England, with a company of poor refugees, to whom lands were granted for their settlement, and to provide for my substance I was allowed one hundred and five pieces per annum, from the funds of the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Savages. I performed that duty during nine years with a success approved and attested by those who presided over the affairs of that Province. The murders which the Indians committed in those countries caused the dispersion of our company, some of whom fell by the hands of the barbarians.

"I remained after that two years in that Province expecting a favorable season for the re-establishment of affairs: but after waiting two years seeing no appearance and being invited to this Province of New

* Mass. Arch., lvii., 59.

York by Col. Heathcote who always evinces an affection for the public good and distinguishes himself by a special application for the advancement of religion and good order by the establishment of churches and schools, the fittest means to strengthen and encourage the people, I complied with his request, and that of the company of New Rochelle in this Province where I passed five years on a small allowance promised me by New Rochelle, of one hundred pieces and lodging, with that of one hundred and five pieces which the corporation continued to me until the arrival of my Lord Bellemont, who, after indicating his willingness to take charge of me and my canton, ordered me thirty pieces in the Council of York, and did me the favor to promise me that, at his journey to Boston, he would procure me the continuation of that stipend that I had in times past. But having learned at Boston through M. Nanfan, his Lieutenant, that I annexed my signature to an ecclesiastical certificate which the churches and pastors of this Province had given to *Sieur Delius* minister of Albany, who had not the good fortune to please his late lordship, his defunct Excellency cut off his thirty pieces which he had ordered me in his Council at York, deprived me of the Boston pension of twenty-five pieces, writing to London to have that deduction approved and left me during three years last past in an extreme destitution of the means of subsistence.

"I believe, my Lord that in so important service as that in which I am employed, I ought not to discourage myself, and that the Providence of God which does not abandon those who have recourse to His aid by well doing, would provide in its time for my relief.

"Your Excellency's equity, the affection you have evinced to us for the encouragement of those who employ themselves constantly and faithfully in God's service, induce me to hope that I shall have a share in the dispensation of your justice, to relieve me from my suffering, so that I may be aided and encouraged to continue my service in which by duty and gratitude I shall continue with my flock to pray God for the preservation of your person, of your illustrious family, and the prosperity of your government.

"Remaining your Excellency's humble and most respectful servant.

"DANIEL BONDET."

The first French church, *du St. Esprit*, at New Rochelle in 1692-3, was constructed of wood and stood close to the old Boston post-road. The French church, *du St. Esprit*, had two doors, behind which boxes were placed to receive the contributions of the people. At the conclusion of the services the minister would add, "*Souvenez vous les pauvres*" (Remember ye the poor), upon which, every person on going out the church, dropped a copper into the box. The next morning the

poor gathered for their share of the money. A large loaf of bread would be purchased for four coppers, so that this money supplied the poor for one week.

They had also, a piece of land forty paces square for a church-yard to bury their dead.*

Rev. David Bonrepos, D.D., was the first French minister of New Rochelle, N. Y.

In the common apartments of the houses of the French refugees at New Rochelle, the mantelpiece was furnished with Dutch tiles, containing chiefly the history of the New Testament and the Parables. The children were taught by these tiles on Sunday evenings the Bible history.

Among the pew-holders at New Rochelle in 1708, there is the name of Benjamin Faneuil, and, also, of Alexandre Allaire.

A new church was commenced at New Rochelle in 1710, built of stone, only one story in height and very plain in its appearance.

The society's abstracts say: That Mr. Bondet's congregation at New Rochelle, has a competent number of communicants, and meets for divine service, not only on Sabbath days, but all others appointed by the church.—New York MSS., from archives at Fulham, vol. i., pp. 216, 217. (Hawks.)

"In consideration of the great learning and piety of Monsieur Bondet, they have augmented his salary, 1711-12, from £30 to £50."

Oct. 17, 1716, The Hon. Col. Nicholson was pleased at his parting to leave in the hands of Rev. Mr. Vesey, rector of the church in New York, a bill of £20 to be distributed among the ministers of the Province, who being in convention in New York, it was decided that the gift should be disposed to Mr. Bondet.

Mr. Bondet to the secretary.

NEW ROCHELLE, Oct. 17, 1716.

I was remitting my pretension to the gift to procure glass to our church, which Mr. Vesey liked very well.—New York MSS., from archives at Fulham, vol. i., pp. 512, 513.

THE WILL OF THE REV. DANIEL BONDET.

"In the name of God, Amen. The four and twentieth day of March, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-two, I Daniel Bondet, minister of the Gospel, of New Rochelle, being sick in body but of good and perfect memory, thanks be to Almighty God, and calling to remembrance the uncertain state of this transitory life, and that all flesh must

* In the rear of the present church at New Rochelle is the old burial-place of the French refugees.

yield unto death, when it shall please God to call; do make, constitute, ordain and declare this my last Will and Testament, in manner and form following; Revoking and Annuling by these presents, all and every Testament and Testaments, Will and Wills heretofore by me made and declared, either by word or writing, and this is to be taken only for my last Will and Testament, and none other. And first, being penitent and sorry from the bottom of my heart, for all my sins past, most humbly desiring forgiveness for the same, I give and commit my soul unto Almighty God, my Saviour and Redeemer, in whom, and by the merits of Jesus Christ, I trust and believe assuredly to be saved and to have full remission and forgiveness of all my sins, and that my soul with my body at the General Day of Resurrection shall rise again with joy, and through the merits of Christ, seek and pass in possess and inherit the kingdom of Heaven prepared for his Elect and Chosen. And my body to be buried in such a place where it shall please my Executors hereafter named to appoint.*

“And now for the settling of my Temporal Estate, and such Goods, Chattels and Debts as it hath pleased God far above my Deserts to bestow on me. I do order give and dispose of the same in manner following; that is to say, First I will that all those Debts and duties that I owe in Right or Conscience to any manner of person or persons whatsoever, shall be and truly contested and paid or ordained to be paid within convenient time after my decease by my Executors hereafter named.

“Item—I give bequeath and constitute for my only heirs Lieutenant Oliver Besley, Jun., of New Rochelle; desiring him after my decease to come and take possession of all my Goods chattels and debts with obligations which is belonging to me, with a Negro Woman called Toinetta, Ready Money, Plates, Jewells, Rings, Honschold Stuff, Apparels, Utensils, Brass, Pewter, Bedding and all other of my substance whatsoever moveable or immoveable.

“Item—I do give to Bety Cantin one obligation from Peter, which is now in the hand and possession of her Father, Jean Cantin, and that she shall have from this present time and hereafter, lawful for her to receive

*“His mortal remains were interred beneath the chancel floor of the old church.

“Daniel Bondet died sometime in September, 1722, aged sixty-nine years, having been nearly twenty-six years minister of this church.

“As he lived greatly beloved he died greatly lamented.”

In 1717 Mr. Bondet writes the secretary of the society of the death of Jane Bondet, his wife, Nov. 12, 1717. “God having crowned the hardships of her pilgrimage with an honorable end.”

the said Due, Debt or Interest to her proper use or benefit without molestation hereafter from any body whatsoever.

"Item—I do give to Judith Robinseau, a little Negro Girl, named Charlotte, for her proper use and benefit without molestation hereafter from any body whatsoever.

"Item—I do give to the use of the Church of New Rochelle all my Books.

"In witness I have put my hand and seal, this twenty-fourth day of March, 1721-2.

"DANIEL BONDET." [SEAL]

Scaled and signed in
presence of us.

ISAAC MERCIER,
AMAN GUYONS,
CEASER F. SUIRE.

A letter from Rev. James Laborie to Earl Bellemont. This letter, bearing date June 17, 1700, was referred to Col. Heathcote, who after investigation reported that Bondet's representations were in the main true, and that he was in New Oxford about eight years, during which time, as appeared by a certificate of Lieut.-Gov. Stoughton, Increase Mather and others, "he with great faithfulness care & industry discharged his duty both to Xtians and Indians, and was of unblemished reputation."*

MOORE AND BARTON.

"January y^e 24 17 $\frac{1}{2}$. The Proprietors upon an adjournment from December the 25: 1716 being meet together adjourned y^e Meeting to January y^e 25 1716 The Proprietors Being meet January y^e 25: 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ Voted in y^e affirmative that Capt Richard Moore shall be an associat with the grantors in Oxford village upon y^e Right of m^r Samuel Hagbourn"—Oxford Records.

*Samuel Haekburn or Hagborn from the Bay Colony, son of Samuel of Roxbury, was distinguished in the first settlement of the English in Oxford; his mother had married second Gov. Thomas Dudley. On the decease of his father Mr. Hagburn received a handsome estate; in 1709 he was at Oxford looking after the interests of his half-brother, Gov. Joseph Dudley. He was the first in the list of grantees; his plantation east side of Main street embraced the meadows on Mill brook and quite an extent of lands improved by the Huguenots, with several houses. In August, 1714, he removed from Oxford; after the settlement of the English he became a resident of Taunton, and died in 1725. From his relation to Dudley he appears to have done much in planning the settlement of Oxford, the soliciting of persons who became residents, laying out of public ways, etc. He selected for his plantation one of the best locations in the village; erected for the time an elegant residence and for many years it remained noticeable for its gambrel roof and extensive front lawn reaching to Main street, shaded with fine elm trees.

The Hagburn estate was on the east side of South Main street and included the land from the mill property to the land owned in the original plantation of Thomas Gleason and in more modern time of Andrew Sigourney, Sen. The Hagburn estate embraced the original estate of the heirs of the late Israel Sibley and also included the site of the Episcopal Church and its original land on the north to Thomas Gleason's estate. The present residence of the Sibley heirs is very near the site of the old mansion of Samuel Hagburn; afterwards known for many years, until 1760, as the tavern of Richard Moore or of his son Elijah, and subsequently as the residence of Dr. Alexander Campbell.

Nov. 22, 1750, at the time Richard Moore, Jr., deeded his part of the Hagburn estate, east side of Main street, to his brother Elijah, the latter quitclaimed to Richard, Jr., 60 acres on the west side of the village street. The residence of Richard Moore, on the west side of the main street, shaded its lawn by the still famous old oak, was roomy and elegant for the time. It is said it was built by Richard Moore, Sen., and was occupied by himself and his son Richard, and both died here. Marvin, the son of Richard, Jr., succeeded to the estate in Jan. 19, 1776, and it was the home of his family until his decease, and then his heirs in Feb., 1815, ceased to be the owners of this estate and Samuel Smith became the resident and removed the old mansion for one more modern.

Richard Moore, Esq., of Needham, in ancestry was descended from John and Elizabeth of Sudbury in 1643. Jacob, their son, born in 1645, married Elizabeth Locker and was the father of Richard, who married Mary, daughter of Samuel and Mary Collins of Middletown, Conn.

Richard Moore, Jr., married Mary, daughter of Col. Ebenezer Learned of Oxford, June 16, 1741. Marvin, son of Richard Moore, Jr., succeeded his father as an heir to his estate.

Abijah, son of Richard Moore, graduated at Yale 1726. "So far as known the only resident of Central Massachusetts to receive a degree under the first charter." He was a physician at Middletown, Conn.

Richard Moore, Jr., in 1750 removed from the Hagburn estate to his father's house, the west side of the street at the old oak, at the decease of his father he became heir to the estate. He was deputy sheriff several years. He died Dec., 1782. Ruth, a daughter of Richard Moore, married, April, 1774, Gen. Salem Towne of Charlton. William, born June, 1752, became a captain in the Revolutionary war, married Martha, daughter of Duncan Campbell, Esq. He died Aug. 6, 1819.

William, son of Richard Moore, Jr., marched in Capt. Crafts' cavalry company on Lexington Alarm, was later captain in the U. S. army.

Richard, son of Marvin Moore, married, May, 1812, Senath, daughter of Samuel Hartwell, Esq. She married second, Samuel Smith, a deputy

sheriff, a gentleman extensively known in the county of Worcester, who purchased the estate of Marvin Moore and it became his residence for many years.

Jonathan, a son of Elijah Moore,³ was graduated 1761 at Harvard, after which he was for two years there a teacher of Greek and Hebrew. He became a clergyman.

Elijah, son of Elijah Moore,³ married Jemima, daughter of Josiah Kingsbury. He removed to Oneida Co., N. Y.

Ebenzer, son of Elijah,³ married Sarah, a daughter of Nathan Moore, resided at Vassalboro', Me., had a large landed estate and was bailiff to Gov. Bowdoin in town affairs. He died April, 1817.

BARTON.

Capt. Stephen Barton, son of Dr. Stephen and Dorothea (Learned) Barton of Oxford, "at twenty one" joined a body of recruits for the wars of the western frontiers, then menaced by the Indians. They marched on foot from Boston via Philadelphia, then capitol of the nation, to Detroit, Mich., the then extreme western frontier, a wilderness full of Indians. "The main army lay at Detroit under the command of 'Mad' Anthony Wayne, 'whose worshipfull soldier young Barton became,'" serving under untold hardships for three years as a non-commissioned, acting and commissioned officer. On his discharge he marched home with other officers, taking their way along the line of upper Ohio and central New York, both wildernesses. But upon striking the Genesee and Mohawk valleys they were so charmed by the country that they selected and purchased large tracts of land, as nearly as can be ascertained, located somewhere in the vicinity of Rochester. I could sincerely wish it had been a few miles further south and he had reserved it for his children, but it was later sold as so remote from civilization as to be considered useless property."—*Reminiscences of Clara Barton.*

Capt. Stephen Barton resided at North Oxford, married Sarah, daughter of David and Sarah (Treadwell) Stone. Mrs. Barton is said to have been a lady possessed of great personal attractions. He was a gentleman of much force of character, strong physique, a clear intellect, quick wit, and integrity and manly firmness which rendered him a leader among his fellow-citizens, a charitable and kindly disposition. He was often in town office. He was a warm patriot and at the beginning of the Civil war declared his belief that Lincoln should have called for 200,000 instead of 75,000 men. He was a Royal Arch Mason and was buried with the honors of the order. Capt. Stephen Barton was a very influential citizen, possessed of great strength of character and a culti-

vated mind from general reading and travel. His army life was a record at its time of his patriotism.

William Stone of Waltham married Mrs. Esther (Gale) Haven of Watertown. She had a son David, born Dec., 1750, at Waltham, who after her second marriage took the name of Stone. William and his son David came 1775 to Oxford and resided on Rocky Hill.

David Stone was a soldier in the Revolutionary war under Gen. Learned and present at Burgoyne's surrender. Joseph, son of David and Sarah (Treadwell) Stone, married Martha, daughter of Capt. Jeremiah and Dolly (Barton) Learned.

Hon. Ira Moore Barton, in ancestry a lineal descendant from Richard Moor, Esq., was born in Oxford, 1796, graduated at Brown University in 1819, studied law with Gov. Lincoln in Worcester, and was at the Law School connected with Harvard University, where he received the degree of Bachelor of Laws in 1822. He was noticeable as a gentleman of great refinement of manners. He represented Oxford in the State legislature for the years 1830, 1831 and 1832, a State Senator in 1833 and 1834, and in this latter year was appointed one of the commissioners for revising the statutes. In 1834 he removed to Worcester. In 1836 was appointed by Gov. Everett as Judge of Probate and retained the office eight years, when he resigned and resumed the practice of law. He was chosen a Presidential Elector in 1840. He died July, 1867.

MISS CLARA BARTON.

April, 1861, was the commencement of the Civil war of the U. S. The first regiment of troops, the Old Massachusetts Sixth, that fought its way through Baltimore brought friends of her childhood and youth, the brigades of New Jersey brought friends, the same a solid phalanx and the storming legion of old Herkimer. Miss Barton writes to her friends: "They formed and crowded around me. What could I do but go with them or work for them and my country? I went into direct service of the sick and wounded troops wherever found for four years." Miss Barton's father was devoted to a military life, hence his daughter's inherited love for all things pertaining to army life. Her father amused her often by arranging imaginary battlefields and troops of soldiers, and she once remarked, "I had no end of camp material, but no dolls—I never had one."

Miss Barton went to the station to meet the brave boys of the Massachusetts Sixth and bound up their wounds received as they came through Baltimore. She was the only woman who served through our Civil war with neither pay nor commission, first going back and forth on the Potomac boats taking the men as they came from the battlefield with blood and mud dried upon their persons and getting them

ready for the hospitals, and afterwards doing a similar service in the camps. Sensitive and womanly in the highest degree she shrank from the criticism involved by such a course, but even in the roughest ranks she found her womanhood a perfect shield. A charge of cavalry rushing wildly on to an encounter would grasp the bridle with one hand and doff their caps to her with the other.

Four years were spent in hunting up missing soldiers, and then, as she modestly put it, she "told war stories for lecture bureaus." Nature at length rebelled against the severe strain, and one night she stopped in the middle of her story unable to go on. After a year's rest in Switzerland she found herself in the midst of the Franco-Prussian war, and voluntarily became a prisoner in order to minister to the wants of the soldiers. She was at the siege at Mentz and of Paris, and a hundred days before Strasburg, first with the German and then with each army in her labor of love.

Clara Barton was the youngest child of Capt. Stephen Barton of Oxford, Mass., a non-commissioned officer under Gen. Anthony Wayne. Miss Barton's early education was received principally at home under the direction of brothers and sisters. Subsequently she finished her education by a very thorough course of study at Clinton, N. Y. She afterwards perfected herself in the study of art, belles-lettres and languages. Miss Barton is styled the Florence Nightingale of America. She was never engaged in hospital service, her chosen labors were on the battle-field, from the beginning until the wounded and dead were attended. Her supplies were her own and were carried by government transportation. For nearly four years she endured the exposures of soldier life, in action always side by side with the field surgeons, and this on the hardest fought fields;* exposed at all times, but never

*The battle of Cedar Mountain, the second Bull Run, Fairfax, Chantilly, Antietam, Falmouth, Fredericksburg, the siege of Charleston, Fort Wagner, the Wilderness and Spottsylvania, and at Fredericksburg after these battles, the siege of Petersburg, the Mine, Deep Bottom, Point of Rocks, and in front of Richmond until the breaking up of the Southern prisons called her to Annapolis to meet the starving prisoners sent there, received more or less the benefits of her efforts.

Toward the close of the war a search was instituted for missing soldiers, numbering probably 80,000. At her request, made in July, 1865, and with President Lincoln's sanction, the Secretary of War sent to Andersonville an expedition under her direction to identify the graves of dead soldiers, and by means of Dorrance Atwater's "Death Record" 13,000 soldiers' graves were found, a large cemetery enclosed, laid out and adorned, graves put in order and head-boards erected, thus giving rest to many anxious ones at the North who knew not the fate of their missing friends, and enabling families to draw needed and well deserved pensions.

wounded. She made her work one of humanity alone, bestowing her charities and her care indiscriminately on the blue and the gray. All unconsciously to herself she was carrying out to the letter in practice the grand and beautiful principles of the Red Cross of Geneva (of which she had then never heard).

In 1869 Miss Barton was in Switzerland at the breaking out of the Franco-Prussian war, and immediately tendered her services on the battle-field of Woerth, under the auspices of the Red Cross of Geneva. The Grand Duchess of Baden, daughter of the Emperor of Germany, invited Miss Barton to aid her in the establishment of her hospitals, a work which occupied several months. She proceeded to the Court of Carlsruhe, where she remained until the fall of Strasburg. Miss Barton entered the city with the German army, organized a labor system for poor women, conducting the enterprise herself, employing remuneratively a great number, and clothing over 30,000. She entered Metz with hospital supplies the day of its fall, and Paris the day after the fall of the Commune. From Paris she went to other cities in France.

Miss Barton in a letter to a friend gives this account when in Germany of a visit to Emperor William. "Three years ago while in attendance at an international conference the honored pleasure of a meeting with his Majesty the Emperor of Germany, had been given me, a dispatch informed me that a like honor again awaited my presence in Baden Baden. Trunks were packed, adieus made, and the mid-day train of the following day took us in time for the appointed hour. Whoever has visited the interior of the 'New Castle,' the Baden Baden palace of the Grand Duke, and has been shown through its tasteful apartments, rich in elegance, tradition and history, will require no further reminder of the place where the interview would be given. This was as well the birth-day of the Crown Prince, and in tender, paternal sympathy on the painful affliction resting upon a life so treasured, and for the great anxiety of the German people, his Majesty the Emperor would pass a portion of the day with the beloved daughter and sister, the Grand Duchess, at the castle; and, in honoring memory of the occasion, the halls were thronged with visitors who came to manifest both respect and sympathy.

"At half past one o'clock we were ushered in at the great castle doors by their attendants in livery of 'scarlet and gold,' the national colors of Baden, our damp wraps removed, for it was in pouring rain, and after a half hour's sitting by a cheerful fire, among paintings which quite called one out of personal consciousness, we were escorted to the grand reception and drawing rooms to the centre of a magnificent apartment with no occupant but ourselves, by another door one saw

the Emperor surrounded by guests who paid formal respects. Scores of visitors with coachmen in richest livery had entered while we waited and registered titled names on the open pages. At length his Majesty turned from the group about him and, taking the arm of the Grand Duchess, entered our apartment. It was difficult to realize all his ninety years as he advanced towards us with even and steady, if no longer elastic, tread. He approached with cordially extended hand, and in his excellent French expressed satisfaction for the meeting. 'In the name of humanity he was glad to meet and welcome those who had labored for it.' In recalling the earlier days of our acquaintance, her Royal Highness, the Grand Duchess, alluded tenderly to the winter in Strasburg, 1870-71, which I had passed among its poor and wounded people after the siege, and selecting two from a cluster of decorations which I had worn in honor of the present occasion, drew the attention of the Emperor to them. The one he knew, it was his own, presented upon his seventy-fifth birthday; the other he had never seen, it was the beautiful decoration of the 'German Waffengenossen,' the 'Warrior Brothers in Arms of Milwaukee.' It was puzzlingly familiar, and yet was not familiar. There was again the Iron Cross of Germany, but it was the American shield, the American eagle surmounting the arms for defence; and the colors of Germany, the red, white and black of the empire, uniting the two. His Majesty gazed upon the expressive emblem, which, with no words, said so much, and turning enquiringly to the Grand Duchess as if to ask, 'Does my daughter understand this?' The explanation was made that it was from His Majesty's own soldiers, who after the German-Franco war had gone to the United States and became citizens and this device declares by its shield they are American citizens and true to the land of their adoption, so by its Iron Cross they were still German; and by the colors of the native land for which every man had offered his life and risked it, they bound the old home to the new and by the American eagle and arms, surmounting all, they were ready to offer their lives again if need be in defence of either land. The smile of the grand old Emperor as he listened had in it the 'well done' of the benignant father to a dutiful and successful son. 'And they make good citizens?' he would ask. 'The best that could be desired,' I said, 'industrious, honest and prosperous, and, Sire, they are still yours in heart, still true to the fatherland and its Emperor.' The ear had caught in its kindly tones 'God be praised, for it is from Him, I am his, of myself I am nothing. He makes us what we are. God is over all.' We stood with bowed heads, while those slowly spoken earnest holy words from that most revered of earthly monarchs fell upon us like a benediction. At length His Majesty gave his hand

to both of us in a parting adieu and walked a few steps away, when turning back, again extending a hand, he said, in French, 'It is probably the last time,' and in pleasant English, 'Good bye,' and again taking the arm of the Grand Duchess, he walked from the room, leaving his Highness, the Grand Duke, one of the kindest and noblest types of manhood, to say the last words and close this interview, one of the most impressive and memorable of a life time."

In 1884 she represented the United States government at the Third International Conference of the Red Cross at Geneva, Switzerland.

"Hers is a record of efficient philanthropic endeavor, which will abide as a part of the history of the great Civil contest of our country. Her memory is enshrined in the hearts of thousands of the veterans of the war, and the souvenirs conferred upon her by persons of high rank in Europe attest the esteem in which she is held abroad."

The Birds of Passage.

"Birds, joyous birds of wandering wing!
Whence is it ye come, with the flowers of spring?"
"We come from the shores of the green old Nile,
From the land where the roses of Sharon smile,
From the palms that wave through the Indian sky,
From the myrrh-trees of glowing Araby."

"We have swept o'er cities, in song renown'd—
Silent they lie, with the deserts 'round!
We have cross'd proud rivers, whose tide hath roll'd
All dark with the warrior-blood of old;
And each worn wing hath regain'd its home,
Under peasant's roof-tree or monarch's dome."

"And what have ye found in the monarch's dome,
Since last ye traversed the blue sea's foam?"
"We have found a change, we have found a pall,
And a gloom o'ershadowing the banquet's hall,
And a mark on the floor, as of life-drops spilt—
Naught looks the same, save the nest we built."

"Oh! joyous birds, it hath still been so!
Through the halls of kings doth the tempest go!
But the huts of the hamlet lie still and deep,
And the hills o'er their quiet a vigil keep.
Say, what have ye found in the peasant's cot,
Since last ye parted from that sweet spot?"

"A change we have found there, and many a change!
Faces and footsteps and all things strange;
Some are the heads of the silvery hair,
And the young that were, have a brow of care,
And the place is hush'd where the children play'd—
Naught looks the same, save the nest we made!"

Sad is your tale of the beautiful earth,
Birds that o'ersweep it in power and mirth;
Yet, through the wastes of the trackless air,
Ye have a guide, and shall we despair?
Ye over desert and deep have pass'd,
So shall we reach our home at last.—*Mrs. Hemans.*

MARY DEW. FREELAND,

FREELAND PLACE,

Sutton, Nov., 1890.

Nipmuck Chapters.

NIPMUCK CHAPTERS.

Gov. Winthrop was regarded with much favor at the English Court, his father having been a favorite with Charles the First.

AN INDIAN DEED.

The original deed of Black James and Company to Stoughton and Dudley of one-half the reservation of five miles square made by said Indians in their deed of the Nipmuck Country to said grantees Feb., 1682, was in the collection of the late John Wingate Thornton of Boston, and through the courtesy of his daughter, Elizabeth T. Thornton, has recently come into the possession of the Free Public Library. Its date is April 28, 1682, a little more than two months after that of the sale to the English. The grantors named are Black James, alias Walomachin, Benjamin, James, Simon Wolomp, Tascomp, Sasequejasuck, Pomponechum, Wolowononak, Papomsham, Pepegous, John Awagwon, Sosequaw, Aquetaquash, James Wiser, James Acojock, Wolumpan, Papeunquanant and Waumshk, who convey as follows:—
“for and in consideration of the Sume of Ten pounds current money of New England to us paid by the s^d William Stoughton and Joseph Dudley *Have* given, granted and by these presents *Do* fully, freely and absolutely give, grant unto the s^d William Stoughton and Joseph Dudley their heires and assignes forever one Moiety or full half part of the s^d tract of Land of five miles Square in such place or contents of five mile Square in such two places as wee shall choose Reserved by us as above s^d out of the grant abovementioned, made by us unto them—of all that part of the Nipmug Country above described and bounded (that is to say) one half part of all the upland

* In 1662, on the restoration of the monarch Charles II., the people of Connecticut were eager for a royal charter. They had subdued the Pequots, they had purchased lands of the Mohegans, and had also purchased the claims of the Earl of Warwick. The younger Winthrop was sent to London as ambassador. He brought with him a charter from the “General Assembly of Connecticut” for the King to sign. Winthrop obtained an audience with the sovereign and did not fail to show him a ring which Charles had given as a pledge of friendship to Winthrop’s grandfather. The little token so much moved the monarch that he signed the colonial charter.—*Pequot War, 1637.*

grounds and the whole of all the meadow grounds contained within the
s^d Reserve”

[Signed by 20.]

“Signed, Sealed & Delivered
in presence of us.

WILLIAM A. RAWSON?

EDWARD THOMAS

JOHN GORE.

SAMUEL RUGGLES Sen.

SAMUEL RUGGLES Jr.

^{his}
PETER X GARDNER
^{mark}

RALPH BRODHURST”

Acknowledged 28 Apr., 1682,
before

HUM: DAVIE, } Assts.
SAMUEL NOWELL, }

“Wee Seanjasco, Wabequalan, Madaquamin, Cook Robin [others, names illegible] inhabitants of the Nipmug Country and partners with the grantees in the Land above conveyed and sold, being absent at the time of the above s^d treaty and bargain and therefore not inserted in the Deed Do nevertheless fully consent thereto, and having received our several proportions of the price therein Specified do Signify our consent to the same and release all our right title claim and interest in and unto the Lands therein granted and every part and parcel thereof do hereunto Set our hands and Seales in the presence of the witnesses above named. Consented unto also by James Printer als. Wowaus.”

[Signed by four.]

On the back is endorsed:—

“Memorand That on the twentieth day of May 1685 full and peaceable possession and Seizin of the Lands within mentioned to be granted with the appurtenances was given by Benjamin the brother of Black James & Simon Wolomp son of the sayd Black James by delivery of a turffe of the Land called Mayanexit upon a small twigg in the name of unto the within named Stoughton and Joseph Dudley which was so done under a tree growing on the said Mayanexit Land and then marked S. D. in the presence of us whose are underwritten

“JOHN BLACKWELL

“ROB^t. JARDONE”

[Suffolk Rec. XII. 297.]

On 28 Feb., Bellemont wrote to the Lords of Trade, London, saying that Mr. Sabin [of Woodstock] was at Boston “the past week, having come by night that it might not be known to his Indian neighbors,” that he was under great terror and apprehension, having learned through “Owenico” the Mohegan Chief that the Governor of Canada through his “cunning men” was instigating a plot to cut off the English.

In another connection Sabin said, "The Indians are drawn off and gone eastward and some . . . being sent to recall them and having discoursed with the Sachem of the Pennacook about the aforesaid combination . . . he told him that he had the longest bow that ever was in New England, it reached from Penobscot to the Mohawk Country," meaning that all Indians were in the plot.

In a letter of John Perry to Gov. Dudley, Brookfield, 4 Jan., 1703, he says:—

"We have a few rambling Indians frequenting our place whose words & carriage is such as gives reason to suspect them to be evil minded men and disposed to mischief . . . Their names the one is Joseph Ninnequabon, who was the man the last year that received a wampum belt of our Enemies, and presented it to the Moheggs to ingage them in a war with us, for which the Authority imprisoned said Ninnequabon many weeks, the then plott being discovered by our Moheeken friends, that storm went over. . . . It is said that Ninnequabon was bred & born at New Roxbury . . . [He names Black James and] another Indian whose name is Moamaug, who told Mr. Buroe a french gentleman [Francois Bureau, an Oxford Huguenot], that he had been at Canada this last summer, and the french had given him a gun, a coat and a hatchet, to ingage him against the English. These Indians are designed to draw off norward to be out of your Excellency's reach: for they are informed that your Excellency desires to settle them, which they declare against."

Keekamoochaug was an Indian plantation adjoining Oxford. This tract of land was bounded north by Oxford south boundary, east by the great pond, south by "Dudley's Maanexit farm," and extended westerly so as to include the valley west of Dudley centre. Laborie the Huguenot minister at New Oxford was stationed also to be a teacher among the Indians at Keekamoochaug.

There are said to be the remains of an old garden and vineyard included on the late Mayo farm southerly of the French fort, and that terraces are still visible. The late Samuel Mayo stated it was to the Mayo family a mystery. It is supposed to have been a place of encampment or a hunting-lodge among the Indians at Keekamoochaug; being near the French fort, it would appear that these Indians here received the instruction of Rev. Daniel Bondet and Rev. James Laborie.

The selectmen of Woodstock sent to the Court a letter for relief: "Whereas there are many Indians belonging . . . To-ke ka mo woo tchong and others who have been resident in this town for a long time who are oftentimes very drunken; to the great dishonor of God, the grief of good men, the prejudice of themselves and other Indians who are often beaten and bruised and almost brought to death's door a sad

example whereof hath been the last week in our town and its evidence enough by the Indian testimony who the persons are of whom they obtain their drink; have some here in authority who may punish such offences which might be a good means to prevent such disorders as we account ourselves in duty bound, do inform your Honor and pray that some order be given, as your wisdom shall judge meet, that for the future such woful practices may be prevented.

“Woodstock, Feb. 22, 1691-2.

“JOHN CHANDLER

“WILLIAM BARTHOLOMEW

“BENJAMIN SABIN

“EDWARD MORRIS

“*Selectmen.*”

Aug. 1, 1693, in Council, it was advised and ordered that the Indians of the Plantation of Tohkokomoowadchunt [Kekamoochong, adjoining Oxford] “as well for their own security as that the Enemy may be better known,” be drawn into the town of Woodstock to be under the watch of the English.

James was a teacher at Hassanamisco, the place of his nativity, and also at Chaubunagungamaug. With all his good qualities he was true to his native instincts, and when Philip's war began joined the foray, leading, it is said, in some of the murderous assaults. A memento of him (it is believed no other Indian of the time could have produced the document) remains in the form of a written notification which was posted on the bridge over Charles river at Medfield on the retreat after the attack on that settlement, 21 Feb., 1676: “*Know by this paper that the Indians that thou hast provoked to wrath and anger will war these twenty-one years, if you will. There are many Indians yett. We come three hundred at this time. You must consider that the Indians loose nothing but their lives, but you must loose your fair houses and cattle.*”

A few months later the war was closed. James returned to his allegiance to the colonists, was pardoned and for many years afterward was a competent assistant to Mr. Green, the leading printer of the day, at Boston, printing in 1709 the Indian Psalter.

“The oldest house in the Narragansett is upon the Updike Farm in Wickford, it was erected before 1640 and was used as a fort or stockade in King Philip's War, when the owner, as the record says, housed his goods, corn, Provisions and Cattell for a Garison and supply to the whole army of New England” in 1676, when it and the old stone house at Warwick were the only English habitations left undestroyed by the Indians on the main land between Providence and Stonington. “It was built by Richard Smith, an English gentleman, who for his con-

science to God, left faire possessions in Gloster Shire and came to ye Nahigginsik Country, where by God's mersie, and ye favor of Nahiggen-sik Sachems, he broke ye ice at his great charge and hazzards and put up in ye thickest of ye barbarians ye first English house among them." This farm was nine miles in length and three miles wide, and the present site of the Narragansett Church is upon a part of this estate.* "Richard Smith's daughter married Lodowick Updike, from whom the farm received its name. The old block house has been added to and indeed is quite covered up, but still stands in the middle of the farm house, almost the oldest house in New England. Now a portion is covered with great English oaks, two hundred years old. The house remained in the Updike family until 1813, and portions of the original Smith purchase are still retained in their possession. The Updike family is still represented in St. Paul's at the present time.

Canonchet was the last chief Sachem of all the Narragansetts, the son of Miantinomo. In April, 1676, having been driven out of his own country and the Narragansett fort, the whole body of the Indians to the westward, as Hubbard the ancient historian states, trusting to "this aspiring bramble," for he took a kind of care upon them himself, foreseeing so many hundreds could not subsist without planting he procured it in his council, that all the west plantations upon the Connecticut river should be planted with corn.

To that end he resolved to venture himself with only 30 men to fetch seed corn from Seaconk the next town to Mount Hope, leaving 1,500 men to follow him the next week. Capt. George Denison of Stonington and Capt. Avery of New London, with English soldiers, Narragansetts, Pequods, and Mohegans under Oneco, son of Uncus, were informed that Canonchet was near to them—who had become already alarmed and was told by one of his men that the whole English army was upon him for they pursued him so closely that he cast off first his blanket, then his silver laced coat given him at Boston as a pledge of their friendship upon the renewal of his league in October before, and belt of peag which made his pursuers think he was the right bird. He was taken by the English. Mr. Robert Stanton, a young man, ventured to address him, the Sachem replied in broken English, "You much child, no understand matters of war; let your brother or your chief come, him I will answer." When conditions of peace were named to him he refused to send an old counsellor of his to make any terms. He was soon after taken to Stonington and shot. When told his sentence was death he replied, he liked it well for he wished to die before his heart was soft or he had spoken anything unworthy of himself, choosing death in preference to slavery.

*"The History of the Narragansett Church."

It is said the Narragansett Redmen were the strongest, bravest and most generous of all the New England tribes. Their hospitality and kindness to the English at different times should not be forgotten. Canonchet in 1657 had sold to the English for sixteen pounds a tract of land about fifteen miles long and seven miles wide on Pettaquamscutt hill.

Capt. Prentice and his troops being sent the next day, Dec. 16, to Pettyquamscot, news was soon brought by them from Pettyquamscot to the soldiers of the burning of Jerry Bull's garrison house, which house was intended for their general rendezvous; there was, therefore, now no shelter left either for officers or private soldiers. News brought on the 17th that the Connecticut forces were now arrived at this place with 300 English and some 150 Mohegans ready to war with the English against their enemies the Narragansetts. The whole body of the Massachusetts and Plymouth forces marched at once to Pettyquamscot to meet the Connecticut forces. They met them at five o'clock P. M., Dec. 18. All now were necessitated to march on toward the enemy "through the snow, in a cold stormy evening, finding no other defence all that night, save the open air, nor any other covering than a cold and moist fleece of snow. Through all these difficulties and hardships they marched from the dawn of the next day, Dec. 19, till one o'clock P. M., without fire to warm them or rest to take food. Thus having waded some sixteen miles through the country of the old queen of Narragansett they came at one o'clock upon the edge of the swamp where the Indians were encamped." *

The English after partaking of some refreshment formed for battle against the Indians who were in possession of the Narragansett fort.

* Hubbard's Indian Wars.

Huguenot Chapters.

HUGUENOT CHAPTERS.

"Their flight was a noble act of loyalty and sincerity. It is glorious for human nature that so many for truth's sake should have sacrificed everything in a flight so perilous and difficult; some see in these people only obstinate sectaries, I see in them people of lofty ideas of honor, who over all the earth have proved themselves to have been the élite of France."*—Michelet.

LAWSON'S TRAVELS.

In the year 1709 Mr. John Lawson published a journal of "A Thousand Miles travelled through several Nations of the Indians." Some extracts may give a picture of the Huguenots in their scattered settlements.

"The first place," he writes, "we designed for was Santee river, where there is a colony of French Protestants, allowed and encouraged by the lords proprietors."

After giving an account of his voyage from Charleston, through the inland passage to Santee river, which occupied a week, he adds, "As we rowed up the river we found the land towards the mouth, and for about sixteen miles up it, scarce anything but swamp, affording vast cypress trees of which the French make canoes that will carry fifty or sixty barrels." Then follows a description of the large cypress canoes, said to have been first invented by the French settlers. Mr. Lawson then proceeds, "there being a strong current in Santee river, caused us to make but small way with our oars. With hard rowing we got that night to Monsiear Eugée's (Huger) house, which stands about fifteen miles up

On the death of Francis II. of France, Mary, Queen of Scots, was to return to Scotland, she was accompanied by three of her uncles of the house of Lorraine. On leaving France Mary kept her eyes fixed upon the French coast after she was at sea, and never turned them from that loved object till darkness fell and interrupted it from her view. Even then she would neither retire to the cabin nor take food; but, commanding a couch to be placed on the deck, she there waited, with fond impatience, the return of day. The weather proving calm, the galley made but little way during the night, so that Mary, at morning, had once more an opportunity of seeing the French coast. She sat upon her couch, and still anxiously looking towards the land, often repeated with a sigh, "Adieu, France! adieu, beloved country, which I shall never more behold!"

*Brantome.—"He himself was in the same galley with the Queen."—Russell's *Modern Europe*.

the river, being the first Christian dwelling we met with in that settlement, and were very courteously received by him and his wife. Many of the French follow a trade with the Indians, living very conveniently for that interest. There are about seventy families seated on this river, who live as decently and happily as any planters in these southward parts of America. The French being a temperate, industrious people, some of them bringing very little of effects, yet, by their endeavors and mutual assistance amongst themselves, which is highly to be commended, have outstripped our English, who brought with them large fortunes, though as it seems, less endeavor to manage their talent to the best advantage."

"We lay all night at Monsieur Eugée's (Huger, the first settler of this family), and the next morning set out further to go the remainder of our journey by land. At noon we came up with several French plantations, meeting with several creeks by the way. The French were very officious in assisting with small dories to pass over the waters, whom we met coming from their church, being all of them clean and decent, their houses and plantations suitable in neatness and contrivance. They are all of them of the same opinion of the church of Geneva; there being no difference amongst them concerning the punctilio of their Christian faith, which union hath propagated a happy and delightful concord, and in all other matters throughout the whole neighborhood; being amongst themselves as one tribe or kindred, everyone making it his business to be assistant to the wants of his countrymen, preserving his estate and reputation with the same exactness and concern as he does his own; all seeming to share in the misfortunes and rejoice at the advancement and rise of their brethren."

"Towards the afternoon we came to Monsieur L. Jandron (Gendron), where we got our dinners. Then came some French ladies whilst we were there, lately from England, and Monsieur L. Grand, a worthy Norman who hath been a great sufferer in his estate by the persecution in France against those of the Protestant religion. This gentleman invited us very kindly to make our stay with him all night, but we, being bound further that day, took our leave, returning acknowledgment of all favors. About four in the afternoon we passed over a large cypress run in a small canoe. The French doctor sent his negro to guide us over the head of a large swamp, so that we got that night to Monsieur Gailiard's (Goilliard) the elder, who lives in a very curious contrived house, built of brick and stone, which is gotten near that place.*

*"There is a simple incident which tradition records as illustrating the unity, and sympathy, and pastoral beauty of life among the Huguenots of Santee. Mr. Philip Gendron had made a voyage to Charleston upon business, doubtless in one of the large canoes described by Lawson. He had undertaken friendly

"Near here comes in the road from Charleston and the rest of the English settlement, it being a very good way by land, and not above thirty-six miles, although more than a hundred by water; and I think the most difficult way I ever saw, occasioned by the reason of the multitude of creeks lying along the main, keeping their course through the marshes, turning and winding like a labyrinth, having the tide and ebb and flood twenty times in less than three leagues going." He then describes a freshet in the Santee, representing the adjacent "woods to seem like some great lake, except here and there a knoll of high land which appears above water."

We intended for Monsieur Gailliar's, Jun., but were lost, none of us knowing the way at that time, although the Indian with us was born in that country, it having received so strange a metamorphosis. When we got to the house we found our comrades (who had been accidentally separated), and several of the French inhabitants with them, who treated us very courteously, wondering at our undertaking such a voyage through a country inhabited by savages of different nations and tongues. After having refreshed ourselves we parted from a very kind, loving and affable people, who wished us a safe and prosperous voyage."

Mrs. Lee adds "it is much to be regretted that we have not more such private journals kept by the Huguenots." "We might have gained most interesting facts from private memoirs!"

A LETTER FROM RT. REV. BISHOP HALL.

, "Reuerend and learned friend, M. Doctor Primerose, Preacher to the French Church, London.

"Worthy Master Doctor Primerose :

"You haue beene long acknowledged a great light in the Reformed Churches of France; hauing, for many yeeres, shined in your orbe, the famous Church of Burdeaux, with notable effects, and singular approbation, both for iudgment and sinceritie; both which also your learned writings haue well approued; So as your sentence cannot be liable to the danger of any suspection; let me intreate you to declare freely what you hold concerning the truenesse, and visibilitie of the Roman Catholic Church, as it is by me explicated; And, with all, to impart your knowledge of the common Tenet of those foraine Diuines, with whom you

commissions for many of his neighbors. His return had been so long delayed, that fears were entertained that he had been lost. During this period of anxious suspense, on a Sunday, when the minister was preaching, he suddenly paused, and was observed to look intently forward toward the river, as if to assure himself. He then cried, "*Voilà Monsieur Gendron !*" The congregation rose in mass, and they and their minister hastened to meet and welcome their neighbor as he ascended the river bank."

haue so long conuersed, concerning this point; which (if I mistake not) onely a stubburne ignorant will needes make litigious.

"It grieues my Soule to see the peace of the Church troubled with so absurd a mes-prison; In expectation of your answer, I take leaue, and commend you, and your holy labours to the blessing of our God.

"Farewell; from your loueing Brother, and fellow labourer,

"JOS. EXON."

"To the Right Reuerend Father in God, and my very good Lord, Joseph Bishop of Exceter.

"Right Reuerend Father in God,

"I haue beene so busied about my necessarie studies for preaching on Sunday, Tuesday and this Thursday, that I could not giue sooner a full answer to your Lordships letter, which I receiued on Friday last at night, whereby I am desired to declare freely what I think concerning the truenesse and visibilitie of the present Roman Catholic Church, as it is by your Lordship explicated, and what is the common tenet of the forraigne Diuines, with whom I haue so long couersed beyond the Seas, concerning that point. I might answere in two lines, that I haue read your Reconciler*, and iudge your opinion concerning that point to be learned, sound, and true . . . "

"The Protestant Diuines haue not builded a new Church upon a new foundation."

"During these thirtie three yeares of my ministrie in the French Churches, without any aduantage to our Aduersaries, without any contradiction of our diuines, without any acception taken against it by our Churches, or any particular among the brethren, which all in their name Preach and publish that they are of the same mind, calling themselves the Reformed Churches, and our Religion the reformed religion . . . "

"This same is the opinion also of my colleagues of the French Church of this Citie of London."

"I remain foreuer your Lordships most humble and affectionate Seruant,

"GILBERT PRIMROSE.

From London the 26 of Februarie, 1629."

"It was the obseruation of the learnedest King that euer lived or hitherto sat on the English Throne, that the cause of the miscarriage of our People into errors, was, their vngroundednes in the points of Catechisme; How should those soules bee but carried about with euerie wind of Doctrine, that are not wel Ballasted with solid informations: Whence it was that his said late Maestie (of happie memorie) gaue publike order for bestowing the later part of Gods day in familiar Catechising; then which, nothing could bee deuised more necessarie, and behouefull to the

* "The Reconciler." By Jos: Exon. London, 1629.

Soules of men; It was the Ignorance, and Ill-disposednesse, of some cauillers, that taxed this course as preiudicial to Preachings Since, in truth, the most vse-full of all Preaching is Catechetical.”*

“This layes the grounds, the other raiseth the wals, and roofo; this informes the iudgement, that, stirres vp the affections; What good vse is there of those affections that runne before the iudgement? Or of those wals that want a foundation? For my part, I haue spent the greater halfe of my life in this station of our holy seruice: I thanke God, vn-painefully, not vnprofitably; But, there is no one thing, whereof I repent so much, as not to haue bestowed more houres in this publike Exercise of Catechisme; In regard whereof, I could quarrell my very Sermons, and wish that a great part of them had bene exchanged for this Preaching conference: Those other Diuine discourses enrich the braine & the tong; this settles the heart; those other are but the descants to this plain song.”

In 1629, during the reign of Charles I., Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter and Norwich, writes to his friend, Lord Edward Earle:

“Certainly, my Lord, if none but earthly respects should sway me, I should heartily wish to change this Pallace (which the Providence of God, and the bountie of my gracious Soueraigne hath put me into) for my quiet Cell at Waltham, where I had so sweet leasure to enjoy God, your Lordship, and myselfe:

“But I have followed the calling of my God, to whose service I am willingly sacrificed; and must now, in an holy obedience to his Divine Majestie, with what cheerefulness I may, ride out all the stormes of envie, which unavoidably will alight vpon the least appearance of a conceived greatnesse; in the meantime, whatever I may seeme to others, I was never less in my own apprehensions; and were it not for this attendance of envie could not yield myself any whit greater than I was; whatever I am, that good God of mine, make me faithfull to him and compose the unquiet spirit of men, . . . publique peace.”

“For mee I need not appeale to Heaven; Eyes enow cau witnesse how few free houres I have enjoyed, since I put on these Robes of sacred honour. In so much as I could finde in my heart, with holy Gregoric, to complaine of my change; were it not, that I see these publique troubles are so many acceptable services to my God, whose glorie is the end of my being.”

*Edward VI. who died 1559.

In 1579 William of Nassau, Princee of Orange, surnamed the Silent, caused the Union of the Seven Provinces, signed at Utrecht for more closely uniting Holland and Zeeland with other provinces in the great tie of liberty, as the bundle of arrows, the arms and emblem of their republic. In 1580 the United Provinces withdraw their allegiance from Spain, and in 1585, offer their sover-

The Marquis de Rosni (Duke of Sully), afterward the prime minister of Henry IV., when in his twelfth year was an eye-witness of the Massacre of Paris, and narrowly escaped with his life. "I was in bed, and awakened from sleep three hours after midnight by the sound of all the bells and the confused cries of the populace. My governor St. Julian with my valet de chambre went hastily out to know the cause and I never afterwards heard more of them, who without doubt were sacrificed to the public fury. I continued alone in my chamber, dressing myself, whereas in a few moments I saw my Hôte (the master of apartments) enter, pale and in the utmost consternation. He was of the Reformed

eignty to Henry III. of France, who is obliged to decline on account of the affairs of his kingdom. Queen Elizabeth sends over from England an army of six thousand men, under the Earl of Leicester, to the assistance of the states of Holland. The Queen promises Sir Philip Sidney a position in the army under his uncle, the Earl of Leicester; he is made Governor of the garrison of Flushing, and for field service General of the horse. Sir Philip was mortally wounded on the battle-field near the walls of Zutphen.

"When dying, he entreated those Divines who were present to recall to mind 'what was the opinion of the Heathen, touching the immortality of the Soul. First, to see what true knowledge she retains of her own Essence, out of the light of herself. Then to parallel with it the most pregnant Authorities of the Old and New Testament, as supernatural Revelations, sealed up from our Flesh, for the Divine Light of Faith to reveal and work by. Not that he wanted Information or Assurance; But because this fixing of a Lover's thoughts upon those external beauties, tended not only to the cheering up of his decaying Spirits; but, as it were, a taking possession of that never-fading and eternal Inheritance, which was due unto him, by virtue of his Brotherhood in Christ.' Sir Philip then took his leave of this life with these words: 'But above all Govern your Will and Affections by the Will and Word of your Creator, in me beholding the end of this world with all her vanities.' " Thus passed in his youth from earth Sir Philip Sidney.—*The Lives of Divines of Nobility and Gentry.*

Sir Philip Sidney was the son of Sir Henry Sidney; his mother was the daughter of the Duke of Northumberland and the sister to the Earls of Warwick and Leicester. Sir Philip was married to the daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham.

"When William, prince of Orange, was about twenty-six years old he was at Paris upon some public matters, and the king of France told him of a plan he had with the king of Spain to murder at one stroke all the Protestants in France and Holland. The French king thought that William knew of it, and would be glad to have him talk about it. William had not heard of it before, and was not glad to hear of it. But he neither spoke nor looked as if he were in any way surprised; and he did not say a word of what he thought about it; only he began to make plaus to stop it. It was because he was able to keep back his thoughts at this time and at other times, when few men could have done it, that he came to be called 'The Silent.' "

religion, and having learned what the matter was he consented to mass to save his life and to preserve his house from being pillaged. He came to persuade me to do the same and to take me with him. I did think proper to follow him, but resolved to try if I could go to the college of Burgundy where I had studied, though the great distance between the house where I then was and the college made the attempt very hazardous."

"Having disguised himself in a scholar's gown, he put a large prayer-book under his arm and went into the street, when he was seized with inexpressible horror at the sight of the furious murderers, who running from all parts forced open the houses and cried aloud, 'Kill! Kill, massacre the Huguenots,' and the blood which he saw shed redoubled his terror. He was frequently in the most extreme danger, but he arrived at last to the college of Burgundy, when after imminent peril of his life the principal of the college, who tenderly loved him, conducted him privately to a distant chamber, uncertain of his destiny, seeing no one but the servant who served him with food until the danger ceased."*

King Henry IV. was at this time forty years of age. The fatigues of war had made more tawny his complexion of Bearne and the mountains, his beard was thick and crisp; his hair white under his helmet of steel, surmounted with some floating plumes; he had small brilliant eyes, concealed behind prominent cheeks; a long aquiline nose; a heavy gray moustache; his chin and mouth had already the appearance of age in middle life. He carried his coat of mail (cuirass of war) upon his war horse caparisoned with iron as in a day of battle. This description, which is entirely free from flattery, presents the person of Henry IV. as a soldier, and is said to agree with the celebrated historical picture of his entering Paris by David.

The age of the Fronde was the most flourishing period of the literature of France, the Duchess de Rambouillet and her daughter were those ladies to whom the French language is indebted for so many of its graces and for all its conversational polish. This period was also noted in Paris for the reunions of its poets. The assemblies at the residence of Scarron were not the least among the fashionable coteries, for here were assembled all that was noble, great and brilliant in the literature of France.

"The Marquise de Sévigné is said to have charmed the court circle of Louis XIV. quite as much by her wit and intellect as by her beauty of person, which was not small. She possessed also, what was a rare thing in the fashionable ladies of that time, a sweet modesty, free from all prudery, and a good heart, ready for the cultivation of friendship."

* Mem. de Sully, page 105.

In the elegant society of the Fronde Madame de Sévigné was one of those learned and brilliant women of France. Corneille, Racine, Molière, La Fontaine and Boileau were the poets and satirists. Bourdaloue and Bossuet were her religious teachers. De Retz, La Rochefoucauld, Marshal Turenne and Condé were among her heroes. The ladies of that coterie have names scarcely less historic, the Duchess de Longuevilles, Madame de Maintenon and Madame de l'Enclos. Of all these names none shone with a more living lustre than that of the Marquise de Sévigné. Lamartine calls her "The Petrarch of French prose," and yet she wrote only letters. These letters have a distinct interest as a bit of the life history of the Court of Louis XIV. at the time when so many of the Huguenots were suffering from persecution and became exiles from France.

Fifty thousand Huguenots went to London, others to Holland, to Brazil and other parts of the eastern continent. They settled in Florida, New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Virginia, but more than in any other State in South Carolina.

René Grignon was associated with Bernon in the Chamoiserie at Oxford and retired to Boston on the final abandonment of the second French settlement of Oxford, and afterward became a resident of Norwich and presented to the town a bell long known as the Grignon bell. Tradition tells us that it once hung in the tower of the French chapel at New Oxford. It was then known as the "curfew bell" for vesper service.

Following the massacre many inhabitants of Normandy and Bretagne fled to the Channel islands belonging to England, viz. Guernsey and others as well as to Great Britain. Large numbers fled to England and to Holland from the Walloon country on the northeastern border of France extending into Belgium. They were a people of French extraction and spoke the French language. The Walloons in Canterbury, England, in 1561, were granted the use of the cathedral.

1700. "At the house and ferme at New Oxford called the olde mill." (The late Capt. Humphrey's estate.) There are still relics of this old garrison house preserved as when owned by Bernon.

Bernon's Plan of Oxford. This plan is included among the Bernon papers as in a manner illustrating the divisions of the Oxford lands. It represents the site of the Huguenot fort, a cluster of French houses near the old mill, the south branch of Mill brook coming from Mendon meadow, the north branch of the same coming from Bug swamp, the Maanexit, Little river, the Quinebaug. This plan has no date attached but must have been made after the deed of division 1688 and before the English settlement, as at that date the "common way" here represented had been abolished. An interesting point which has not been identified

(perhaps some abundant spring) is that in the extreme east of Cox's division, near the Maanexit on the west, designated as "Coxes Well." The Grand Proprietors' lots are marked.

1897. The spring or well of water named by Capt. Humphrey to Rev. Abial Holmes on his visit to Oxford as being connected with the garrison house has recently been opened. It is said to be 40 rods easterly from the barn door on the late estate of Capt. Humphrey.

The old Connecticut road, sometimes called the old Boston road, after passing the residence known anciently as the Samuel Davis mansion, as it enters what was once the Woodstock trail, passing in the lowlands at the base of the ruins of the old French fort is unchanged since John Oldham the first white man passed over it in his travels.

The large, round-top hill lying just below the fort is called in the records "Bondet hill." On its eastern slope, just at the entrance of the Boston road, stood what is called in the records the "Great House." This was Bondet's residence. The plantation included 200 acres of land.

"Jan. 14, 1714," voted that Ebenezer Humphrey should have the orchard adjoining the southwest corner of his home lot, making allowance to the town in money in full of what two men shall judge it to be worth," and chose John Town and Abial Lamb to appraise the same. This was a Huguenot orchard located directly west of the old mill at the south end of the plain. It did not go into Humphrey's possession. It was a part of the Harris estate.

On the river near the south part of the plain was built a mill by the Huguenots, and less than a mile above, at the northeastern extremity of Bernon's way, there was erected the first grain mill, built by Church, 1689.

There is still an orchard occupying the site. Much interest in all reminiscences of the "Old Mill." It was in its location so connected with the Huguenot settlement. In a plan of Oxford lands made by Gabriel Bernon.

In the English settlement this old mill was noted and the old bridge* leading to it. The mansion house named in the deed, which was located next to the old gambrel-roof "Hackburn Mausion."

THREE HISTORIC OAKS.

The first of the trio stands in a lawn in front of the ancient site of the Richard Moore mansion house, South Main street. At one foot from the ground the tree measures in its circumference fifteen feet and four inches. It has very numerous branches. From its situation on

*May 24, 1716. It was voted to build a bridge "made passabel for horses over y^e brook" on the road to the fort, in place of the foot-bridge.

the principal street it is oftenest mentioned as the Huguenot oak (page 251). At a little distance south of the first Huguenot oak, on the opposite side of Main street, at the junction of Main street and Huguenot avenue, is the second oak of the trio, near the old French mill. This tree has a picturesque appearance as it has withstood the storms of centuries. It is less in size than the first. The largest oak of the trio is 95 feet in height, the branches upon the tree extend to a distance of 50 feet. This tree three feet from the ground measures sixteen feet and two inches in circumference. This tree is on the estate of Bernon's ancient farm and near his garrison house. This Huguenot oak was the southern boundary to the entrance of an old English road, which passed the French church yard and near the French church and lower French garrison house and orchard.

HUGUENOT MEMORIAL SOCIETY.

In 1881 a society was formed for the purpose of honoring and perpetuating the memory of the first settlement of the town, of which Zachariah Allen, LL. D., of Providence, was chosen president. He died 27 March, 1882, and Hon. Peter Butler of Boston was elected as his successor. Its members are exclusively descendants of the Huguenots, residing in Oxford, Worcester, Boston, Providence, New York and other places. A fund was raised and several acres of land with the old fort purchased, to be held by the Society in perpetuity. The foundations of the fort have been cleared of earth and stones.

MONUMENT.

A subscription was raised for the erection of a monument and a handsome and appropriate memorial, being a massive granite cross on a pedestal, was erected, and dedicated 2 Oct., 1884, with appropriate ceremonies in the presence of a large assembly of people. Rev. Charles W. Baird, D.D., of Rye, N. Y., Richard Olney, Esq., of Boston, and Peter B. Olney, Esq., of New York, were the chief speakers on the occasion.

Inscriptions :—

[*South.*]

IN MEMORY OF THE
HUGUENOTS

EXILES FOR THEIR FAITH,
WHO MADE THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF OXFORD
1687.

“WE LIVE NOT FOR OURSELVES ONLY, BUT FOR POSTERITY.”

Z. Allen.

[*West.*]

A LA MEMOIRE DE
ANDRE SIGOURNAY,
COMMANDANT DU FORT.
NÉ À LA ROCHELLE, FRANCE, 1638,
MORT À BOSTON, MASS., 1727,
A L'AGE DE 89.

[*North.*]

ERECTED BY DESCENDANTS OF
GABRIEL BERNON
AND OF
ANDRE SIGOURNAY,
1884.

“A LA FOI ET HONNEUR.”

[*East.*]

A LA MEMOIRE DE
GABRIEL BERNON,
FOUNDATEUR DE LA COLONIE D'OXFORD,
NÉ À LA ROCHELLE, FRANCE, 1644,
MORT À PROVIDENCE, R. I., 1736,
A L'AGE DE 92.

English Chapters.

ENGLISH CHAPTERS.

Abraham Skinner, one of the 30 English proprietors of Oxford, received his forty acres of land at Augutteback Falls, or as termed the Lower Falls. In March, 1722, this estate was purchased by Thomas Gleason, who died here. Moses his son sold in March, 1734, to James Coller of Uxbridge. In March, 1735, Jonathan Ballard of Billerica or Andover, purchased the mill estate at Augutteback pond, and in August, 1751, Ephriam his son received from his father one-half of the same. No mention is made of a mill on this estate in the deed to Thomas Gleason in 1722, but on the decease of Mr. Gleason in 1732 his estate included "mills and stream, with homestead and buildings."

The old well, lined with moss, still is to be seen at the home once the Ballard's and for so many years the home of the Nichols family. The site of the Ballard grain-mill aside from its antiquity is of interest for the great beauty of its natural scenery. One can picture the early inhabitants coming and leaving with their grain on the old Sturbridge road north of the burying-ground near the south common. This highway was known as the Mill road or 2-rod way, being extremely narrow; it commenced at the northeast corner of the burying-ground, then over a hill to the mill, and on westerly. It was not accepted as a town road until 1754. Now the railroad enters the village of Howarth.

John Nichols came from Londonderry in Ireland in 1727 to New England at the age of seventeen years and was a resident of Roxbury until 1734, when he came to Oxford as tenant of the heirs of Gov. Dudley on entailed lands in the south part of Oxford; built on those lands a house. He married Hannah Tucker of Roxbury. Children: John, born 1734, and Hannah, who married Peter Phillips of Charlton.

After Mr. Nichols had made his large purchase of landed estate in the westerly part of Oxford and on the boundary of Charlton, it was said, "Lieut. Nichols is the owner of one-half of Oxford." He was permitted as an honor to be seated in a pew in the old church on the north common, placed aside, unoccupied, for the proprietors not resident in Oxford. Mr. Edward Raymond shared in the same honor.

In 1756 was purchased land of William Thomas, husband of Mary Papillon, bounded east on Ebenezer Coburn (this was land known in Oxford as a part of the estate of Peter Papillon of Boston). In 1793 Sam-

nel Danforth and Elijah Dunbar deeded to John Nichols and his grandsons land partly in Oxford and partly in Charlton.

John Nichols² was a Captain in the Revolutionary war; joined the army near New York in 1777. In 1779 he left his twin sons upon his homestead; his father purchasing for him the Augutteback Mill estate, now Howarth, he made that place his residence. In 1790 his father conveyed this estate to him. In 1801 he conveyed one-half of the estate to his son David, who afterward became sole owner. This estate was in the possession of the Nichols family for 47 years.

On the departure of Capt. John Nichols with his company from Oxford in Gen. Learned's regiment, when he left home, Jonathan his son, a lad thirteen years of age, in company with David Lamb, a soldier, drove the transportation wagon with four horses to New Haven and returned home alone with the team.

Abijah Conant, who had married Bathsheba, a daughter of Capt. John Nichols, accompanied her father in the Revolutionary war as an attendant, and died in the service.

Capt. John Nichols³ of Charlton married, May 20, 1785, Lucretia, daughter of Amos Putnam⁵ of Sutton, who was the descendant of John Putnam, who came from Buckinghamshire, England, and made a settlement in Salem in 1634. Amos was the son of Elisha, who came to Sutton, and who was the son of Edward³ and grandson of Thomas² and great-grandson of John,* who came from England.

Amos Putnam was a brother to General Rufus Putnam, who was distinguished in the Revolutionary war. In 1725 Elisha Putnam⁴ came to Sutton; he was a gentleman much honored in Sutton with public offices of trust. He was the first proprietor of the landed estate known so long as the James Freeland place. The ancient mansion house of Mr. Putnam, with its lean-to roof, was purchased by Mr. Freeland with its landed estate. It was situated only a little distance from the present brick mansion on the estate.

David,³ son of Capt. John Nichols, succeeded his father as the owner of Augutteback Mill, and then there were established three mills,—a grain mill, lumber mill and a wool carding mill. In about 1805 there were wool-carding machines introduced into the country, which much lessened the laborious task of preparing materials for clothing in olden time. The first carding done in Oxford with this improvement was at John and David Nichols' mill in Oxford.

David Rich and his son John H. Rich of Charlton near Oxford boundary, at their carding mill commenced wool carding with this machine,

*David Nichols in 1825 gave of this estate a deed to Delano Pierce, Sternes De Witt and Alexander De Witt to establish manufactures.

which they used for 70 years, much of the patronage coming from Oxford. But the mill and its owners are in the past.

A portion of the landed estate of William Hudson in ancient deeds is named "Hudson's Bay."*

The southern boundary of Mr. Hudson's estate is described as "on y^e line of y^e farm called barnous farm." (French plantation of Gabriel Bernon.)

From Nichols' mill in olden time east and south by the pond to Charlton road a cart road with bars and gates shut in the present avenue to Howarths from the highway.

The town of Oxford, Massachusetts, is situated in the southern central part of Worcester County. The General Court in 1683 granted the plantation and it received the name of Oxford after a city of that name in England, as so many of the distinguished gentlemen in the colony had received their education at the University of Oxford.

The first survey of the Oxford grant was made by John Gore of Roxbury, an order having been issued by Edmund Andros, Kt., Sept. 19, 1687, for laying out a plat "near Worcester" on a grant made in 1683.

August 16, 1722, a law was passed requiring frontier towns, including Oxford, to be placed in a position of defence. Military officers and town officials were directed to cause houses to be defended by fortifications to which families might repair for safety from an attack of the Indians.

In 1716 there was a road opened between the frontier towns of Marlborough and Oxford—very noted in its time.

CHANGES IN THE TOWN BOUNDARIES.

In the present town the southern and a small part of the eastern borders only are identical with the original outlines.

The first change was made when the town of Dudley was incorporated, Dec., 1731, and Mr. Dudley's 6,000 acres, excepting "Paul Dudley's farm" of 1,000 acres at the eastern extremity, were included in the new town.

The next change was at the incorporation of Webster. The town opposed this proceeding. In Sept., 1831, Ira M. Barton, Stephen Davis and Richard Stone were chosen to protest against it before the Legislature.

"The area of the town before the setting off of Charlton was represented as having been about 45,000 acres. In 1754 a large portion of the rich

*"Hudson's Bay" was a part of the land on the Maanexit (French river), between Ballard's grain mill on the old Sturbridge road, now Howarth, and North Oxford.

agricultural town of Charlton was carved from the west part of Oxford, and in 1778 about one-third part of Ward was also taken from said town so that when the town of Oxford was surveyed in 1794 . . . it contained but 17,336½ acres. Since that time another small portion of the south gore has been annexed to the town and by said survey Oxford now contains about 18,000 acres. The petitioners seek to carve off about 2,500 acres . . . by which the town will be reduced to about 15,000 acres or one-third its original dimensions.—The land set off to Charlton and Ward as before mentioned constituted . . . the best part of the former town, and a principal source of wealth and population remaining . . . consisted in the water power of the French River together with the outlet of the Chaubunagungamaug pond. By an appropriation of this power to manufacturing purposes the town now sustains a population of 2,034 inhabitants. By [the proposed action] it will lose about one-sixth of its taxable property—a population of about 600 together with a considerable portion of that water power upon which the business and prosperity of the town much depends.”*

The old Connecticut road started from Cambridge, ran to Marlborough, thence to Grafton, Oxford and Woodstock and on to Springfield and Albany. It was intersected at Woodstock by the Providence Path, which ran through Narragansett and Providence plantations, and also by the Nipmuck Path, which came from Norwich.

The new Connecticut road ran as did the old road from Boston to Albany. It was known at a later date as the Post Road. From Boston it ran to Marlborough, thence to Worcester, thence to Brookfield and so on to Springfield. In 1672 this road was only a pathway or trail through the forests.—Page 253.

The famous Bay Path, laid out in 1673, left the old Connecticut Path at Happy Hollow, now Wayland, and ran through Marlborough to Worcester, Oxford, Charlton and Brookfield, where it separated in two paths, one the Hadley Path, running to Ware, Belchertown and Hadley, the other returning to the old Connecticut Path and on to Springfield.†

* [Special Laws, 58.] Included in this territory was the tract originally set to Oxford in 1731.

† In the History of Haarlem we read of a great excitement in Jan., 1673, “When the first monthly postman between Boston and New York drew up to the tavern with his ‘portmantles’ (portmanteaux) crammed with ‘letters and small portable goods.’”

“This service was undertaken by the colonial government of New York and was sufficient for the time, as New England and New York were distinct colonies and did little business together.”

“In olden time at taverns letters and packages were originally taken and left on the table, to be well thumbed and critically examined till called for.”

The second road made in Oxford was styled the "Four-rod way," it led from the main road to the fort. "A high way laid out Feb. 6th 1714, by the Selectmen beginning att the Eight rod way on the Southwardly Sid of an orchard neer the old mill runing over the old mill brook to a rock on the East of Said brooke from thence marked on the northwardly Side with mark trees tel it coms to barnous land neer the north East Corner of Joseph Chamberlin's Sener's home lot, said way being four rods wide."*

From Oxford Records. On 24 November, 1729, it was voted that the bridge over the river on Woodstock road be paid for by the whole town. "This bridge was near the location of the present stone arch bridge on the Webster road."

The "Old Connecticut road" proceeded from Cambridge up the northerly bank of Charles river to Waltham centre, thence to the north end of Cochituate pond in Framingham, thence southwesterly through Framingham, Hopkinton, Grafton, Oxford, Dudley, Woodstock and so on to Springfield and Hartford.

Of the old "Woodstock Path" its descriptive record is found included in the "Old Connecticut road" or path to Woodstock and on to Springfield and Hartford.

At the junction of the Nipmuck and Providence paths at Woodstock from here a branch track proceeded to the northwest into Sturbridge, where it separated, one track going westerly past the lead mines and on to Springfield, the other keeping a northwesterly course and crossing the Quinebaug river near Fiskdale into Brimfield, and so on to "the Falls" in Connecticut river, now Holyoke city. This northerly branch continued to be a well known Indian trail till the time of Philip's War, and was the English bridle-path and cartway till after the settlement of Brimfield in 1701.†

The ancient fashion of the ordination of Rev. James Merriam, clergyman of Newton, Mass. At a town meeting Dec. 9, 1757, it was "voted to confer with the Church in giving him a call, requesting him to supply the pulpit till his ordination, and fixing his yearly salary at £80, beginning with the date of his ordination, and fuel from the 'ministerial wood-lot,' together with £1000, old tenor, as an inducement for him to

* Village Rec., p. 132. In the French settlement the home lot of Rev. Daniel Bondet.

† In a diary of Josiah Wolcott on the announcement of Fort William Henry having been besieged by Marquis de Montcalm. See page 453. "Went away from Oxford Thursday August 11th 1757 went to Brimfield & lodged Friday at Springfield Saturday at McKinstreys Sabbath day at Brewer's . . . Monday noon at Sheffield where we rec'd ord's to return home."

accept. The town also voted to defray the expenses of his ordination, which amounted to £13, 6 s., and chose a committee to confer with him as to 'what manner he would chose to come into town,' and to wait upon him accordingly. He was the last minister settled by the town, which bore the expenses of his funeral, paying £60 for his coffin, and £31 for $\frac{1}{2}$ barrel of beer and $\frac{1}{2}$ cord of wood."

1777, is given in Thatcher's Military Journal, published in New York at the time.

"I am fortunate enough to obtain from our officers a particular account of the glorious event of the 7th inst.

"The advanced parties of the two armies came into contact at half past two o'clock on Tuesday afternoon, and immediately displayed their hostile attitude. The Americans soon approached the royal army, and each party in defiance awaited the deadly blow. The gallant Colonel Morgan at the head of his famous rifle corps, and Major Dearborn, leading a detachment of infantry, commenced the action with such intrepidity, that the works were carried and their brave commander Colonel Breyman was slain.

"The Germans were pursued to their encampment, which, with all the equipage of the brigade, fell into our hands. Nightfall put a stop to our brilliant career though the victory was most decisive, and it is with pride and exultation that we recount the triumph of American bravery.

"This was indeed a signal victory."

The remains of Lady Ann, the wife of Sir Edmund Andros, Governor, were interred in King's Chapel Burying Ground in Boston. Which gives an account of funeral.

"Lady Andros died in February, 1688. She was as much loved as her husband was feared and hated. Her death seemed to have softened the hearts of the people toward him for the time. There is in existence an unpublished letter from Mr. Ratcliffe to the Bishop of London which implies this, and it is, in itself, a picturesque description of a unique event. He says of her death: 'I believe the grief was universal, and many was the head bared on the street to the bereaved husband that before had remained stubbornly covered to the exalted Governor. His excellency left the ordering of the ceremonies to me, and, to make them more impressive, I arranged that they should be by torchlight, early in the evening. Everything favored; the South meeting house, which had been churlishly refused to Sir Edmund on his first arrival, was now freely tendered, and all the regiment turned out as a guard of honor to the hearse, which was drawn by six stately horses, the gentlemen of the council carrying banners, and some of the scholars (Harvard), who

volunteered, acting as torch bearers. The meeting house, which had never before been illuminated, was specially prepared with such torches as could be procured by my sexton. It presented a strange aspect, its windows flaming with a ghastly light, and a great multitude thronging its porch and alleys, eager and intent upon the occasion which had called them together. When we approached with our solemn march and flashing tapers, the great bell tolling a mournful dirge, all became hushed, and way was respectfully made for the afflicted mourner, as he followed the coffin alone into the church. It had been the desire of Lady Andros, expressed privately to me, that her body might repose in some spot near unto the place where we contemplated building a church, "for," said she, with a sad smile, "I shall feel else lonely in one of the Boston burying fields surrounded by strangers to my own faith," and this was done according to her wish. And thus closed one of the sweetest lives, I venture to say, that New England ever hath seen."

"ADAMS' ARMY." During the progress of the revolution in France, near the close of the last century, that country became involved in a war with England, and each party was solicitous lest America should give aid to the opponent. Meantime our authorities saw fit to initiate precautionary measures, and on 16 July, 1798, a vote was passed in Congress to augment the national army, and recruiting soon began.

In the autumn of 1799, the 14th, 15th and 16th U. S. regiments,—a portion of this "provisional army,"—were ordered to Oxford as a rendezvous. These regiments were not nearly full, but soldiers were being gathered from the several recruiting stations, and here drilled by veterans of the Revolutionary war for service should it be required.

Col. Nathan Rice was in command. He was the son of Rev. Caleb Rice of Sturbridge, had been an aid to General Lincoln in the Revolution.

The officers found quarters in various parts of the village, at private houses. Some hired rooms, and having their families with them lived independently; others boarded in families of the villagers. The headquarters of Col. Rice were at the house of Capt. Abijah Davis. Maj. Walker was quartered at the house of Nathan Hall, and others lived at the hotels. The camp was on the slope of the hill west of the centre of the town.

As to their number we have no definite information. According to tradition it was 1,000, but this is thought to be a low estimate. Col. Rice was officially the commander of the 14th Regiment, and John Walker was Major of the same. John Rowe was Major in the 15th Regiment, and Josiah Dunham, Captain in the 16th Regiment, was acting Brigade Inspector. Capt. Tolman from Boston or vicinity had command of a company. Lieut. Francis Barker of Weymouth or vicinity was an officer. Eli Forbes and Thomas Hale, both of North

Brookfield, were here, the former as a lieutenant and the latter as captain in the 15th Regiment.

FREAKE.

"June 18, 1683, Joseph Dudley conveyed for £250 to Thomas Freake of Ilanington (Wiltshire, England) two thousand acres of forest land in the Nipmuck country, part of a greater quantity purchased of Black James, 'as the same shall be set out by a surveyor'; 2000 acres in upland and meadow, at a certain place called and known by the natives Quinnatisset, were also made over by Stoughton, in consideration of £200 current money, to Robert Thompson of North Newington, Middlesex, England, a very noted personage; president of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and a firm and devoted friend of the colonies. The land thus purchased was laid out in June, 1684, by John Gore of Roxbury, under the supervision of William Dudley, Colonel.

"Freake's farm included the site of the present Thompson village. Freake's farm came into the possession of Josiah Wolcott of Salem and his wife Mary Freake, a niece of Thomas Freake. A part of this tract was granted by the Massachusetts government to its native proprietors, Black James and his associates, and was conveyed by them to Stoughton and Dudley and laid out in farms in 1684 and then left for thirty years to wild beasts and savages. Thompson and Freake, the largest landholders, were now resident Englishmen; the holders of land under grants from Massachusetts hastened to identify and appropriate their possessions. Dudley, Stoughton and Black James secured their portions at once, but the other grantors met many obstacles.

"The boundaries of Thompson's and Freake's land are so defaced and overgrown that even the practiced eye of Capt. John Church failed to discover them, at length with the assistance of Col. William Dudley and Benjamin Gambling, who had aided in the original survey, 'a tree marked F' was found on Fort Hill, and measuring from it they came upon other marked trees and monuments, and were able to identify and refresh the bounds of the five thousand acre tract. The Thompson land was then confirmed to Joseph Thompson of England, Freake's farm to Josiah Wolcott. Mr. Wolcott sold four hundred acres to Capt. John Sabin, made over to his son, who settled there with his family, the first resident proprietor of Quinnatisset, now Thompson Hill. The red tavern, long occupied by Mr. Sabin, became one of the most noted way-marks between Boston and Hartford. The remaining sixteen hundred acres of Freake's farm were held many years by Esquire Wolcott (of Oxford, Mass.)."—Miss Larned's History of Windham County.

ENGLISH TRADING HOUSES.

In the last century commerce was very limited, the trading house was usually adjoining the tavern. William Davis was a trader at the centre, 1739-43. Duncan Campbell at the North Common was licensed to sell tea, coffee and chinaware, 1750, '54, '55, '58, '61. Duncan Campbell in a deed dated May 27, 1754, conveyed to Josiah Wolcott a landed estate with a mansion house fronting on the South Common; with this property there was included a stable, tailor's shop and warehouse, all of them, or partly, on the 8-rod way.

Mr. Wolcott was engaged in trade from 1753-1795, as an account book is still preserved. From 1776-87 his son John was associated with him as a trader. May 11, 1772, Samuel Manning conveys to Josiah Wolcott his landed estate. Josiah Wolcott rents to Benjamin Trow "a small piece of land out of Manning's $\frac{1}{2}$ of an acre so called to set a Blacksmith's shop upon at 6. pr. yr." "You to pay all taxes." 1792, "Benj Trow Dr. to Josiah Wolcott to Rent to a small piece of land to set your shop on pr. yr. to Sept. 1, 1792." Moved it August 29, 1792. Sept. 8, 1798, the heirs of Josiah Wolcott conveyed to James Gleason the entire estate.

In 1792 Andrew Sigourney purchased of Edward H. Wolcott the land on the southeast corner of the Sutton road and Main street. In 1793 the remaining part of the estate of John Wolcott. Sigourney rented the house to tenants until 1817, when the present brick mansion was erected, which he occupied until his decease. This estate was very valuable, extending easterly to the brook on the Sutton road, and on Main street nearly to the site of the Episcopal church, being the estate of Thomas Gleason, an original proprietor. Upon the street door of this Sigourney mansion was a hinge knocker, as at this time it was the fashion. Upon the doors of the gentry were great brass knockers ornamented with griffin heads or with the American eagle.

It is said Wolcott occupied the northeast corner of this estate, containing $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, for a trading house from 1767 to 1795, and that this trading house was once the ancient school-house and that its ruins were on the land when conveyed to James Gleason. Mr. Wolcott was engaged in trade for more than 40 years in Oxford.

Another beautiful relic of the ancient Wolcott mansion was the beaufet which was built into the wall of the parlor, and upon the interior of the gracefully curving top is carved a shell-shaped "Sunburst," whose rays run down to the top shelf. The shelves themselves are narrow and curiously carved and serrated, and all of the most unusually suitable shape for displaying to advantage the old heirlooms of china and glass which are contained within the cupboard.

A letter from Anthony Sigourney, Jr., of Boston, subsequently of Oxford, who was in the company of Capt. Jeremiah Kingsbury in Col. Holman's regiment, as was also his brother, Andrew Sigourney :

HARLEM, *September 26, 1776.*

"We have very narrowly escaped with our lives, for the British Men of War came upon each side of us and kept a continuing firing and we had to march through the midst of them. They lauded their men about eleven o'clock, and we being tired out marching with our knapsacks, we were obliged to retreat.

"We were just out of the shipping then the Regulars came out of the woods and fired upon us (a main). We lost four men out of our company and a great many lost their knapsacks and all they had they were so beat out with marching.

"I saved all my things and Andrew his. Such a day no body ever saw. We retreated about seven miles from where we were stationed and then we made stand. This was Sunday, the fifteenth of September, and on Monday they followed upon us again, and our men being in high spirits stood there and fought them there four hours and our men drove them two or three miles, all in the open field and they have been peaceable ever since. There was considerable loss on both sides. There were no Oxford (men) lost but are pretty well.

"We have fared very hard since we came up here. I have not had my clothes off ever since for we have expected them out upon us.

"Mr. Sigourney states he has sold some of his clothing. We have nothing to shelter us but the clouds and neither have had since we have been here, but they talk of building barracks for us. Now we do not draw any bread but flour and so make dough-boys and boil them in the pot and bake them in the ashes. The Regulars have taken the city of New York but since they have had it, it got a fire and burnt a great part of it up, it burned all one night and a part of the next day.

"The Hessians give no quarter to our men, and we none to them."

A second letter, dated November 2, 1776, from Mr. Sigourney to Mrs. Sigourney :

"We have had a smart battle. Our regiment was in the front. We had one killed and some wounded in our company. I had a slight wound in my hand but now almost recovered.

"We had no breastwork to defend us, but all in the open field, and there was such a cloud of them, and but few of us, that they drove us half a mile, and the balls did fly merrily.

"Andrew is well and remembers his love to you all. He wishes his own love to his mother, and kind regards to Mr. Hovey and family."

Andrew Sigourney was associated with James Butler in an English trading house at Oxford from 1784 to 1787, then he removed to Oxford Plains on his marriage to Elizabeth, daughter of Josiah Wolcott, and resided in an ancient house on the Sutton road near his store on the northeast corner of the Sutton road and Main Street. This old trading house was removed to a site more easterly on the Sutton road and a new store erected in its place. Andrew Sigourney's trading house continued from 1787 to 1816.

Early in 1800 recruiting was suspended.

"Brigade Orders, Camp at Oxford, 20 March, 1800.

"Extract of general Orders from the Adjutant General's office, dated 11 Mar., 1800.

"Agreeably to instructions from the department of War the recruiting service as far as relates to 12 Regiments of Infantry and six troops of light dragoons directed to be raised by act of Congress, 16 July, 1798, is for the present suspended.

"All officers on recruiting service will join their regiments. The officers of the 14th, 15th, and 16th regiments will govern themselves accordingly and repair immediately with the troops under their respective commands to the Brigade Head Quarters at Oxford.

"By order of the Commandant,

"J. DUNHAM,

"Acting Inspector of Brigade.*"

DISBANDMENT.

On 20 May, 1800, the United States Senate passed a resolution, *nem-con.*, the House of Representatives concurring, to disband the "Provisional Army" on or before the 15th of June following. This action applied to the infantry regiments from the fifth to the sixteenth inclusive. Early in June preparations were made here for compliance with this vote. On the 11th the *Boston Centinel* contained the following:—

"Maj.-Gen. Hamilton, we learn has been at Oxford for some time, to give the necessary directions for the preservation of the public stores in consequence of the disbandment of the army."

The visit of Gen. Alexander Hamilton to Oxford on the occasion of the disbanding was a memorable event, as will be seen by the following letter written at Oxford and sent from Providence to the *Centinel*, in which it appeared on 21 June:—

"OXFORD, June 13.

"On Tuesday last Maj.-Gen. Hamilton with his suite arrived at this place, and on the succeeding day he reviewed the Brigade under the

*Adv. in *Boston Centinel*.

command of Col. Rice. On this occasion the troops performed their manœuvres with that exactness and activity which manifested attention in the men and superiority in the officers. The General expressed an unequivocal approbation of the discipline of the army and beheld with pleasure the progress of subordination and attention to dress and decorum. On Thursday the General made a public dinner to which all the officers of the Brigade and several gentlemen of the permanent army were invited. A convenient colonnade was erected for the purpose, over which the flag of the United States was displayed, and during the entertainment the air was filled with martial music from a new formed band and from a large collection of drums and fifes. Hilarity and joy pervaded the guests . . . but when they drank to the memory of WASHINGTON! and a parting sentiment was given by Gen. Hamilton a burst of extreme sensibility suffused every cheek and demonstrated the agitation of every bosom.

"But Friday was reserved for a more prominent display of the passions of the human mind. At 7 o'clock in the morning the Brigade was formed into a hollow square when the General addressed his fellow-soldiers in a speech of about half an hour in length. On this occasion the troops were moved, not merely on account of this last interview with their General, but by the impressive sentiments which fell from his lips, enforced by the most charming eloquence and pointed diction. I cannot give even an epitome of this address. Suffice it to observe that he inculcated sentiments suitable for directing the conduct of the army subsequent to its retirement into private life—such sentiments as awakened and I trust will keep alive the patriotism of the officers and men: and induce them again, at the call of their country to make new sacrifices for its defence.

"This day he sets out on a visit eastward."

The *Centinel* of 18 June contained the following:—

"Maj.-Gen. Hamilton and his suite arrived in town on Saturday from Oxford. Tomorrow a public dinner will be given him at Concert Hall."

This dinner was a grand affair, and many of the leading men of Boston joined to do honor to their illustrious guest. Among the toasts given were the following:—

"*The late disbanded Army*,—may we respect them for the services they would have performed had our insidious *Friends* presented a bayonet instead of an olive branch."

"*The Atlantic Ocean*,—what God hath separated let not man put together."

WASHINGTON'S FUNERAL.

An impressive episode in the story of this "Army" was the funeral service in honor of George Washington. On 8 Jan., 1800, by order of Col. Rice, the following appeared in the *Massachusetts Spy* :—

"FUNERAL HONORS AT OXFORD.

"OXFORD, Jan. 4, 1800.

"MESS. THOMAS & SON.

"The President having directed that Funeral Honors should be performed at the several Military stations throughout the United States to the Memory of our late beloved highly venerated and most illustrious COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF whose talents as an officer and virtues as a man had placed him above all praise, I have directed that the same be performed at this post on Wednesday the Fifteenth instant.

"Confident that the most poignant grief for so great a National Calamity hath pervaded every part of our country, and particularly the citizens of this vicinity, and that it would afford them consolation to unite with us in performing these sad rites, I request that through your paper information may be given thereof. The Clergy—the Society of the Cincinnati and Officers of the late Army—Officers civil and military—Citizens in general are invited to attend: and it is hoped with the usual badge of mourning on the left arm.

"The procession will be formed precisely at 11 O'clock and proceed to the Meeting-house where it is expected divine worship will be performed; after which it will proceed to the place representing that of interment, and the ceremonies performed agreeable to the instructions therefor.

"It is requested that seasonable information may be given by the Commanding Officers of such Volunteer Corps and Uniformed Companies of Militia as will attend on the occasion.

"N. RICE,

"Commandant of the 14th Regiment
and Commanding Officer at Oxford."

The *Spy* of 22 Jan., 1800, contained the following :—

"On Wednesday the 15th inst. Funeral Honors were paid by the troops stationed at Oxford to the memory of their illustrious leader General GEORGE WASHINGTON. At day break 16 guns were fired from the left of the Cantonment by a company of Worcester Artillery, commanded by Capt. Healy: at sunrise another gun was fired, which was repeated each half hour through the day. At 11 O'clock the troops having been formed, moved from their parade by platoons and formed in the Main Street: a company of Cavalry under the command of Capt. [Jeremiah] Kingsbury formed on their left, the whole commanded by Maj. Walker

of the 14th Regiment and two companies of Artillery under the orders of Major Andrews on their right. Thus formed, at 12 O'clock, the Hearse, covered with a black velvet Pall bearing an Urn shrouded with black crape and accompanied by the Pall Bearers in mourning and with white scarfs, was received by the troops with presented arms, the drums beating a march while it passed slowly in front to the left: the Officers and colors saluting as it passed; from the left it was borne back to the centre where it halted and received the salute of all the Officers and colors alone. It was then removed to its place in the procession, which then moved, by the left, in the order following, the music playing a Dead March:

Company of Cavalry.

16th, 15th and 14th Regiments of United States troops.

Artillery.

Band of Music.

Drums and fifes of the Brigade.

[Drums covered with crape and muffled.]

Clergy.

Orator and officiating Clergyman with white scarfs.

	BIER	
Pall Bearers,	Bearing the Urn, covered as	Pall Bearers,
Capt. Balch.	before mentioned, a 'W' in	Capt. Tillinghast.
Maj. Jones.	gold cipher on the Urn, and	Maj. Lynde.
Maj. Winslow.	a laurel wreath running spirally from the base to the top. The General's Hat and Sword placed at the head of the Bier, which was borne by four Sergeant Majors.	Col. Hunnewell.

THE GENERAL'S HORSE

Covered with black properly caparisoned, boots reversed, led by two servants in livery.

Col. Rice, Commandant,

As chief mourner—with staff.

Officers of the Army
with badges of mourning.

Civil Staff of the Army.

Members of the Society of the Cincinnati and
Officers of the late Army.

Brethren of the 'Morning Star,' 'Fayette,' 'Meridian Sun' and
'Olive Branch' Lodges in the following order :

Tyler

With a drawn sword, the hilt covered with crape.

Two Tylers, do.

Two Stewards

With white staves, the tops covered with crape tied with white

Ribands—black and white tassels.

Brethren of the several Lodges.

Secretaries of the Lodges

With the records covered with crape.

Treasurers,

bearing charters covered with crape.

Junior Wardens.

Senior Wardens

bearing their columns covered with crape.

Past Masters.

Three Master Masons walking triangularly with the three candlesticks
covered with crape, lights extinguished.

Three Masons walking triangularly, each bearing a staff, the head of
which was covered with crape and a white silk cord—black and white
tassels. On each staff hung a pendant of white silk bordered with black.
On one pendant was 'Wisdom,' on another 'Strength' and on the third
'Beauty.'

MONUMENTAL OBELISK

borne by four oldest Master Masons supported by four more.

The Obelisk and its Pedestal were four and a half feet high, representing black marble; on the front of it was a bust of General Washington and over it a motto, 'HE LIVES IN OUR HEARTS'; above the motto the square and compass. On the other three sides of the Obelisk were represented Faith, Hope and Charity, and above them the corresponding Masonic emblems; the whole in Bas Relief. On the Pedestal was inscribed the General's name, where born, when Commander of the late Army, when President of Congress, &c., &c.

Two Master Masons bearing a large and elegant

SILVER URN

beautifully decorated with a wreath of evergreens intermixed with
flowers and the [laurel branch] in front.

Three brethren walking triangularly with large silver candlesticks without lights.

Tyler

with his sword as before mentioned.

The Constitution and Sacred Writings
on black cushions, &c., borne by two Past Masters.

Three Masters of Lodges.

A brother of the Royal Arch
bearing a silver Urn.

Presiding Master.

Deacon.

Deacon.

Each with a black staff, the head covered with white crape tied with
black riband, black and white tassels.

Officers of the Militia.

Sheriffs.

Justices of the Peace.

Gentlemen of the Bar and Physicians.

Other Citizens.

“The citizens were marshalled by Capt. Hamilton of Worcester. It is supposed the procession and the spectators amounted to 5,000 persons.

“On the arrival of the procession at the Meeting-house the troops formed the lines, opened their ranks, and faced inward, resting upon their arms reversed; the procession passed through into the house, led by the clergy, the band playing a solemn dirge; the pulpit, communion table and galleries were wholly shrouded in black; the hearse being placed at the head of the broad aisle, the brethren of the Fraternity of Masons elevated the obelisk on the right of the hearse, and on the left placed their lights, silver urn, &c., on a large pedestal covered with black, during which the band from the gallery continued to fill the house with solemn music; thus arranged, the throne of grace was addressed by Rev. Mr. Austin of Worcester, after which another solemn dirge by the band. An eulogy was then pronounced by Capt. Josiah Dunham, of the 16th regiment of United States Infantry, in which he strikingly portrayed the virtues and services of the late Commander-in-Chief, and observed justly that Five Millions of people were, with one voice, expressing sorrow and grief at their loss. After the eulogy followed a solemn funeral dirge by the Band, during which the Fraternity, in mournful silence and in proper order, deposited their large silver urn and raised the Obelisk over it. A short but solemn funeral service was performed by the Fraternity, which closed the solemnities in the Meeting-house.

“The procession was again formed, and left the Meeting-house in the same order in which it arrived there; marching one mile in the Main Street, which being very broad, straight and level, afforded to a numerous body of spectators an opportunity of viewing the whole procession at once, during which time the bell, being muffled, tolled a solemn

Knell, and minute guns were fired from the Artillery. On the arrival at the place of Deposit the troops again forming a line and resting on their arms reversed, the procession passed through, and the Hearse, reaching its destined spot, the Urn was deposited in the earth, the music again played a solemn dirge. The order of the President and of Gen. Hamilton was read to the troops, a detachment of Infantry advanced and fired three volleys over the Urn, after which the Masonic brethren placed a monument over it. The troops being again formed, the colors were unfurled and the drums unmuffled, the troops wheeled to the right by platoons, the President's March was played, and they moved to their quarters and were dismissed. The Fraternity retired to their temporary Lodge, which was immediately closed.

"The solemnities ended with the setting sun. The appearance and movements of the troops gave great satisfaction, and bore honorable testimony of the military address and executions of the officers."

For many years the "Urn" was preserved in the attic of the South meeting-house, where the ceremonies were held, and later in the house of Capt. Abijah Davis. It was of wood, about three feet in height, and was silver gilt with a monogram "W." in gold, on the side.

NOTE.—"A Cavalry Company existed in Oxford for more than 25 years. Jeremiah Kingsbury, Jr., was in command in 1797. It was composed of men from different parts of the county. In Feb., 1808, Kingsbury had been several years Lieut.-Col. of a battalion of cavalry, 1st Brigade, 7th Division, Mass. Militia, and then resigned."

Ancestry.—Col. Jeremiah Kingsbury was the son of Capt. Jeremiah (See Army Records) and Ruth (Ballard) Kingsbury, descended from Joseph Kingsbury of Dedham, 1637. He was a Captain of cavalry; in April, 1805, Lieut.-Col. of cavalry. Col. Kingsbury was a gentleman extensively known in the southern part of Worcester County.

Josiah Kingsbury of Needham in 1726 purchased a large landed estate of 600 acres in Oxford (now Webster) known as the Hobart Grant. Josiah conveyed to his son Theodore 250 acres, the northern part of estate, and to his son Josiah² 350 acres, "taking in the brook (Sueker brook) which runneth out of the Chaubunaguugamaug pond." In 1765 Josiah Kingsbury conveyed to his son Jeremiah one-half of his estate and to his son Josiah a part of his estate.

August, 1753, John Higginson of Salem, who had married Elizabeth, widow of Peter Papillon, conveyed to Josiah Kingsbury 250 acres of the Papillon estate, bounded east on the village line, west by Gibbs lot, north by [Richard] Williams or Coburn's lot. April, 1764, Josiah Kingsbury to his son Amasa 140 acres; a daughter of Amasa conveyed to Richard Olney, May, 1826, 170 acres of land.

SCHOOLS.

In 1734 £24 were voted for a school to be kept at four places in the town.

In 1735 it was voted to divide the town into four parts for the "scool" to be kept at six weeks in each part.

March, 1738, one central school-house was proposed, and voted to build 14 by 20 feet with a chimney at each end. "To be set near the meeting-house." Until this time the schools had been kept in private houses.

May, 1738, voted that the votes referring to the school-house should be void and of none effect.

In 1739 voted £30 for schools and other expenses.

In 1740 voted all school-houses to be built by subscription and that they may set the school-houses as they shall agree.

The first school-house in Oxford was located near the church on the south common. It was one of the two school-houses named in 1760 in the south part of the town. In 1760 the town records state that schools for the south part of the town should be at the two school-house, thus showing at this date there were previously two houses in the town.

Prospect Hill and vicinity may draw their part of the money except some small part towards the extraordinary expense of hiring a grammar school master to prevent the town from being liable to a fine.

In 1767 the town was fined £5 for not keeping a grammar school.

In 1767 the school-house on the Plain near Jonathan Fuller's on the Sutton road was built, and also one not far from Jonathan Pratt's, in a lane east of Town's pond, was built at the same date, showing there were at this date four school-houses in Oxford.

Jonathan Fuller resided at the house near Sigourney Corner, north side of the Sutton road, known for many years as the residence of the late Capt. Andrew Sigourney, Sen.

It is said the first hornbooks contained only the alphabet, which was sometimes written and sometimes carved in the wood. Devotional booklets for children opening with A B C. The hornbook in England appeared about the time of the Reformation and went out of use near the commencement of the present century.

DAME SCHOOL.

The rod, which was a very important adjunct to the teacher, was known as the Sally, its use being to secure the attention of the children to the lesson, who were arranged in a semicircle, of which the teacher was the centre. If a scholar's eye was seen wandering from the book or any listlessness, even a whisper, the offender received punishment from the Sally.

SCHOOLS IN NEW ENGLAND IN OLD COLONY TIMES.

It was not until after the settlement of Boston by the Puritans that birth was given to the first New England school, under the name of the "Free Latin," or "Latin Grammar School," on the thirteenth day of April, 1635,—a period only of five years having elapsed after the settlement of the town. In that most pleasing diary left by Gov. John Winthrop, of the condition of things in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay from 1630 to 1649, he relates (1645): "Divers free schools were erected, as at Roxbury (for maintenance of which every inhabitant bound some house or land, for a yearly allowance, forever) and at Boston (where was made an order to allow forever fifty pounds to the master, and an house and thirty pounds to an usher, who should also teach to read and write and cipher, and Indiaus' children were to be taught freely, and the charge to be by yearly contribution, either by voluntary allowance or by rate of such as refused, etc.), and this order was confirmed by the General Court; other towns did the like, providing maintenance by several means." Commenting upon the above, the editor, Hon. James Savage, says: "Our fathers probably attempted, without coercion of law, to secure instruction for their children equal to that which themselves had enjoyed in England, but soon perceived the necessity of a sanction for this duty." In the voluntary support of schools perhaps Boston led the way, for as early as 1635 a vote was passed by the authorities, "that our brother Philemon Pormont shall be entreated to become schoolmaster for the teaching and nurturing of children with us." Pormont was disbarred, and left Boston on account of his religious views, and was succeeded in office by Mr. Daniel Maude in the following year, when Sir Henry Vane became governor, who contributed ten pounds to the fund for the support of the schoolmaster. John Winthrop, then Deputy Governor, also subscribed ten pounds, and others in like proportion, according to their means, among whom was Mr. Robert Keayne, the first commander of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, who subscribed twenty shillings.

And thus the system of free schools had its rise in New England, where it has obtained its full growth and prosperity. It may be said to have extended over the civilized world, until free education has become a permanent blessing wherever the Christian religion is taught.

In the days of Queen Elizabeth education among the common classes of England was at a low ebb; notwithstanding, it flourished among the richer people. The example of Shakespeare is held out to us as one reason why he could not have written his plays, because he had but little education, unequal to that of most of the great writers of his day; but they have omitted the fact that the genius of the man overcame

every obstacle, of which the want of an early education was undoubtedly the most important.

The country schoolmaster of the days of Elizabeth was often a clerical dunce of no learning, and frequently to his teaching added the occupation of a conjurer. In the *Comedy of Errors*, "Pinch, that hungry, lean-faced villain," is described as "a schoolmaster and a conjurer." According to that learned writer, Roger Ascham, at one time preceptor of Queen Elizabeth and later on her Latin secretary, and the first writer on education known in the English language, the country schoolmasters in the reigns of Elizabeth and James were, in general, many degrees below the pedagogue of Shakespeare in ability; their chief characteristics were tyranny and ignorance; they did not even possess the ordinary necessary knowledge to instil the merest rudiments of learning. Another writer of that day says, "Bad masters are a general plague and complaint of the whole land; for one discreet and able teacher you shall find twenty ignorant and careless, and where they make one scholar they mar ten." If the leading features of the country schoolmaster in the mother-country were ignorance, despotism, and self-sufficiency, as most writers assert, what must have been the condition of the youthful minds under their charge? And it may be asserted without fear of contradiction that among other things opened up by the first settlers, that of free education was deemed to be of the greatest value.

How the first free schools were supported the records of the General Court of Massachusetts testify: they were endowed by lands rented on long leases, and the grant of several tracts of land, and islands in the Bay as early as 1635, and in 1637 a grant of thirty acres of land at Muddy Brook, now the beautiful town of Brookline, was confirmed for the payment of teachers. In 1641 Deer Island, in Boston Harbor, was ordered to be improved for the maintenance of the free school of the town of Boston. In 1644 the island was leased for three years for the same purpose at seven pounds per annum, and again in 1647 for an additional seven years at fourteen pounds per annum, for the school's use in "provision and clothing." At Braintree five hundred acres of land were leased for forty shillings per annum, for the use of the town school.

The first town school in Dorchester (now a part of Boston) was formed in 1639, and was styled a "Grammar School for Instruction in English, Latin, and Other Tongues," and was partially supported out of an endowment in the lands of the beautiful Thompson's Island in Boston harbor. Oftentimes the teacher received for tuition a part of his salary in produce. Thus in Dorchester, Thompson's Island not being so lucrative as to pay the teacher his entire salary, he received four bushels of

Indian corn from the parent of one scholar, from another two bushels, and from a third two bushels of peas; also the cost of fuel was assessed on "them who send their children to school." In 1688 it was provided that "those who send children to the school shall bring for each child a load of wood." If the parents did not supply the wood or pay the tax for fuel before the 29th of October, annually, their children could have "no privilege of the fire." This seems to us a harsh measure, but it was not to the fathers of early days, who on Sundays sat through sermons of two to three hours' duration in the freezing atmosphere of a Puritan meeting-house.

The first historical reference we have to education in New England is in a letter written by Gov. Matthew Cradock, as he was called in England, to John Endicott in 1628, and relates to the instruction of the children of the Indians in these words: "To train up some of the Indian children to reading and religion." Cradock never came to this country, yet he was honored in early colonial times as first governor of the Colony; but he was, in fact, only the head of a commercial company, not the ruler of the people. To him, however, is due the idea and honor of proposing the transfer of the government from this commercial company, of which he was the head, to the inhabitants here. And, as the attention of town after town in Massachusetts Bay was drawn to the free education of the children, so in the other Colonies of New England schools were formed "for the encouragement of the poorer sort, and to train up their youth in learning."

The honor of establishing the Common School system of the United States by legislation belongs to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The first law making education universal was passed by the General Court, June 14, 1642, at a session called to consider "the great neglect in many parents and masters in training up their children in learning."

The Act of 1647 made the support of public schools compulsory, and education universal and free to all, though it was not compulsory in obliging the attendance of all children, nor did it raise the funds for their support by public taxation. As this was the first law of its kind in the world, it is published entire:—

Massachusetts Ordinance of 1647.

It being one chiefe project of thatould deluder, Satan, to keepe men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former times by keeping them in an unknown tongue, so in these latter times by persuading from the use of tongues, that so at least the true sence and meaning of the originall might be clouded by false glosses of saint seeming deceivers, that learning may not be buried in the grave of our fathers in the Church and Commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors:—

It is therefore ordered, that every township in this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of 50 householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their towne to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and reade, whose wages shall be paid either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as the major part of those that order the prudentials of the towne shall appoint; Provided, those that send their children be not oppressed by paying much more than they can have them taught in other townes;—

And it is further ordered that where any towne shall increase to the number of 100 families or householders they shall set up a grammar schoole, the master thereof being able to instruct youth so farr as they may be fitted for the university, Provided, that if any towne neglect the performance hereof above one yeare, every such town shall pay 5s to the next schoole till they shall perform this order.

Lord Macaulay called the attention of Parliament and all England to this noble document, declaring it to be worthy of the wisest men of any age.

In "The Three Episodes of Massachusetts History," Charles Francis Adams says that the school was so far distant in the town of Quincy that for the smaller children such a walk as they were obliged to take was generally found too severe, and provision was made for local or "dame" schools, for which specific sums, varying from four dollars to forty dollars, were annually appropriated. But we are told in the biography of the poet Shenstone (born 1714) that he was taught to read at what was termed a dame school, and the poet immortalized his venerable preceptress by his poem of the "Schoolmistress"; so that the dame school was not born with the early settlers, but was brought over by them from England in very early colonial days.

DISTINGUISHED EDUCATORS.

MRS. EMMA WILLARD.

Extracts from a sketch of Mrs. Emma Willard by Rev. E. B. Huntington. Mrs. Willard is most eminent as a lady who has attained a high rank as a professional educator of the nineteenth century and devoted to educational literature. She had been most carefully educated. To complete a more perfect picture of Mrs. Willard as a model character we must go back to her early years in the parish of Worthington, in Britain, Ct. Very sweet are the lessons of kindness mingled in the instruction given by the mother in her every day charities to those in the parish, to whom she ever showed her interest in their welfare by her little acts of beneficence which were to live again in the life of her

daughter. Impressions made by the mother upon her little family taught the necessity of making life happy by doing acts of love even to the poor brute who is so dependent upon them for enjoyment. Mrs. Willard ever referred to these lessons as sweet memories of her mother, when she recalled to her mind, "The mother distributing bits of refuse wool at the farm-house, which were of no value to the home economy, and teaching her little ones how to leave it about on the hedges for a hint to the birds to build their fleece lined nests near to the home which she would have blest by their sweet songs." From these early lessons and home culture Mrs. Willard received her active and wide reaching benevolence. On leaving this home she was introduced into a boarding-school life, being placed under the care of Mrs. Royce and of the Misses Patten in Hartford, Ct., that noble city of all that is good and lovely to form the character of youth. Very soon Mrs. Willard leaves school to become herself interested as an educator of youth. She was a devout communicant in the Protestant Episcopal church. In all her study and life work "her approval has been to God's Word for her standard and law."

"Mrs. Willard became greatly interested in the schools of her native State and also of New York in suggesting new plans of teaching. At one time Mrs. Willard travelled 1,000 miles in her own carriage visiting schools. Mrs. L. H. Sigourney, one of her personal friends, speaking of this great tour in one of her letters to Mrs. Willard, says: 'I should consider it an honor to wipe the *dust* from your chariot wheels as they passed on in that career of benevolence.'"

Mrs. Willard visited Europe, travelling in Germany, France, Switzerland and Belgium as accessory or tributary still to her life devotion for observation and learning. In 1851 she received a medal at the World's Fair in London for her work, "The Temple of Time and Chronographer of Ancient History." The certificate of testimonial, signed by Prince Albert, was no empty tribute to the distinguished author. Mrs. Willard on visiting Europe established a school in Greece for young ladies.

MRS. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.

Extracts from a sketch of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe by Rev. E. P. Parker. (Harriet Beecher Stowe is truly an eminent lady of the nineteenth century.) Mrs. Stowe, though early deprived of her mother, lovingly describes her character, "She was a woman of extraordinary talent, rare culture, fine taste, sweet and gentle temper. And then from her Christian faith, with all its intrinsic simplicity and beauty, there emanated an influence which the child never outgrew.

"Mrs. Stowe when a child, being deprived of her mother, was con-

signed to her deceased mother's sister to be educated. Of her pleasant life in the farm house and of her dear grandmother she gives a vivid description, who read the evening service after supper from a great prayer-book with such impressiveness as touched the child's heart, and then the home picture of her Aunt Harriet is so lovingly described, and adds, the little white farm-house under the hill was a paradise to us, and the sight of its chimneys after a day's ride was like a vision of Eden!"

Mrs. Stowe on her father's second marriage again returns to her home, where not only in the home-life, but in the society of Litchfield, Ct., and as a member of the celebrated Mrs. Pierce's boarding-school, her own education is perfected and all those rare natural endowments that she possessed were cultivated in no ordinary manner by these eligible surroundings.

The town of Litchfield was renowned for its great number of cultivated scholarly gentlemen who were residents of the place with their families. Mrs. Stowe when in Paris was often visited by an elderly French gentleman who had in early life passed some years in Litchfield as a law student; in his conversation with Mrs. Stowe he frequently dwelt upon the society of Litchfield as the most charming in the world, and in such a society were passed the early years of Mrs. Stowe.

From Litchfield and Hartford boarding-schools Mrs. Stowe is ushered into the path of a public educator and an author of rare attainments, affording to the world a model of woman's influence as a philanthropist. All her writings are of great interest, "but one definite purpose took possession of her mind, That the whole system of slavery must be shown up as it really was! She now writes for the cause of humanity 'Uncle Tom's Cabin!'"

Mrs. Stowe visited England and was received with great enthusiasm, many public manifestations were made in receptions and public dinners, not only as to an author of world-wide renown but to one who had aroused "the slumbering sympathies of England in behalf of the suffering slave." An English divine said, "she had furnished in her 'Uncle Tom' one of the most beautiful embodiments of the Christian faith that was ever presented to the world."

"But remarkable as was the literary popularity of the book, its political and moral influence was hardly less so." Said Lord Palmerston to one from whose lips the remark was taken (as here quoted), "I have not read a novel for thirty years; but I have read that book three times, not only for the story, but for the statesmanship of it!"

Lord Cockburn said, "She has done more for humanity than was ever before accomplished by any single book of fiction."

The first London edition was published in May, 1852. Before the close of the same year the book had been translated into the French, Italian, Spanish, Swedish, Danish, Dutch, Flemish, German, Polish and Magyar languages, and very soon into every European language and then into Arabic and Armenian.

Mrs. Stowe after visiting Paris, Switzerland and Germany returned to America and subsequently selected Hartford, Ct., as her residence.

MRS. LYDIA H. SIGOURNEY.

Mrs. Sigourney was a native of Norwich, Ct. The home influence of her mother, who so carefully directed her education in childhood, with the cultivated society of Norwich and Hartford, wrought lessons never to be forgotten during her life-long brilliant career. The memory of these years was to her most precious. Few persons through life have borne so lovingly the forms and affections of their home-friends. The sweet influence of her friend, Madame Lathrop, a daughter of Governor Talcott of Hartford, was destined to prove educational to her young life. Mrs. Sigourney thus refers to her influence over herself, as like a golden thread that had run the whole woof of her life.

Nov. 1, 1848, when Mrs. Sigourney was in London, the publishers of a volume of her prose and poetry thus announced its publication, "The author of this work has long been designated as the American Hemans." This comparison of Mrs. Sigourney to Mrs. Hemans was her introduction to English society. In her journal while abroad she thus describes her visit. From a sketch of Mrs. Sigourney's travels in England and France. "Too late was I, Alas! for Mrs. Hannah More and Sir Walter Scott and Mrs. Hemans and Coleridge. Over Southey had settled that rayless cloud which lifted not till the pall enveloped him for his burial. Yet I was indulged in the privilege of the society of Wordsworth and Maria Edgeworth and Joanna Baillie, a rich payment for crossing the storm tossed Atlantic. I was also favored with the acquaintance of Mrs. Norton, Mrs. Austin, the Countess of Blessington, Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall, the venerable poet Samuel Rogers, the philanthropic Mrs. Fry and her distinguished brother, John Joseph Gurney, with others whose classic pen had delighted me when life was new. In Scotland I was so fortunate as to meet John Foster, the essayist, and Allen Cunningham. And in Paris to share for several weeks the hospitalities of the elegant Marchioness Lavalette . . . by whom I was introduced, among other memorable personages of that courteous clime, to Count Roy, one of the most high bred of the ancient noblesse; to De la Vigne, the lyrist, and the white haired philosopher *Æsop*." While in France Mrs. Sigourney was presented at the French Court.

Mrs. L. H. Sigourney it is said represented the best and highest type of cultivated womanhood and held a higher place in the respect and affections of the American people than any other woman. "Her loving friendliness had made herself and her name everywhere a charm. Her life for its native gifts was so genial and lovable in deed and spirit, that her very life seemed a sort of divine benediction upon our age."

During the last week of her life she spoke of her own translations from the Hebrew of the book of Jonah, and said, "I liked my own translation, it seemed so vivid. I have been thinking of one verse in particular. 'In the fainting away of my life I will think upon Jehovah, and he shall send forth for me from His Holy Temple.'"

Her remains were borne to the Episcopal Church where she had so long worshipped. The sublime words of the burial service were said, and the long procession moved slowly to the cemetery. With holy words of prayer the precious form was laid gently to its rest, "Looking for the general resurrection at the last day, and the life of the world to come." Mrs. L. H. Sigourney died in Hartford, Ct., June 10, 1865. At sunset hour all the bells of the many churches tolled a requiem to her memory.

Mrs. Sigourney's humanity to the suffering was great. Many were the widows and orphans who shared in her generous friendship the happiness of life. A young friend of Mrs. Sigourney often narrated a delightful visit to her during the Christmas holidays, when she accompanied her in a visit to the orphans' home and saw her distribute Christmas cakes and little parcels of useful clothing. As Mrs. Sigourney lovingly distributed these gifts the smile of every orphan face welcomed her kindness, and her own face beamed with sweetness, for a smile of hers was always radiant with peace and good-will. — The late Miss Elizabeth De Witt.

DINAH, "A SLAVE."

In the town papers appears the draft of a petition to the General Court, from the Selectmen, representing that "Dinah a Negro Woman is in the Town of Oxford without any means of support by which reason she has become chargeable to said Town she being Aged and infirm; by the best information we can get she was born in Sudbury in the County of Middlesex & came into this Town upwards of 30 years ago & at length became a servant of one Charles Dabney who came into this Town from Providence in the latter part of y^e year '76 [or a little later] but did not in any wise gain a habitation in s^d Oxford, & remained servant to s^d Dabney until y^e adoption of this State Constitution soon after which time S^d Dabney her master removed back to s^d Providence & there soon after deceased & left S^d Negro in Oxford without any means of support by which

reason she has become chargeable to s^d Town. Therefore your Petitioners pray your Honours to take the case into your consideration & [give] us relief by considering her one of this State's Paupers, etc."

An indorsement on this paper is dated 1807.

Dinah, as appears, was for many years after Dabuey's removal a faithful domestic in the family of Josiah Wolcott.

Boston and Dinah, two slaves, with their two children, Genny and Silvy, were in the family of Josiah Wolcott, Esq., of Oxford. They were at one time in the possession of Duncan Campbell, Esq., his brother-in-law, and when Dinah was no longer a slave she had a home in the family of Major Archibald Campbell, and previously in the family of Samuel Campbell. Faithful Dinah! ever in the kitchen, with her dark skirt and neat calico short dress (in the fashion of the time called a "long short"), with her blue checked apron and neat turban. In figure Dinah was extremely short but immensely stout. Sometimes she would be seen standing in the chimney corner making chocolate, for she was always busily at work, or maybe giving her orders to her young masters Campbell in the absence of their parents, and at whatever happened in the family or neighborhood she would at once declare "I've tellt ye so." Notwithstanding her temper was not always the sweetest, there was in Dinah a kind heart.

During her service in the Wolcott family she was much attached to her two young mistresses, Miss Wolcott and her sister, Miss Mahetabel. After their marriages, for they left Oxford for distant homes in New Hampshire and Maine, Dinah would make many inquiries for the young ladies, and if opportunity offered, many messages of her love and "duty" were sent to them.

The following town record is found of Dinah, after a long life of faithful service:—

"The town paid Samuel Campbell for supporting Diner a negro wench up to the 2 day of November 1807."—*Oxford Town Records*.

Nothing now remains to remind one of Dinah but her picture embroidered by the Wolcott ladies representing her as making the tea by pouring water from a tiny tea-kettle into the china cups containing the tea, as she was standing behind the chair of her mistress at the tea table. Jack, another slave in the Wolcott family, is represented in embroidery as passing to guests a silver salver with glasses filled with wine.

Dinah lived to be one hundred years of age and died in 1829. Her grave was in the northeast corner of the churchyard, styled the poor corner. The late Andrew Sigourney, Esq., who had married one of the ladies of the Wolcott family, placed a headstone to her memory, naming her faithfulness in servitude. The humble gravestone of Dinah records the death of the last slave in Oxford.

After the termination of slavery in Massachusetts near the close of the last century, Jack and Phylis Whittemore, two freed slaves, with their child, Deborah, came to Oxford. They were most respectable in their characters. Their home was a small brown cottage on the old Charlton road, one mile west of the old North Common, just west of the river. It was long known as Jack's house. Jack died of a lingering consumption. "January 1 1797 gave Abner Mellen amount of one dollar and thirty three cents for digging Jack Whittemore's grave."

"On January 30, 1796 the State paid the town a bill for the support of Jack Whittemore."—*Town Records.*

STORY OF PHYLIS WHITEMORE.

In 1760, or at a still later date, a vessel was at anchor off the Guinea coast; her boats were lowered and when manned put out for the shore. Phylis and her two brothers younger than herself were gathering nuts and berries when captured by the sailors. They were soon dragged on board the vessel, then came the battering down below hatches, and there like rats in a cage young and old were down in the hold of the vessel.

If before being placed on board a slave-ship any poor African attempted to escape he was struck on the head and when senseless was thrown on board. Whenever the hatches were opened the poor captives would draw themselves off to the far end of the hold, as all who were sick were drawn out and thrown overboard with the dead.

Phylis and her brothers were brought to Boston and were purchased from a slave-ship. Phylis was ten or twelve years of age according to her own account and with an uncovered head, with a single scant garment of coarse hempen cloth covering her body, with her two brothers stood friendless, dejected and travelworn on the auction slave-stand in Boston, Mass., her sad face showing a hopeless sorrow, while the auctioneer glibly enumerated her various qualities—good looking, healthy, active—with all the coarseness and indifference that he would have spoken of an animal or any article of commerce. Soon Phylis and her brothers were sold, and all to different masters, never to meet again. During her whole life Phylis would speak of this parting scene with bitterness and with maledictions.

Phylis Whittemore was much employed in service in the family of Mr. James Butler, and Deborah, her child, was in service to the family for many years of her life, having been taken by Mrs. Butler in her childhood on the death of her mother. She was taught reading, spelling, and to keep accounts correctly, with plain needlework. Deborah excelled in all departments of the kitchen and as a housekeeper. At her death she

was mourned as a loss to her friends for her moral excellence of character.

November 24, 1800, Phylis Whittemore left Mrs. Butler's for home in a snow storm, and was found dead in the road next morning.

Among a list of notes and papers delivered to Peter Butler, Esq., Town Treasurer of Oxford for the year 1807, from the late Samuel Campbell, Treasurer, there was a note of Amos Shumway, Jr., to pay Deborah Jack* twelve dollars and interest, amount due, \$15.51.

Richard Moore, Esq., owned Sharper, a slave, and sold him, 1736, to Joshua Haynes of Sudbury. Richard Moore, Jr., in 1755, owned Cæsar, a slave. Moses Marcy, in 1747, owned a female slave. 1771, William Watson is taxed for two slaves; in 1775 a slave was sold as a part of his estate.

"A likely Negro man, 20 years of age fit for service town or country for sale. Inquire of Daniel Johonnot at his house near the sign of the Buck in Marlborough street, Boston."

In a letter of Gabriel Bernon, the president of the French Plantations of New Oxford, to the son of Governor Dudley, October, 1720, he writes of his losses while interested in the French plantation of Oxford, and included his servant, "negro Tom, who was drowned, at fifty pounds loss." This is the record of the first slave in Oxford.

Bernon, being anxious to hold possession of his French plantation in New Oxford, had placed one Cooper and a "negro Tom" to occupy the premises, "the howse and farne at New oxford called the olde mill," the late Captin Humphrey's estate, now occupied by his descendants.

In the will of Rev. John Campbell, bearing the date of August 1, 1760, is the following item; "I bequeath to my son William my saddle horse and furniture, together with all that part and number of my cattle, sheep and swine that remain undisposed of in this Instrument, as also my negro servant 'Will' to be kindly used and improved and supported by him during his natural life and at the Expiration thereof to give him decent Christian Burial."

Mingo, a slave owned by Col. Ebenezer Learned. At the decease of Col. Learned, Mingo was to be kept in the family. This item in the will of Col. Learned: "And support my negro man Mingo during his life and decently bury s'd Mingo at his death."

In 1771, on a town list for Oxford, Mr. Thomas Davis is taxed for a "servant for life," one of the four negro slaves then owned in Oxford.

Mary, a daughter of Mr. John Davis of Oxford, on her marriage to Major Nathaniel Healy of Dudley, Jan. 3, 1788, became the mistress of

*Deborah Whittemore.

"Violet," once a slave, who had been owned by the Healy family. Violet had been taken from the African coast and brought to New England with a brother when children and sold. When surprised by their captors they were watching the rice fields to keep off the little monkeys from committing their depredations on the rice.

Notes, Etc.

NOTES, ETC.

PROCLAMATION.

On April 12, 1712, the original proprietors issued the following proclamation :

“ We the underwritten with other owners and proprietors of the lands at Oxford in the neepmug country granted to us by the general assembly of the Massachusetts colony, and since otherwise ratified and confirmed to ourselves in the Kingdom of Great Britain, having long time determined and surveyed ten or twelve thousand acres for a village and settlement of inhabitants and accordingly established a number of French Famalyes, Refugees, who have since deserted the plan whereby all improvements are lost which is a detriment to the province as well as to ourselves in the hope of our own private advantage by our other lands—do hereby agree and offer to thirty English that shall settle there to give grant and confirm to them all the lands of the said village containing the said ten thousand acres, except what is already granted to Mr. Bernon which is ——— acres to be laid out to them, first a quantity of it in house lots not exceeding forty acres a family, and after the rest in proper divisions as they may agree always provided they be thirty families, and in the mean time if ten families or more shall proceed forthwith within a year to settle there, they shall have their house lots set out to them, and they as they have the use of the other land meadows until the number be thirty, and then they have liberty to divide the whole.

“ If any of the French families choose to come thither we do hereby save to ourselves liberty to establish them with other inhabitants, and Capt. Chandler the surveyor is hereby allowed to lay out lots accordingly, taking care always that he do not intrrench upon the land of the proprietors.

“ Signed	J. DUDLEY,	} <i>Heirs and Executors</i>
	WILLIAM TAYLOR,	
	PETER SARGENT,	
	— SARGENT,	
	JOHN DANFORTH,	
	ELIZA DANFORTH,	} <i>of</i>
		<i>Wm. Stoughton.”</i>

In May, 1713, the surveying of house lots commenced to those who had made a selection with a view to the permanent settlement of Oxford. The required number was completed during the month of July, and on the eighth day of that month the proprietors executed a deed conveying to the thirty English colonists a plantation for the village.

PROPRIETORS' RECORDS.

DEED OF THE VILLAGE.

“To all people unto whome these presents shall come, Joseph Dudley of Roxbury . . . William Taylor of Dorchester . . . Peter Sergeant of Boston Esq. and Mehetabell his wife, John Danforth of Dorchester, and Elizabeth his wife, John Nelson of Boston Esqr. and Elizabeth his wife as the said William Taylor, Peter Sergeant, John Nelson, and John Danforth are the heirs and Executors of the Hon. William Stoughton, late of Dorchester, Esq. Dec'd.

Send Greeting—

“WHEREAS the General Court of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay one Thousand six hundred and Eighty Two Granted to the said Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton Major Robert Thompson and their Associates a Certain Tract of Land Seituate in the Nipmug Country of Eight miles Square for a Township etc. as may be seen by the records of the said Generall Court, Pursuant wherennto and for the uses aforesaid the Joseph Dudley William Stoughton and their Associates in the Year One Thousand Six hundred and Eighty & brought over Thirty French Protestant families into this Country and Settled them upon Eastermost part or end of the said Tract of land and severed and granted and Sett apart Twelve Thousand Acres for a village Called Oxford for the said Families and bounded it as by a Platt upon record will more fully appear Butt forcasmuch as the said French families have many years since wholly left and Deserted their Settlements in refusing to return upon public proclamation made for that end as by the Voluntary Surrender of the most of them are now reinvested in restored and become the Estate and at the Disposition of the Original proprietors . . . for the ends afore said And Whereas there are sundry good families of Her Majesties Subjects within this province who offer themselves to go and Resettle the said village . . . Now Know Ye that the said [Grantors] . . . have freely . . . and do give grant and Confirme unto Samuel Hagbourne, John Town, Daniell Elliott, Abiel Lamb, Joseph Chamberlin, Benjamin Nealand, Benoni Twitchell, Joseph Rockett, Benjamin Chamberlin, Joshua Whitney, Thomas Hunkins, Joseph

Chamberlin, Jr. Oliver Coller, Daniell Pearson, Abram Skinner, Ebenezer Chamberlin, James Coller, Isaac Learned, Ebenezer Learned, Thomas Leason [Gleason], Ebenezer Humphrey, Jona. Tillotson, Edmund Taylor, Ephraim Town, Israel Town, William Hudson, Daniell Elliott, Jr. Nathaniel Chamberlin, John Chandler, Jun. Joshua Chandler, and others their associates, so as their number amount thirty families at least All That Part of the said Tract of land . . . known by the name of Oxford. Excepting and reserving [that part purchased by Gabriel Bernon.] . . . To have and to hold the same . . . Provided that if any of the . . . Grantees . . . Shall . . . to settle upon and improve the said Land . . . by the space of two years . . . or shall leave and Desert the Same and not return to their respective Habitations . . . [then said lands should be forfeited and given to others who should be willing to] ‘settle and Inhabit them.’

“To witness whereof the partys above named to these presents have hereunto set their hands and seals the Eight day of July A. D. 1713.”

“GRAND PROPRIETORS’ LOTS.”

“The original grant of land lying west of Oxford Village, embracing 30,000 acres, and now included in parts of Dudley, Charlton and Southbridge, was equally divided between the five original grantees and styled ‘The Grand Proprietors’ Lots.’ Of the southernmost 6,000 acres, Joseph Dudley’s share, the larger portion was in 1731 included in the town of Dudley, the western portion being now a part of Southbridge. In his will Mr. Dudley gave to his daughters, viz., Rebecca, the wife of Samuel Sewall, Jr.; Anne, the wife of Adam Winthrop; Katharine wife of Hon. William Dummer; and Mary, wife of — Wainwright, each 1,000 acres of land out of his 6,000 acres at Oxford: and to his nephew Daniel Allen, and niece Ann Hilton, who married Ebenezer Pierpont, each 500 acres of the same. His son Paul being residuary legatee inherited the remaining 1,000 acres. Through these children and their heirs the lands were sold to promote the settlement of Oxford.”

The “second 6,000 acre lot of John Blackwell’s was sold by his heirs, Frances his widow, and John Blackwell, merchant, both of Bethnal Green, Stepney, England, 25 April, 1720, to Peter Papillon of Boston, mariner. Papillon had four daughters,—Elizabeth who married first John Wolcott, and second John Higginson, both of Salem; Katharine who married in 1734 George Gibbs and died before 1749; Martha who married first Richard Williams of Boston, who removed in 1741 to Oxford where he died, and second John Ballard of Boston; and Mary who married William Thomas of Plymouth in 1739, styled mariner and later physician.

"After the decease of Papillon these lands, excepting several small lots previously sold by him, were divided among these four daughters. John Wolcott was administrator of his estate, and Isaac Larned, Rev. John Campbell and Col. Ebenezer Learned of Oxford were chosen to make a division. John Wolcott received the southeast 500-acre lot [with other tracts further west] which 500 acres he and Higginson, the second husband of Elizabeth, sold chiefly to John Larned and Josiah Kings. Richard Williams' portion embraced besides a tract west in Charlton. The 500-acre lot at the east end adjoining Wolcott's on the north, being the lot formerly occupied by Gibbs, on which he had built a house, then going to ruin. Here Williams is supposed to have built a house in which he resided until his decease. Nearly the whole of this tract was sold by Williams, executor, to Ebenezer Coburn.

"In 1732 Moses Marey of Woodstock purchased of Papillon the water-power and land adjoining, at what is now Southbridge centre, which he improved. The balance of the Papillon tract was sold in lots to purchasers by his heirs."

The "third 6,000 acres, William Stoughton's, who was unmarried, was in 1704 divided among four heirs, as follows: to William Taylor one-fourth; to John Nelson and his wife Elizabeth one-fourth; to Hon. John Danforth and Elizabeth his wife one-fourth; and to Thomas Cooper and his wife Mehetable one-fourth. On 5 Dec., 1717, John Nelson and wife Elizabeth sold one-third of 6,000 acres to Samuel Brown of Salem. At the time of the Revolution William Brown owned 4,000 acres, a large portion of this tract, but being a loyalist it was confiscated. In 1771 the heirs of William Taylor and Mather Byles and wife Rebecca sold more than 1,000 acres to Samuel Danforth of Cambridge, Elizabeth Williams of Roxbury, Elijah Dunbar of Stoughton, and Hannah the wife of Rev. John Searle of Stoneham. May, 1782, the then owners of the 6,000 acres made a division as follows: A line running east and west was drawn through the tract, Samuel Danforth of Boston, physician, Elizabeth Danforth of Boston, Elijah Dunbar of Stoughton and Joseph Dowse of Salem that lying south thereof.

"In 1784, John Fessenden, Caleb Amidown and Jonathan Warner, a committee to sell confiscated estates in Worcester County, represented to the Supreme Court that there were in Charlton and Oxford 3,000 acres of unimproved lands of which 'two-thirds belonged to William Brown of Salem, conspirator, now the property of the Commonwealth, and one-third to Joseph Blaney, all common and undivided,' and asked for a division, which was granted. Dec. 4, 1784, a division was agreed upon, Blaney being then of Windham, Maine. In 1785 a large part of his share was sold on execution. Thus the Brown lands, which had laid long unimproved, were brought into market. April, 1785,

eight 100-acre lots, excepting 60 acres, were sold by the State Committee to Ebenezer Davis for £335. Jacob Davis was purchaser of several lots. That part of the 6,000 acres lying south of the dividing line was distributed by Danforth and Dunbar to purchasers for settlement.

"The fourth division, Coxe's, was deeded June, 1701, by Daniel Cox, physician, of London, to his son Daniel. The tract was early subdivided, the northern third having been conveyed to Thomas Freak of Hannington, Wiltshire, England, and the southern to John Blackwell, Cox retaining the central third. Freak deeded, Feb., 1709, his 2,000 acres in trust for Mary the daughter of his son John, then a merchant of Boston. She married, May, 1694, Josiah Wolcott of Salem, and 16 Dec., 1730, being then a widow, deeded the 2,000 acres to Edward Kitchen and Frake, his wife, of Salem, who sold in lots to settlers.

"The southern third part was sold by Blackwell's heirs, with his large 6,000 acre lot, to Peter Papillon and divided with that among his heirs into four equal portions of 500 acres each. The essterly 500 acres, which extended into Oxford to the village line, was drawn by Richard Williams and embraced the mill privilege known as John Rich's in Charlton. In 1747 Williams sold this water-power to Jonathan, Jr., and Ephraim Ballard, who then built a saw-mill. In 1754 Ephraim sold to Jonathan, who continued to operate the mill, built a potash factory and added to his estate, and in April, 1774, sold to Ebenezer Davis and David Rich, both of Charlton, 180 acres, part in Oxford and part in Charlton. In 1777 Davis sold to Rich, who added a gristmill and early in the present century a wool-carding mill. He died there, leaving as his successor his son, John II., who lived to old age, and died there Oct., 1883.

The remainder of the southern one-third was allotted to John Wolcott, Molly Papillon, later Mrs. William Thomas, and Katharine [Mrs. George Gibbs] 500 acres each.

The central third remained the property of Daniel Cox, Jr., who came to America and died in 1737 at Trenton, N. J. His heirs after many years made Ezra Taylor of Southboro [later of Pownalsboro', Me.] their attorney. Numerous settlers had gone upon the premises and taken possession, and in a majority, perhaps without controversy, sales were made to the occupants. Several suits, however, were brought for ejectment, and among them one became of much importance as a test case. This suit was brought by Taylor at the November term of 1774, in the Court of Common Pleas at Worcester, in the name of William Cox of Bristol, Penn., and others, against John Edwards of Charlton. Trial June term 1773, verdict for Cox *et al.* Edwards appealed to the higher court. The Revolutionary struggle coming on the case was not heard until 1780, when under the new State Constitution it came up

before the Supreme Judicial Court and was prosecuted with great vigor. According to the report printed in an appendix to Vol. 14, Mass., 491, the law of the case was argued several times by Paine for the demandants and Sprague and Lincoln for the tenant, and after long consideration by the court judgment was finally entered, Oct. term, 1782, for the demandants. Two points were made for the tenant by his counsel. [1.] The deed from Cox, Sen., to Cox, Jr., was not executed according to statute requirements, but the court held, nevertheless, that the execution of the deed in London had been sufficiently proved by the testimony of a resident of Philadelphia who witnesseth its signature. [2.] There had been no livery of seizin. On this point the court held, that in accordance with the common of most colonial lawyers, the feudal ceremony of grantor going with grantee personally upon the premises conveyed and then giving him in hand the twig of a tree or piece of turf from the soil as a symbolical delivery of the land, was not necessary in Massachusetts. This is thought to be the first reported decision of the American court upon the subject. Of course after this decision Cox's title was not generally disputed, and Taylor was able to collect from other parties the sums due from lands. Deeds from Charlton settlers were numerous.

The fifth 6,000 acres of Robert Thompson's descended to his four daughters, who received each 1,000 acres of the west portion, and his only son Joseph who received 2,500 acres, the east part, there being an overplus of 500 acres. Joseph was of Nonsuch Park, Parish of Ewell, Surrey, Eng., and his heirs, living in March, 1754, were Thomas Whately, Sen., and his wife Mary, who were also of Nonsuch Park, Thomas Whately, Jr., Stamp Brooksbank and wife Elizabeth, these at that date deeded to Ebenezer Learned and Edward Davis the said tract of 2,500 acres. Davis owned the west part and settled his sons upon it. Learned received the portion bounded on Maanexit River at North Oxford, embracing the present Texas Village. From a record C. 11, 591, Thomas Whately died possessed, partly by inheritance from his ancestor Robert Thompson, and partly by purchase of two-thirds of the original 6,000 acres, he having bought the interest of the four daughters; therefore Joseph, the son of the said Thomas Whately, being of "Nonsuch Park, clerk and professor in Gresham College, and the only surviving heir of said Thomas," on 16 Oct., 1786, deeded to Samuel Danforth of Boston, physician, the said two-thirds of 4,000 acres of the westerly portion of the said tract.

AN ANCIENT LONDON RECORD.

Prior to the year 1628, a corporation was formed in London of "Adventurers for a Plantation intended at Mattachusetts Bay in Newe

England in America." An account of George Harwood, Treasurer, appears on page 1, vol. 2, of the Probate Records of Suffolk County, the heading of which is as follows:

"In the name of God, Amen." London, May, 1628. "Sundrie men owe unto the general stock of the Adventurers for a plantation intended at Mattachusetts Bay in newe England America the some of ten thousand one hundreth and sixtie pounds and is for soe much undertaken by the particular persons mentioned hereafter by these several subscriptions to be by them adventured to this joint and general stock . . . for the plantation, whereunto the Almighty grant prosperous and happy success, that the same may redound to his glorie the . . . of the Gospell of Jesus Christ and the particular good of the . . . Adventurers that now or hereafter shall be interested therein. The persons nowe to be made debtors to the gen'll stock are as followeth, vizt."

[Nearly one hundred names are appended.]

NOTE. "September 17th, 1630. According to an order of Gov. John Winthrop and his company, who held a council at Charleston, the name Trimountaine was ordered changed to Boston in compliment to the much honored Isaac Johnson, one of the foremost in the enterprise, who was a native of Boston, in Lincolnshire, England.

HOBART GRANT, SOUTH GORE.

Into the capital stock of this company Richard Westland of Boston, England, paid £50. Subscribers were entitled to lands in proportion to their payments. From a petition of Rev. Samuel Whiting of Lynn, presented to the authorities 28 May, 1679, we learn that Westland nearly 50 years before had made a deed of gift of his rights to said Whiting, he being a brother-in-law. In this memorial he asks that five or six hundred acres of land might be set off to him; on which it was voted: "Granted to Mr. Whiting, Sen., and his heires six hundred acres of Land." After Mr. Whiting's decease, upon application of Mrs. Elizabeth Hobart, his daughter and sole heir, in 1717, the grant of 600 acres was set off to her at the north end of Chaubunagungamaug Pond. On 7 May, 1718, Elizabeth Hobart of Hartford, widow of Jeremiah Hobart, clergyman, late of Haddam, for £60, deeded this estate to Josiah Dwight, first minister of Woodstock, who on 28 May, 1726, sold the same for £550 to Josiah Kingsbury of Needham. In 1732 Josiah Kingsbury sold the north part of this tract to his son Theodore, and in 1737 the south part to his son Josiah, who both occupied as settlers.

The original grant to Mrs. Hobart included the "Falls," the spot where, before 1728, on the stream issuing from Chaubunagungamaug, the first saw-mill was built. George Robinson in 1719 bought the land

adjoining on the west and had taken possession of the water-power and had built a mill. In 1728 Josiah Kingsbury, in a petition to the General Court, represents the facts and asks for a grant of 23 acres of poor land near the mouth of Sucker Brook as a compensation. The matter was referred to John Chandler, who reported "that there is cut off from the Original [Hobart] Survey . . . about three acres, on the same stands a Saw-Mill the conveniency for which was a great inducement to carry the bounds of the farm so far westward." He then reviews and describes the land petitioned for and gives his opinion "that it hardly was equivalent to the Fall or Mill place."

THE ROXBURY SCHOOL GRANT.

On 16 October, 1660, the General Court passed the following: "The Court Judgeth it meete to graunte the town of Roxbury five hundred acres of land toward the maintenance of a free school." On 24 Nov., 1715, a petition was presented to the Court signed by several citizens of Roxbury stating that a grant of 500 acres for the free school had been made in 1660 but had never been laid out, asking that action might be taken in the case; on which it was voted that leave be given to have a plan made and presented. On 14 Nov., 1718, a plot was returned and said grant was confirmed. According to this plot, now in the State archives, the mouth of Sucker Brook was the first bound, the line ran thence northeasterly, thence at a right angle southeasterly, thence at a right angle southwesterly to the pond, at what was later Mr. Campbell's line, about one-third of a mile south of Brown's cove or pond, so called, thence northerly following the shore of the pond, including all the long arm stretching into it, to the first bound at Sucker Brook.

On 12 June, 1770, John Baker and Joseph Mayo of Roxbury, committee to sell the school lands, deeded to Hezekiah Bellows 279 acres "on the neck." On 9 Feb., 1779, Bellows deeded to James Cudworth 324 acres with a house and half a saw-mill. In June of the next year Cudworth, then living on the premises, sold the whole bought of Bellows to John Wight; on 12 June, 1781, Wight deeded back to Cudworth, who on 22 June, 1781, deeded the same, excepting half a saw-mill, reserved to Jacob Barrett, to Dr. James Gleason and Asa Robinson.

On 25 Feb., 1774, said Baker and Mayo, committee, deeded to Rev. Joseph Bowman of Oxford 247½ acres, the remainder of the original grant, being the northern portion, reserving a road for Bellows, then living on the south part. In 1774 Mr. Bowman deeded 100 acres of the north to Oliver Barrett of Killingly, Conn., and on 9 July, 1777, 117 acres, part of the same, to Nathan Smith of Sutton. In 1780 Smith sold 15 acres, on which was a saw-mill, to Jacob Barrett. 1781 Bowman

sold 55 acres to Hezekiah Bellows. On 13 June, 1782, Nathan Smith and Elizabeth his wife, of South Gore, deeded to John Boyce of Mendon, housewright, 105 acres and buildings, being the northeast part of the Roxbury School Farm. In 1786 Boyce sold to Benoni Benson and Abraham Staples, both of Mendon, who in 1792 sold to Philip Brown, who kept a public house.

In May, 1683, on account of services rendered to the Province, a grant of 500 acres of land was made to Major Robert Thompson of London, which was confirmed to him Feb., 1727. It was bounded on the west by the Hobart or Kingsbury land, on the north by Oxford Village, and on the east by Dr. Douglas' land. On 26 Nov., 1803, Thomas Corbett and Elizabeth, his wife, she being heir and devisee of Robert Thompson of Elsham, County of Lincoln, England, deeded for \$750 the "Thompson farm" to James Butler of Oxford. Mr. Butler brought a suit for ejectment against Benjamin Davis and obtained possession. A large portion of this land is known as Douglas Woods. Reuben Dudley is present owner of a portion which has been improved.

CAMPBELL GRANT.

Rev. John Campbell representing he required aid in the work of the ministry at Oxford, and asking in 1736 for a grant of land, was voted his request. A plan in the State archives is endorsed: "This plan describes the boundary of 310 acres of land with a pond, lying South of Oxford on the South east side of Roxbury School Farm, east from Dudley town on the east side of Chaubunagungamung Pond, bounded east and south with a line of marked trees on the Province land, surveyed and laid out in pursuance of the grant of the General Court of this Province in their full session of 1736 to the Rev. Mr. John Campbell of Oxford, by Isaac Larned, surveyor, and Samuel Davis and John Larned, chainmen. Surveyed 18 Mar., 1737, and ratified Jan., 1738."

The north line of this grant was about one-third of a mile southerly of what is known as Brown's Pond and it extended south more than a mile on the lake shore, and east 118 rods from the lake at the southern extremity and 210 at the northern. On 20 March, 1765, Edward Wigglesworth, to whom it was sold by Mr. Campbell's executors, deeded it, estimating it at 400 acres, including a pond, to Levi Wight and Dr. James Gleason, both of Thompson Parish. Dr. Green of Leicester later held a mortgage upon it, and in 1777 his heirs quit-claimed it as follows: "to Levi Wight 120 acres, to Dr. James Gleason 180 acres, and to Aaron Wakefield and Amos Wakefield each one-half of 100 acres." William Wakefield is named as one of the interested parties.

NORTH GORE LANDS.

"The Petition of Herbert Pelham, late of Cambridge in Mattachusetts, now for the present in England resident, Sheweth; That whereas there is to the said Herbert due from this colonic of Mattachuset eight hundred acres of land for the consideration of and in reference unto a hundred pound about 17 years ago, he the said Herbert with his father [Thomas Waldegrave] put into the common stock, it is therefore the desire of the said Herbert that you will be pleased to graunt to him the said number of akers and what more you shall for his forbearance think convenient, in such place as not prejudicing any plantation he the said Herbert shall by his agents find out and allot upon, and that this Present Court will further to answer your petitioner that upon notice given he may with all convenient speed effect his desire and make return thereof unto the Court, that whether present or absent he may remain ever mindful to be yours in what office of love he the said Herbert shall be able to Pleasure this Colonie.

"Presented the 19 day of the 8 m. 1648, In the name of Herbert Pelham, Esqr., in his absence by Henry Dunster at the motion of the said Herbert by his letters dated Ferrers, Apr. 4, 1648."

1648, Oct. 27. In answer to this petition, it was ordered that Mr. Pelham "should have his 400 akers of land" and also the heirs of Thomas Waldgrave another "400 akers" in such place as "not prejudicing any plantation he the sd. Herbert shall find out and allot upon."

Mr. Pelham was a man of high position among the people of the "Mattachuset Colonie," second to John Winthrop on the list of assistants from 1645 to 1649, and the first treasurer of Harvard College. The subscription "to the common stock" refers to that made in London for the aid and encouragement of the new colony then being organized for the settlement of Boston.

In June, 1703, Penelope Winslow of Marshfield represented to the Court that she was the daughter of Mr. Pelham and that the said grant had never been laid out, and asked for consideration. Later, Isaac and Elizabeth Winslow, only children and heirs of Dame Penelope Winslow, petitioned that the grants to Pelham Waldgrave might be set off to them. In 1718 Isaac Winslow and Elizabeth Burton that they had selected and surveyed "according to the law in this case" 400 acres, being one-half of the 800 due them. 400 acres they sold to Daniel Livermore in Weston, one of the proprietors and settlers at Leicester, who chose his 400 acres in the "Country Gore."

May, 1719, the Court granted one-half of 800 acres, "which was formerly granted to Mr. Edward Pelham and lately granted to Mr. Edward Pelham and Coll. Isaac Winslow, Esq., and his sister, said land

lying between Oxford and Leicester, bounded with Oxford line and every where Els with country Land as is signified in this plat." A committee, of which William Dudley was chairman, reported to the Court that these lands embraced 10,751 acres. It was then ordered that this land should be sold, only reserving 400 of Herbert Pelham, Esqr., which fell to Isaac Winslow and his sister.

In 1721 William Dudley reported to the Court that he had sold 10,000 acres, etc., but could not give a title as it was not laid out in any county. Upon which it was resolved that the said 10,000 be annexed and accounted a part of Suffolk County. There were many purchasers for this land, among them was Rev. John Campbell of Oxford who bought 300 acres. Ebenezer Learned bought a 300-acre lot and also one-half a 600-acre "gussett or gore," which was the acute angle of the plot extending east to Worcester corner; he having the east division, and Mrs. Ann Stone, widow of John Stone of Framingham and the mother of Micah Stone, the west portion, bounding north on Leicester, east on Ebenezer Learned. Mrs. Ann Stone died 25 March, 1733, at Framingham. This 300 acres in the Gore came into possession of James Stone and later into the possession of Micah Stone of Framingham, and his son Daniel "administered on land in the Gore" [Barry], who removed and resided in Oxford the remainder of his life. The western and broader portion of the original Gore to the amount of 3,000 acres or more is now a part of Sturbridge. The large central portion is embraced in Charlton. The acute angle was included in the town of Ward at its founding 1778. A tract remained between Leicester and Oxford of 738 acres, which in 1738 was made a part of Oxford.

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